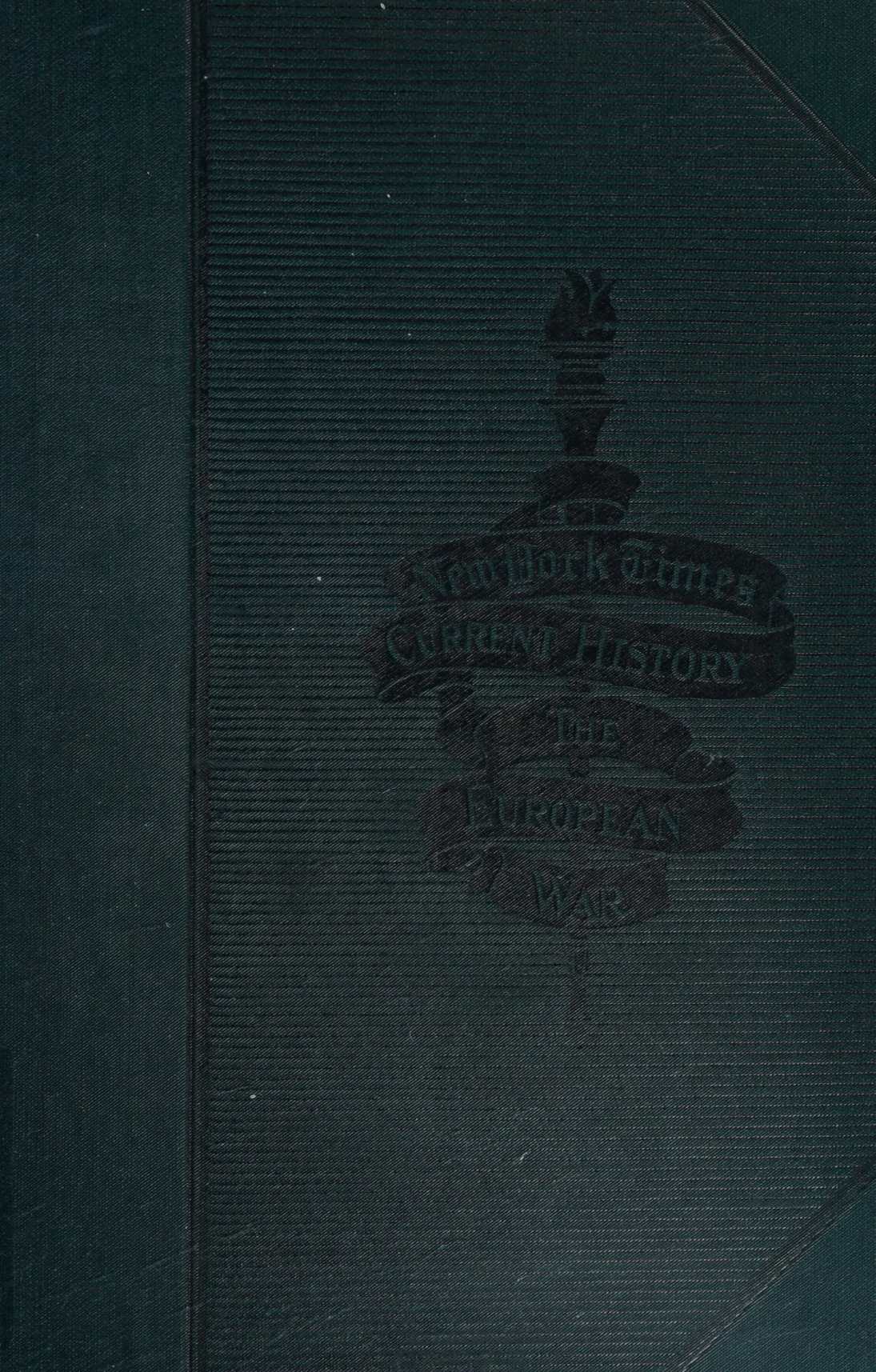
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VOLUME XIV

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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period January, 1918—March, 1918

INTRODUCTION

WITH the coming of Winter and the cessation of fighting on the grand scale, attempts to establish a basis for peace negotiations evoked the first detailed statements of war aims from the United States and the Entente Allies. These interchanges, with the definite withdrawal of Russia from the war, gave events during the three months ended March 1, 1918, much more of a political than military aspect.

On the western front after the battle of Cambrai there was no further fighting of importance. In Italy the campaign continued until the Winter snows made operations difficult and the Austro-German advance was checked.

The disaster which had earlier overtaken Italy had led to the conclusion that the Italian front must be considered as more closely related to the line in France and Flanders than hitherto. This laid the foundation for the unified direction of all the allied armies in Western Europe and later led to the appointment of an allied Generalissimo.

The most dramatic military episode took place, not in Europe, but in Asia, where the capture of Jerusalem by the British kindled the imagination by its historic background and picturesque circumstances.

But it was the "peace offensive" and the actual making of peace by Russia that during this period of December, 1917, and January and February, 1918, transcended all else in importance. With the war on the whole eastern front coming to an end an effort was made, under the leadership of President Wilson, to pave the way to a settlement of all the issues in the world war. It failed because Germany still cherished the hope of peace by victory, relying upon another stupendous drive which in these months was being carefully planned and prepared for. The disastrous peace made by Russia, under the rule of the Soviets and the Bolshevist Cabinet, headed by Lenine and Trotzky, helped considerably to inspire Germany with the belief that it might yet be possible to destroy the allied armies on the western front.

Turning to military operations during the period under review, we find that the chief event on the western front was the recovery by the Germans of part of the territory captured by the British in the battle of Cambrai. The German penetration reached so far and commanded so many strategic points that British retirements became necessary. On Dec. 5 the Germans were in possession of Graincourt, Anneux, Cantaing, Noyelles, and the wood and heights north of Marcoing, and had penetrated on an eight-mile front to a depth of three miles, almost enveloping the new British salient. This made further withdrawals by the British absolutely imperative if they were to avoid costly and useless losses. Bourlon Wood was abandoned, but the captured positions on the Hindenburg line were still occupied. From Dec. 10 to Dec. 13 Bullecourt on the Hindenburg line became the centre of conflict, with the Germans making trench gains.

Meanwhile, on Dec. 12, forty-eight miles to the north the Germans endeavored to smash the Ypres salient by a surprise attack. They penetrated 300 yards into the British lines southeast of Polygon Wood, but otherwise the offensive was a failure.

Heavy fighting was resumed on Dec. 31 on the Cambrai front, where a couple of miles south of Marcoing the Germans were driven out of some trenches which they had recently occupied. Next day, the Germans brought up more guns and attempted to shell the British out, but failed. On Jan. 4, 1918, however, they were more successful, particularly along the Canal du Nord, while the day following they ousted the British from some positions on the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt. On Jan. 8 the British recovered all the positions they had lost during the preceding week.

On other sectors of the British front the only features of note were observation raids and a consolidation of positions. Snow and very cold weather prevented any but operations of a minor character.

As the French gradually advanced their positions east of the Meuse northeast of Verdun, the German salient with its vertex at St. Mihiel became more important. There was, accordingly, some little activity in this sector. On Jan. 9 the French penetrated on a mile front the eastern side of the salient north of Seicheprey, and demolished defense works recently constructed by the Germans. The Germans retaliated a few days later, but were dispersed by artillery fire.

Along the whole western front, whatever movements took place, whether of infantry patrols or of airmen, were almost entirely for reconnoissance. The only exceptions were heavy German bombardments in preparation for raids. Both sides gained minor successes, with the advantage inclining somewhat to the Allies. Early in February the Germans delivered a series of attacks on the Verdun sector without achieving any result.

While this more or less desultory warfare proceeded, preparations were being made for the resumption of fighting on the largest scale. From various sources it was learned that the Germans were getting ready to deliver a crushing blow at the allied armies. The Allies also were laying their plans for the Spring campaign. One of the most interesting changes in the disposition of the armies was the taking over by the British of an additional sector of the French line below St. Quentin. The British were also now gathering reserves to meet the onslaught of the Germans, who were massing troops in large numbers.

American troops were, according to an announcement authorized on Jan. 31, occupying front-line trenches and bearing the full brunt of the defense of certain parts of the French front. This was followed by the statement that the sector occupied by the Americans was northwest of Toul. From this time onward there were daily reports of American troops being engaged in trench raids and other minor operations, while the daily casualty lists, though containing only a few names, made it clear that America was beginning to make its sacrifices. The Germans began to pay particular attention to the Americans in order to discover their fighting qualities and numbers. In one respect the Americans were at a serious disadvantage. They had no adequate aerial service, and the German airmen were able to fly over their positions with comparative immunity. On Feb. 22 further relief was afforded the French by the participation of American units in the defense of the Chemin des Dames. Gradually the number of sectors on which the Americans held positions was increased. By the middle of March the casualties which they had sustained since they landed in France reached 1,722, of which 136 represented men killed in action and 475 wounded.

In the Italian theatre of war the Austro-German forces conducted another offensive before the snows of Winter made it impossible to carry out further operations on a large scale. The attack, which began in the Asiago region on Dec. 3 and lasted during six days of extremely fierce fighting, secured for the enemy certain strategic positions more vital, from the Italian standpoint, west of the Brenta than east of it. But these successes were very costly.

The snow came in time to prevent the enemy from deploying beyond the passes already captured and taking new heights guarding others. British and French forces, under Generals Plumer and Fayolle, respectively, had meanwhile left their prepared ground on the Adige and, in conjunction with the Italians, achieved important local results on the Piave. The Austrian salient at Zenson, on the right bank, was wiped out.

At the conclusion of the Austro-German offensive two gates still threatened the Plains of Venetia. In the west there was that formed by the angle of the Brenta and the Frenzela Torrent, just above Valstagna on the road to Bassano; in the east there was the Monte Tomba salient extending to the enemy bridgehead on the Piave. One was the complement to the other, and each presented special strategic advantages to the invader. It was imperative before Austro-German reinforcements could arrive that the gates should be shut. On Dec. 31, therefore, the French troops launched a vigorous attack and recaptured the northern summit of Monte Tomba, inflicting numerous casualties on the enemy and taking a considerable number of prisoners. This was followed in the middle of January by the French making a drive four miles east up the Piave in the direction of Quero. These two movements caused the Austrians, between Jan. 20 and 23, to yield the whole salient, moving their defense north from Monte Monfenera to the shelter of the Calcina Torrent and Monte Spinoncia, in the northern hills of which the torrent rises. In this way the eastern gate was closed.

Then, on Jan. 28, the Italians themselves closed the western gate, just in time to smash an Austrian drive directed down the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys. The Italian surprise was at once pressed home throughout the entire region, extending from south of Gallio in the Val di Nos eastward across the Frenzela Torrent to the Brenta. In this series of actions the Austrians suffered heavy losses. On Jan. 31 the Teuton forces, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to regain lost ground in the area of Sasso Rosso, shifted their attacks to Monte di Val Bella, which the Italians had reached by a sudden thrust. The enemy was quickly repelled by artillery fire. In the latter part of February incessant artillery dueling took place from the Val Giudicaria to the Adriatic, and there was also some infantry activity in the Val Lagarina. Except for these and similar minor operations, the campaign was at a standstill, but there was evidence of preparations for a new offensive on a large scale by the enemy.

The story of the new invasion of Russia by the Germans, which was begun on Feb. 18, hardly comes under the heading of military operations, since Russia no longer had any effective fighting force to offer resistance and since the invasion itself was rather for political purposes in connection with the deadlock which eventuated between the Central Powers and the Soviet Government. Following the decision of the Bolsheviki, who now controlled Russia's destinies, to end the war, an armistice was arranged and peace negotiations initiated. These negotiations ended in a sharp clash between the two sides, and when the armistice expired, on Feb. 18, the Germans immediately began to advance all along the line from the Baltic coast to Volhynia, in the south. The first objective in the north was the occupation of Esthonia and Livonia. Simultaneously, Lutsk, in Volhynia, was captured without fighting. The invasion, however, temporarily halted when the Soviets voted to accept the Germans terms of peace; it had become necessary, besides, for the Teuton war chiefs to withdraw additional bodies of troops in preparation for the impending offensive on the western front. In some parts of Russia, notably the Ukraine, German troops acted as participants in a civil war between the contending bourgeois and proletarian classes rather than as fighters for one nation against another. The Germans, wherever they played such a rôle, employed their forces on the side of the bourgeois elements, seeking to destroy the Bolsheviki, in whose propaganda they saw the menace of a revolutionary movement which might spread into their own country.

The story of the peace negotiations and the events connected therewith is told later in the sections dealing with political and diplomatic developments.

The British campaign in Palestine not very long after its resumption in October achieved a success into the historical background of which entered the greatest events of the religions out of which the faith and morals of Western civilization have been developed. This was the capture of Jerusalem, the Holy City, which had for centuries remained in the possession of the Turks. Important as the result was from a military standpoint in assuring the safety of British rule in Egypt and of the Suez Canal, the occupation of Jerusalem was an event of the deepest moral and sentimental significance. It stirred the imagination and sent a thrill of satisfaction throughout the greater part of the civilized world, and even the Pope, though committed to an attitude of strict neutrality, expressed the belief that the Holy City would be in good hands under British control.

Under the leadership of General Sir Edmund Allenby, the British took Beersheba on Oct. 31, Gaza on Nov. 7, Jaffa on Nov. 19, and, finally, on Dec. 10, Jerusalem itself. By the night of Dec. 8 the British troops had made such progress against the enemy's intrenched positions that it was obvious that the Turks would soon have to retire to the north and east of the city despite the fact that reinforcements were moving along the Jericho road. Early next morning (Dec. 9) the people of Jerusalem, believing that the hour of their liberation was at hand, began to offer up prayers for the success of the British arms. A little later the Mayor, accompanied by the Chief of Police and an escort with a flag of truce, left the city walls to make a formal offer of surrender. The party was met by British outposts and conducted to the commanding officer's headquarters, where the surrender of the city was arranged by noon.

While these arrangements were being made there was a short and sharp struggle on the outskirts of the city. The Turks fought more stubbornly than at any previous period of the campaign. British troops were sent to the north of Jerusalem, and as they debouched from the defile they were heavily attacked by the Turks lining the ridge, while a strong machine-gun fire was poured into them from the Mount of Olives. The British carried the ridge with fixed bayonets, and by noon the Turks were pushed back so far that the British now occupied ground four miles north of the city walls. Other British troops, operating from the south and east, drove the Turks back along the Jericho road.

The Turks were forced to withdraw by General Allenby's strategy and the fighting qualities of the troops under his command. No British gun was sighted to within a considerable distance of the walls of Jerusalem, although the Turkish artillery fired from a position close to the city and from the Mount of Olives. General Allenby placed the sanctity of the Holy Sites before every other consideration, and approached the city only when the pressure of his troops forced the Turks to fall back and abandon their positions.

The surrender of Jerusalem was almost simultaneous with the end of the day's fighting at noon on Dec. 9. The actual ceremony of surrendering the city was very brief. General Allenby gave the Mayor instructions for the maintenance of order and had guards placed over the public buildings outside the city, but not a single soldier passed within the walls that day. The following day, (Dec. 10,) while the Turks were being driven further orthward and eastward, General Allenby made his official entry. The ceremony was unostentatious, but impressive. The British General was accompanied by the commanders of the French and Italian detachments. The troops taking part in the procession were selected from English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand units, and also from the French and Italian detachments. All, including the Commander in Chief, were on foot. The people of Jerusalem gave the victors a thrilling ovation. On the steps at the base of the Tower of David a proclamation was read in four languages, establishing military law and

complete freedom in all matters commercial and religious. After the ecclesiastic and other notables of the city had been presented to him, General Allenby left Jerusalem and immediately resumed the task of pushing further ahead with his army.

The Turks offered a vigorous resistance to the British advance, which progressed less rapidly than was expected. During the nine or ten weeks which followed the capture of Jerusalem the British were only a few miles beyond the city, but on Feb. 21 they occupied Jericho, and a couple of days later forced the Turks to retire across the River Jordan.

In Mesopotamia the British expedition, whose commander, Sir Stanley Maude, died and was succeeded by General Sir W. R. Marshall, was mainly concerned with the establishment of law and order in the invaded territory and making it possible to become once more a habitable and fertile province. The army, however, continued to advance slowly along the Euphrates, and at the end of February it held positions in the neighborhood of Hit, which was evacuated by the Turks.

For many months a remnant of Germans, aided by natives, had kept up a spasmodic guerrilla warfare in German East Africa, although the conquest of the colony had long been virtually complete. It, therefore, did not signify very much when it was officially announced in London on Dec. 3 that this, the last oversea possession of Germany, had at last been "completely cleared of the enemy."

The hundredth aerial attack upon London took place on the night of Feb. 18, but the Germans were driven off and there were no casualties. During the period under review there were altogether eight attacks against London, resulting in 111 persons being killed and 314 injured. Several German machines were captured or destroyed. Paris was less frequently visited; but on Jan. 30 the German air raiders were responsible for the death of 45 persons and injuries to 207. Austrian airplanes attacked Padua on Dec. 28, 30, and 31, killing and injuring many people and damaging the cathedral and other public buildings. Treviso also suffered greatly from aerial attacks; and several other towns in Northern Italy, including Venice, received visits from Austrian machines.

By way of reprisal, British airmen bombarded Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and other German towns, but the Allies continued to concentrate their aerial activities against the Teuton armies and military depots behind their lines.

The most important naval operation of the period was the engagement at the entrance to the Dardanelles on Jan. 20 between the British forces and the two Turkish warships, the Sultan Yawuz Selim and the Midullu, formerly the German ships Goeben and Breslau. The Midullu was sunk and the Sultan Yawuz Selim was beached, but subsequently was refloated and taken back to safety. In the engagement the British lost two monitors and also a submarine which attempted a week later to enter the Dardanelles and complete the destruction of the Sultan Yawuz Selim. On Feb. 15 a raiding flotilla of German destroyers sank eight British boats which were hunting submarines in the Strait of Dover.

The adventurous cruise of another German raider was concluded on Feb. 24 when the auxiliary cruiser Wolf returned to Kiel. It had been at large for fifteen months in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans and had sunk eleven merchant vessels.

The veil of secrecy which had so far made it difficult for the public to estimate the losses of allied and neutral shipping caused by German submarines and mines was at last drawn aside by the British Government when Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, disclosed the decrease in available shipping at the end of the year 1917. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 20, 1918, the First Lord stated that from the commencement of the war until Dec. 31, 1917, the world's tonnage, exclusive of that owned by the Central Powers, had fallen by a net figure of approximately 2,500,000 gross tons. This was out of 33,000,000 estimated allied and neutral oceangoing tonnage. For the twelve months of unrestricted submarine warfare from Feb. 1, 1917, to Jan. 31,

1918, the actual figures of vessels sunk and so badly damaged as to necessitate abandonment amounted roughly to 6,000,000 tons. Sir Eric Geddes emphasized the importance of making still greater efforts to provide new ships, and, as we shall see presently, it was in the United States particularly that the major part of the task of making good the shortage was undertaken.

For the first time since the United States had become a belligerent the Government was subjected to severe criticism and accused of failure to prosecute the war efficiently and vigorously. The central figure in the attack on the War Department was Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate. Although the measures he proposed were not adopted, considerable reorganization in all branches of the department were effected.

One of these changes, however, preceded the storm of criticism roused by Senator Chamberlain. This was the creation on Dec. 15 of a "Military War Council within the War Department," consisting of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, the Quartermaster General, the Chief of Artillery, the Chief of Ordnance, and the Judge Advocate General, who, as Provost Marshal General, was responsible for the administration of the selective draft law. The purpose of the council was defined as the supervision and co-ordination of all matters of supply of the field armies and the military relations between those armies and the War Department. The council was not intended to take over any of the specialized duties of the General Staff or of the War College. Reorganization and changes in personnel followed soon afterward in the Quartermaster and Ordnance Departments.

A couple of weeks later the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate began a searching investigation of the work of the War Department; and on Jan. 10 the Secretary of War appeared as a witness and in his testimony summarized the achievements of the department. He said that a large army was in the field and in training, so large that further increments could be adequately equipped and trained as rapidly as those already in training could be transported, and that generally the outlook was excellent. Between April and the end of December the strength of the army had increased from 9,324 officers and 202,510 men to 110,835 officers and 1,428,650 men.

The growth of the United States Navy was indicated in a report issued by a sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee on Jan. 16. It showed that 424 war vessels were under construction by or for the Navy Department, in addition to submarine chasers; that this was the largest building program undertaken by any navy; and that the progress made in warship construction and in expanding naval shipbuilding facilities had been phenomenal. The subcommittee was impressed by the efficient and expeditious methods employed in the Ordnance, Construction, and Steam Engineering Bureaus of the Navy Department. Since the United States had entered the war the navy had taken over and converted to war use between 700 and 800 passenger and freight vessels, yachts, tugs, fishing boats, and other craft.

After much travail, signs began to appear that the building of merchant ships under the direction of the United States Shipping Board was entering upon the stage of tangible and measurable results. The initial difficulties of establishing many new yards were now nearly all solved, so that an increasing number of ships could be produced. Each month now began to show a larger tonnage record. In January only nine new ships, aggregating 79,541 tons, were completed and put into service; but in February the figures showed seventeen ships, representing 120,700 tons. At the end of the month there were 130 shipyards in operation, with 700 ways and 500,000 men employed on the construction of 1,600 ships.

The railroads of the United States, representing the largest system in the world, were taken over by the Government on Dec. 26. This was a war measure which had been made inevitable by

the inability of the railroads to meet the requirements of the nation's war program under existing conditions. The object of Governmental control was to unify the many competing lines in a single national system, make good the deficiencies in equipment, and generally secure the free flow of vital freight through the arteries of industry and trade. Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed Director General of Railroads, with very wide powers. He, in his turn, appointed an advisory board consisting mostly of railroad executives, to assist him in performing his functions. The rights of the holders of railroad bonds and stocks were safeguarded by a guarantee that their property should be maintained in good repair and with as complete equipment as possible and that the basis of compensation should be the average net income of the companies for the three years ended June 30, 1917, which was approximately $945,000,000 a year.

Congress decided that Government control should continue throughout the war and for twenty-one months afterward.

The assumption by the Government of control over the railroads had hardly taken place when the first serious case of industrial dislocation occurred. Freight congestion and shortage of transportation facilities led to shortage of coal; and to deal with the situation, Dr. H. A. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, with the approval of the President, issued an order closing down all factories throughout the States east of the Mississippi River for five days, Jan. 18 to 22 inclusive, and on nine subsequent Mondays beginning Jan. 28. But in February conditions improved so rapidly that the order for the "heatless Mondays" was rescinded after the third week.

Food, though still at the abnormal prices created by unusual conditions, caused no anxiety. There was a gradual relaxation in the restricted use of meat, but "wheatless days" were still observed. The Food Administration believed that the outlook was good and that the needs both of the Allies and of the people of the United States would be met.

One of the branches of the new war administration which developed to an amazing extent was the War Trade Board, which gradually brought under its supervision or control practically the whole of the export and import trade of the nation. The board had a variety of purposes, such as making the best use of ocean transportation facilities, but one of its most important aims was the destruction of enemy trade by enforcing the Trading with the Enemy act. On Dec. 4 the board issued its first blacklist of German-controlled banks and businesses, chiefly in the Latin-American countries. This list was thereafter continually revised and added to. The board also worked out the details of economic agreements with neutral countries, as well as co-ordinating its work with that of similar Governmental bodies in the allied countries. The War Trade Board had now become the chief agency of wielding the nation's economic power in relation to other nations.

The working classes of America, while on the whole loyal to the Government on the general question of war policy, were restive in regard to many particular matters of wages, hours, and conditions generally. It was obvious that some method of adjusting relations between employers and employes should be devised. Accordingly, at the suggestion of W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, a National Labor Conference Board, under the Chairmanship of ex-President Taft, was formed, and on Feb. 25 the board held its first meeting at Washington.

BRITISH AFFAIRS

Apart from the conduct of the war itelf, the questions uppermost in the minds of the British people were those of additional man power, the extension of political democracy, the new program of labor, and Irish Home Rule.

A new measure to increase the fighting forces of the United Kingdom provided for the recruiting of men employed in ammunition factories who had been previously exempt. It was estimated that about 450,000 men would be ob-

tained. As the exemptions had been part of a bargain with the Labor leaders when conscription was first decided upon, it was necessary to have their concurrence in the measure. One of the conditions demanded by the Labor leaders was that the Government should clearly and precisely state what it was fighting for. Premier Lloyd George acceded to the demand, and on Jan. 5 delivered his speech to a great gathering of working-class representatives, setting forth the Government's war aims. This was one of the most notable results obtained by the new labor movement.

Again, it was the influence of the new democratic forces which secured the passing of the Franchise Reform bill, which added 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women to the total electorate of the United Kingdom. The granting of votes to women was even more a sign of progress than the provisions putting on the electoral register 10,000,000 out of 13,000,000 men above the age of 21.

The Irish question was still no nearer a solution. The convention which had been called together in August, 1917, had not yet reported; and when Sir Edward Carson, a member of the War Cabinet, resigned on Jan. 21 it was taken that another political struggle was imminent. The reason of Carson's resignation was that, as leader of the Ulster Unionists, he wished to be free to oppose Government proposals which might be contrary to their ideas and interests.

Changes also took place at the Admiralty and the War Office. Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss on Dec. 26 was appointed First Sea Lord in succession to Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. Considerable controversy was roused by the suspicion that the Lloyd George Government wished to reduce Sir Douglas Haig, the Commander in Chief, and Sir William Robertson, the Chief of the Imperial Staff, to subordinate positions under the control of the Interallied War Council at Versailles. Premier Lloyd George in Parliament defeated his critics by a substantial majority, but nevertheless Sir William Robertson resigned his position and declined appointment on the Versailles Council. He was relegated to the comparatively unimportant duties of the eastern command. General Sir Henry Wilson succeeded him as Chief of the Imperial Staff, the highest nonpolitical position at the War Office.

In Canada a general election held on Dec. 18 returned the Borden Government to power and thus indorsed the Conscription act which it had passed. Australia, on the other hand, at a national referendum on the same issue, held on Dec. 20, defeated compulsion by a much larger majority than at the previous referendum in October, 1916, mainly as a result of the political strength of organized labor and the spread of Socialist ideas.

FRENCH MATTERS

When Joseph Caillaux, a former Premier of France and still the leading spirit in the councils of one of the largest and most influential French political parties, was arrested on Jan. 14, the intricate drama of peace intrigue entered upon a new and more exciting stage. Caillaux was the guiding hand in the movement variously described as "Boloism" and "Defeatism," a movement which aimed at making peace with Germany on the basis of the common interests of certain financial groups in the two countries.

The arrest of Caillaux was partly due to information supplied by the American State Department to the French Government, showing that as far back as 1915 Caillaux was in indirect communication with Germany. The day following his arrest the State Department published dispatches which had been sent in code from Count Luxburg, the German Minister at Buenos Aires, to the German Foreign Office, and which had been intercepted by the American authorities when in the course of transmission through the German Embassy in Washington. The dispatches showed that Caillaux "welcomed indirect courtesies" from Count Luxburg and that he had warned him against excessive praise in the German press. Louis Loustalot, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and Paul Comby, a law-

yer, were also arrested as Caillaux's accomplices.

With Caillaux now in prison, the trial of Bolo Pacha proceeded, and was concluded on Feb. 14, when he was found guilty of having received large sums of money from German sources and having undertaken to purchase or corrupt French newspapers for the purpose of creating internal unrest and disaffection and thus discouraging the prosecution of the war. Bolo was sentenced to death, as was Filippo Cavallino, one of his associates, who was under arrest in Italy. Porchère, another of Bolo's associates, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Still another prominent personality in French public life, Senator Charles Humbert, proprietor of the Paris newspaper, Le Journal, was arrested on Feb. 18 and charged with treason as a result of his alleged dealings with Bolo Pacha. Le Journal was the principal newspaper over which Bolo was accused of trying to gain control for the purposes of "Defeatist" propaganda.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

A serious but ineffectual attempt was made in Germany at the end of January to bring about a working-class revolt against the Government and force it to make peace. Three Independent Socialist members of the Reichstag, Wilhelm Dittman, George Ledebour, and Hugo Haase, took the lead in the strikes which broke out in various parts of Germany; but the authorities were well able to handle the situation, and the movement was rapidly suppressed by military force. Dittman was arrested while trying to address a crowd of strikers in Berlin and tried by court-martial on charges of inciting to high treason, resistance to public authority, and disobeying the prohibition against participating in the direction of the general strike. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, a severer penalty than that which had been meted out to Karl Liebknecht. Dittman was also one of the three Reichstag Deputies accused by the German Minister of Marine of having abetted the mutiny in the navy in the Summer of 1917.

In Austria and Hungary popular discontent also found expression in a number of strikes, which for a time appeared full of menace to the ruling classes. But, while these disturbances were quelled, there was no improvement in the sufferings of the people, who daily had to bear an increasing burden of hunger and oppression. It was this state of affairs that made Emperor Karl so eager for peace and so quick to grasp every opportunity that presented itself for ending the war.

RUSSIA

Russia, now under the direct rule of the working classes, expressing themselves through their councils, or Soviets, had now set out to transform society according to the principles of Socialism, despite the difficulties attending such an enterprise when the nation was still, nominally at least, at war and faced by other nations dominated by the interests of autocracy. Before dealing with the external policy of the Bolsheviki, the Left Wing of the Social Democratic Party, to whom the Russian workers had intrusted the Central Government, it is necessary to survey the class struggle which convulsed the internal life of the country.

The struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the workers came to an issue on the question of the Constituent Assembly. The Bolsheviki were opposed to such a body deciding the future Government of Russia or having any hand in the shaping of national policies, on the ground that it was the expression of the ideals of bourgeois society, which were no longer necessary in a Socialist state. According to Lenine, the Russian proletariat by creating a Government of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates had established the only kind of Government that was necessary.

The election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly had nevertheless taken place on Nov. 25, 1917. The Social Revolutionists, with 420 out of a total of 783 delegates, had gained a majority over all other parties, and for this reason the Bolsheviki, who had succeeded in electing only 225 delegates, did all in their power to delay the meeting of the

Assembly. A number of the anti-Bolshevist members were arrested, and other measures were taken to prevent the bourgeois elements from consolidating their forces into a powerful opposition.

The Constituent Assembly, however, was ultimately permitted to meet, and on Jan. 18, 1918, something over the required quorum of 400 members gathered in Petrograd. Victor Tchernoff, who had been Minister of Agriculture in the Kerensky Cabinet, was elected Chairman by the Social Revolutionist majority. The Bolsheviki, finding that they could not control the Assembly, and foreseeing that it was inevitably developing into a menace to their rule, withdrew, and the next day, Jan. 19, compelled it by armed force to adjourn. This was followed by a decree issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates dissolving the Assembly, which thereupon passed out of existence, leaving the supreme power in the hands of the Soviets. In this way, for the first time in history, political control over a great nation was seized by the labor unions.

The first step toward the creation of a Socialist Commonwealth was a decree abolishing private ownership in land. This decree was elaborated by the third All-Russian Congress of the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Delegates, which met in February. All the forests, mines, waters, and landed estates, with their live stock, buildings, and machinery, were declared the common property of the people.

In the industrial sphere the process of socialization was slower and more varied, the main tendency being toward what is generally known as syndicalism. In some cases the employers or proprietors were entirely dispossessed and thrown out, but in others they were permitted to remain and conduct operations in co-operation with committees representing the workers. While the Soviets in the towns exercised the political authority and controlled civic affairs, workers' organizations specially created for industrial purposes took general charge of the factories and plants. These organizations were in turn co-ordinated under superior bodies for larger areas, and these in turn were under the Central Government of the Soviets. In the new scheme of industrial democracy there was every variety of State socialism, communism, and voluntary co-operation, according to the varying character of the different industries, the needs of the different localities, and other special conditions.

The matter of finance was treated by the Bolshevist Cabinet first by repudiating all the national loans issued under the imperial and bourgeois-revolutionary régimes. Only the short-term loans and the series of the National Treasury were declared valid. Secondly, the banking system was nationalized, all the private banks and similar institutions being amalgamated with the State Bank. All gold coin and bullion were confiscated and transferred to the State Bank.

The Military Revolutionary Committee, assisted by subsidiary local commissions, adopted drastic measures intended to suppress food speculation. At length, recognizing that their power must be supported by armed force, the Bolshevist Cabinet set about securing some military protection. Two principles were adopted: First, that the proletariat must be armed and the bourgeoisie disarmed; second, that reorganization of the old army was hopeless to think of. Accordingly, the "Red Army" was created, the nucleus being the Red Guard which Kerensky had formed at the time of the so-called Korniloff rebellion by distributing 14,000 rifles among the workmen of Petrograd. On Jan. 27, 1918, a special commission was appointed to organize the Red Army out of the most revolutionary elements of the working classes, but the result was practically nil.

The abolition of all ranks and titles, the confiscation of the corporate property of nobles, merchants, and burgesses, the replacement of the old judicial system by revolutionary tribunals, the separation of Church and State, the sequestration of Church property, and the secularization of the schools were some of the other acts of the Soviet Government.

It needs to be added that the extent to

which many of these revolutionary decrees were put into practice depended upon the power to crush opposition in the different parts of Russia. In some large and important areas the bourgeoisie were successful in resisting the Bolsheviki, and the Soviets in those regions were unable to introduce their social ideas.

The right of all peoples to self-determination was a leading doctrine proclaimed by the Bolsheviki, but, according to Lenine, it did not encourage the formation of small States; on the contrary, he professed to believe that it led to the freer, more fearless, and, therefore, more extensive and general formation of large States and unions of States more in harmony with economic development. The conception of the legal separation of nations, Lenine held, was a reactionary conception. Nevertheless, it was this conception that influenced the course of events in the Ukraine and Finland.

The Ukraine embraced originally the four Russian guberniyas, or provinces, of Tchernigov, Kiev, Poltava, and Kharkov, with an area of 80,000 square miles and a population of 25,000,000, but laid claim not only to a large part of Southwestern Russia, but also to portions of East Galicia, Northeastern Hungary, and Bukowina, an increase to 195,000 square miles with a population of 45,000,000. After the overthrow of the Czar, a National Assembly called the Central Ukrainian Rada had been set up with a General Secretariat as the Executive. The Russian Provisional Governments of Lvov and Kerensky had had friction with the Rada and had eventually agreed to recognize the autonomy of the Ukraine on condition that its future Constitution was left to be settled by the Russian Constituent Assembly. When the Bolsheviki came into power in November, 1917, a new and much more serious conflict began with the Ukrainian Government, which the Bolsheviki denounced as bourgeois.

The upshot was that the Rada on Nov. 20 declared Ukrainia a national republic and fixed the date for a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly to meet for the purpose of co-operating with the Russian Constituent Assembly in devising a Constitution which would permit Ukrainia to work out its national destiny within an All-Russian federal union.

The determination of the Bolsheviki to destroy bourgeois Governments everywhere immediately precipitated a conflict, and fighting began. On Dec. 17 the Bolshevist Government delivered an ultimatum to the Rada demanding that it break with the counter-revolution and with Kaledine and his Don Cossacks. The ultimatum was ignored and civil war between the two republics was formally begun on Dec. 18, although actual hostilities had been in progress for several weeks.

Disastrous as this struggle was to both Russia and Ukrainia, it was the intervention of the latter in the peace negotiations between the Central Powers and Russia that inflicted the greatest injury upon the Russian and Ukrainian peoples directly and upon the western allies indirectly. Ukrainia, demanding separate representation at the peace conference, sent delegates to the second session which opened at Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 10. There a declaration was read pointing out that Russia had entered into an armistice without previous agreement with Ukrainia. The Central Powers eagerly welcomed the Ukrainians, and Trotzky was compelled to recognize them as a separate and independent delegation, the error of which step he realized when he discovered that the Ukrainians were conducting secret negotiations for a separate peace with the Central Powers and thus destroying Russia's united front in the diplomatic struggle.

The Ukrainian movement had long been encouraged by Austria and Germany, ostensibly as a counterblast to Russian persecution under the Czar's régime. Lemberg had been a refuge and the intellectual centre of Ukrainians from Kiev. In the Government of the Ukrainian Republic there was a considerable section with Austro-German sympathies and bonds of common interest, and, though prominent Ukrainians had gone to Petrograd in August, 1917, to clear themselves of charges of complicity in

German intrigues, the Ukrainian delegates were far readier to make peace with the Central Powers than were the anti-bourgeois and anti-imperialist Russians at Brest-Litovsk. This will be seen later when we come to the break-up of the peace conference on the signing of a separate peace between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Central Powers on Feb. 9, 1918.

When it became known in Poland that under this treaty the Kholm district, a part of the Polish domain, had been ceded to Ukrainia, a great wave of indignation swept through Poland. The Polish, Czech, Slavic, and Socialist Deputies in the Austrian Parliament joined to protest and threatened to unite and vote against further credits for the war. The opposition became so formidable that the Austro-Hungarian and German Foreign Ministers agreed to modify the treaty, and on Feb. 18 a supplementary treaty was signed by Austria-Hungary and Ukrainia providing that the district of Kholm was not to be ceded until a mixed commission of Poles and Ukrainians met and agreed on a new boundary. In the protest against the cession of Kholm the Polish Regency Council, which had been set up by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, took a determined stand and was partly instrumental in preventing the loss of the territory.

The turn of events in Finland also added to the causes which were disintegrating Russia and making it more difficult than ever for the Bolshevist leaders to succeed. Here, as in Ukrainia, international issues were submerged in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. On Dec. 7, 1917, Finland declared itself an independent republic, and two days later the Finnish Diet assumed sovereign power. One of the grounds for dissolving the union with Russia was the state of anarchy which had followed the seizure of power by the Russian Soviets. Finland, as a separate State, was recognized by Sweden, France, Norway, Denmark, Germany, and finally, on Jan. 9, 1918, by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. Meanwhile, the Finnish proletariat, acting under the inspiration of the Bolsheviki, had begun a class war. The Diet was under the control of the bourgeois elements, and to overthrow their rule the Red Guard of the Workers was organized, being supplied with its military equipment by the Russian revolutionary soldiers, some of whom took part in the fighting.

The Government troops, aided by the White Guard, which was organized by the propertied classes, began a vigorous campaign and occupied Uleaborg and Tammerfors on Feb. 6 and Viborg on Feb. 8. Since the Red Guards were still strong in other parts of the country, the Finnish bourgeoisie turned to Germany for help. On Feb. 21 German troops were landed in Finland. A couple of weeks later a treaty of peace between Germany and Finland was signed, and the combined forces of the Finnish bourgeoisie and the German expedition commenced a campaign of wholesale slaughter of the Red Guards and of the revolutionary working-class leaders. While the Finnish bourgeoisie had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies at home wiped out, Finland itself steadily passed under German control, to such an extent, indeed, that the proposal was made to set up a monarchy under a Prince appointed by the Kaiser.

Having now seen what happened to those parts of Russia which had been lost by conquest or secession and come under the domination of the Central Empires, we return to the situation in Russia itself, where the revolutionary proletariat was supreme and determined to bring the war to an end. While the new Government was able to keep the bourgeoisie in check, Russia was seriously handicapped by the attitude of the bourgeois Governments of Ukrainia and Finland. The Soviet Government set about making a separate peace when the western allies refused to participate in the negotiations. According to the Bolsheviki, whose views on this point were expressed by Trotzky, their Foreign Minister, Russia was being left at the mercy of the Central Powers so that the latter could recoup themselves for yielding in the west at the expense of Russia. This certainly did not apply to the United States, for during the period of the nego-

tiations between Russia and the Central Powers, President Wilson was conducting a remarkable "peace offensive" to which reference is made elsewhere.

The desperation of the Russian masses due to misrule had been the chief cause of the growing power of the Bolsheviki and finally of their success in seizing the supreme authority and transferring it to the Soviets. No time was lost by Lenine and Trotzky in taking steps for a separate peace. On Dec. 1 Ensign Abram Krylenko, who had been appointed Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, sent representatives carrying a white flag through the enemy lines with a proposal to the German commander for an armistice. On Dec. 5 it was agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for ten days, during which an armistice could be concluded. Two days later the Rumanian Government, which was at the mercy of its enemies by the disintegration of the Russian armies, decided to join Russia in arranging an armistice with the Central Powers. On Dec. 16 the armistice between the Central Powers and Russia was signed. It was to last four weeks, from Dec. 17 to Jan. 14, 1918.

Preparations were quickly made for a peace conference, and the first meeting of delegates was held at Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 22. The German and Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministers, Dr. von Kühlmann and Count Czernin, were the principal representatives of the Central Powers, and Adolph Joffee headed the Russian delegation.

The terms of peace proposed by the Russian delegates were based on the formula, "no annexations, no indemnities, and the free self-determination of peoples." They included, in addition to demands for the evacuation of all Russian territory occupied by Germany, the outline of a complete settlement of all the issues of the world war, such as Alsace-Lorraine, the Italian provinces of Austria, and the German oversea possessions.

On Dec. 25 Count Czernin presented the counterproposals of the Central Powers. The principle of self-determination was accepted, but in such a way that henceforth Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia would no longer form part of Russia. The other parts of Russia occupied by German troops would be evacuated as soon as the Russian armies were demobilized. The Central Powers also enunciated a series of proposals dealing with commercial relations which placed Russia practically under the domination of Germany.

Through Count Czernin the Central Powers took the opportunity to state the terms of a general peace upon which the Entente Allies might take part in the conference. A time limit of ten days was set for the Allies to join in the negotiations, and, when they refused to take any notice of the offer, the Central Powers withdrew their proposals for a general peace as "null and void." The conference thus from start to finish was able to deal only with the international situation in Eastern Europe.

The fundamental irreconcilability of the imperialist aims of the Central Powers and the radical Socialist principles on which Russian policy was now based was at once revealed. The counter-proposals which involved the removal of extensive territories and large populations outside the range of revolutionary progress were entirely unacceptable to the Russians and were officially rejected in a resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, which was published on Jan. 2. The resolution declared that the Governments of the Central Powers had been forced by internal pressure to accept the policy of no annexations and no indemnities, but they were in reality trying to carry out their old policy of evasions, and that nothing short of a complete evacuation of Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic Provinces was possible if a democratic peace was to be concluded. The German Government refused to make any concessions, while the Russian attitude was summed up in Trotzky's remark, "We did not overthrow the Czar to bow to German imperialism."

When the conference was resumed on Jan. 10, Trotzky was present with the

Russian delegates. There were also representatives from Ukrainia, who, as we have seen, eventually made a separate peace. The first armistice being due to expire on Jan. 12, it was agreed to extend it to Feb. 12. The negotiations between Russia and the Central Powers again proved fruitless, and on Jan. 14 it was reported that they had broken down on the question of the Germans evacuating the Russian provinces. The conference then adjourned to Jan. 29.

On Jan. 23 the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets met to act on the report of the delegates at Brest-Litovsk, but it was not until the evening of Jan. 27 that Trotzky explained the situation. In a memorable speech he declared that "bourgeois Governments can sign any kind of peace, but the Government of the Soviets cannot" and that it was to the interest of all other Governments that a non-democratic peace should be concluded. "Either we shall be destroyed," he added, "or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the imperialistic war and shall never return to it." The congress finally agreed to reject the German terms.

The third session of the conference at Brest-Litovsk began on Jan. 29. The attention of the delegates was taken up by discussions of the standing of the Ukrainian and Finnish representatives. The Russian delegates contended that the Soviet Government had displaced the Governments in Ukrainia and Finland, but the delegates from these countries held that they had already been recognized and they therefore refused to retire.

The proceedings dragged on until Feb. 9, when each side summed up its arguments and the Ukrainian delegates signed the separate peace that made it useless for Russia to persist in the attempt to secure a peace based upon their formula. The following day Trotzky, on behalf of the Russian delegation, announced that they still rejected the German terms, but they regarded the war between Russia and the Central Powers as ended without a treaty. Trotzky added that the complete demobilization of all the Russian armies confronting those of the Central Powers had been ordered. The German Foreign Minister replied that military operations had been suspended temporarily by the armistice, and on its expiration a state of war would again ensue if there were no peace treaty. Trotzky refused to prolong the negotiations, declaring finally that Russia was withdrawing from the war not only in appearance but in reality. With that the conference ended. Four days later the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets voted its indorsement of Trotzky's course of action.

Germany immediately resolved to resume military operations against Russia on the expiration of the armistice at noon on Feb. 18. Two hours later Germans crossed the Dvina bridge and entered Dvinsk, while all along the line from the Baltic coast to Volhynia in the south invading troops advanced eastward. The immediate objective in the north was the occupation of Esthonia and Livonia. The class struggle which had been the undoing of the Russian Republic was utilized by the Germans in stating their grounds for carrying out the new invasion. The purpose of occupying Esthonia and Livonia was to rescue the populations of those provinces from Bolshevist rule, while the campaign in the south was undertaken in response to "an appeal of the Ukrainians" in which they implored "the peaceful and order-loving German people" to help them in their struggle against the Bolsheviki. In an army order Prince Leopold of Bavaria declared that the aim of the German advance was not annexation but the suppression of the infectious ideas of the Bolsheviki.

Meanwhile, the Bolshevist Cabinet, faced by the rapid German invasion, deliberated on the best course to take. After an all-night sitting, which concluded on the morning of Feb. 19, Lenine's proposal was adopted in favor of accepting the German terms unconditionally. His reasons were that Russia was entirely incapable of offering resistance and that peace was indispensable for the completion of the social revolution in Russia.

There was a delay of several days be-

fore the peace treaty was signed, and during this period the German invasion continued. Esthonia was occupied, and in the south the Germans came into touch with the Ukrainian troops. In the Caucasus the Turkish Army began an offensive on Feb. 23.

In these circumstances the Soviet Government called on the people to resist the invaders, and, if necessary, organize for guerrilla warfare to defend the republic against the bourgeoisie and imperialists of Germany.

The Central Powers, through von Kühlmann, announced on Feb. 23 a new peace offer imposing more drastic terms which must be accepted by Russia within forty-eight hours, signed within three days, and ratified within two weeks. At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets the German terms were accepted by 112 votes to 84, with 22 not voting, and a new peace delegation was appointed to go to Brest-Litovsk, where the treaty was signed on March 3.

By this act Russia was dispossessed of nearly one-fourth of her European territories, inhabited by one-third of her total population. In addition to the loss of Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, a portion of Transcaucasia, on the southeast of the Black Sea, was ceded.

Rumania, isolated from the western allies, was also being forced into a peace treaty with the Central Powers, but this and other developments belong to a later period than that now under review.

WAR AIMS

The beginning of December saw the opening of the "peace offensive" conducted by President Wilson. On Nov. 30 Lord Lansdowne, the imperialist statesman who had for several years conducted British foreign policy, caused a sensation by publishing a plea for a negotiated peace. Both by reason of the commanding position he occupied and the ideas he espoused, President Wilson's plan for peace easily overshadowed that of the British nobleman. On the assembling of Congress on Dec. 4, 1917, the President read a message in which, after restating America's aims, he recommended a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, which was duly adopted and approved three days later. As the President himself pointed out, the logic he used in support of this step seemed at first sight strange. But it was the inevitable conclusion of his argument, which took the line that America did not regard the German people with any enmity, but as the unfortunate victims of their rulers, from whose domination they were so far unable to free themselves. Austria-Hungary was in the same relation as the German people to the masters of Germany. Therefore, there must be war against Austria-Hungary, whose Government was not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes or feelings of its own peoples but as the instrument of another nation.

The Brest-Litovsk conference gave a new impetus to the working-class movements in the allied countries for a statement of war aims. The British Labor Party on Dec. 17 issued a memorandum on war aims, supporting the demand for a general democratic peace. The British Government was not yet disposed to adopt these representations on the ground that a statement of war aims at the juncture would prove fruitless and it was impossible to wage war or secure peace by mere words, as Premier Lloyd George expressed it in a speech on Dec. 14. The labor unions refused to pledge themselves to help the Government to increase the nation's man power until they knew definitely what they were fighting for. Lloyd George thereupon agreed to tell them. On Jan. 5, 1918, he addressed a conference representing the organized workers of Great Britain and outlined the terms on which the Government was prepared to make peace.

President Wilson immediately followed with a statement of America's terms in an address to Congress on Jan. 8, in which he defined a peace plan with much more precision.

Both these statements were agreed upon the necessity of abolishing secret diplomacy, disarmament, the impartial adjustment of Germany's colonial claims, the restoration of Belgium, justice for Alsace-Lorraine, self-determination of

the Italian and other peoples under Austrian rule, the restoration of Serbia, Armenian autonomy, Polish independence, and improved methods of international relationship. But on the question of the freedom of the seas Lloyd George was silent. But the most striking difference of attitude between President Wilson and the British Prime Minister was in regard to Russia. The President expressed sympathy for the aspirations of the Russian people and commended their representatives at Brest-Litovsk for their democratic stand against the Central Powers. Lloyd George, on the other hand, stated that the British Government could not be held accountable for decisions which the Soviet Government arrived at.

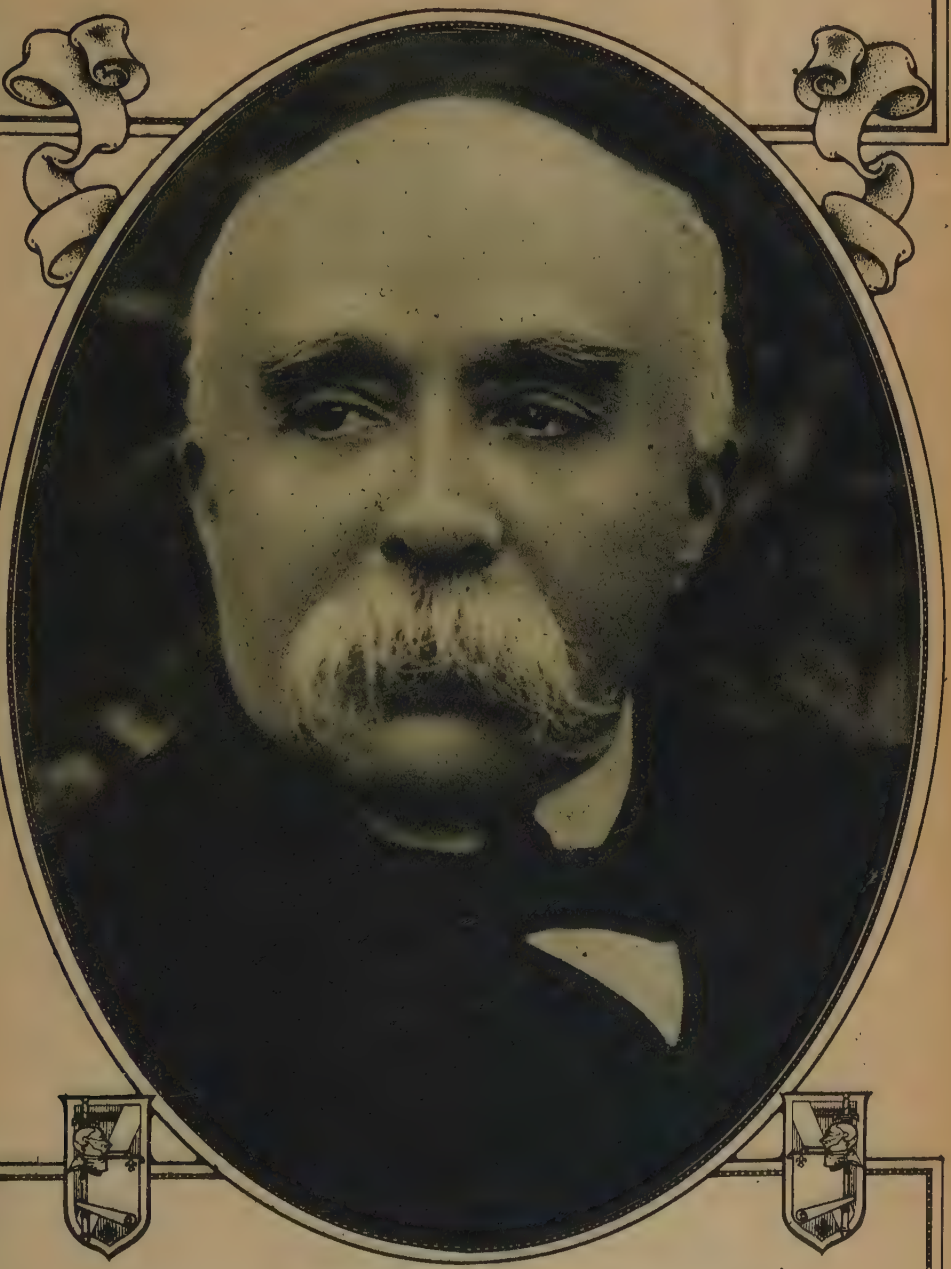
The German Imperial Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister both replied on Jan. 24. Czernin's speech seemed conciliatory and expressed willingness to negotiate on the basis laid down by President Wilson. Hertling admitted that the British and American proposals contained certain principles for a general world peace to which Germany could assent, but was skeptical as to their full value when stated in specific detail. The Allies, he said, did not desire to destroy Germany, but they were casting covetous eyes on parts of the lands belonging to the other Central Powers. Before Germany could begin peace negotiations the Allies would have to abandon their assumption of the attitude of the victor speaking to the vanquished. Hertling concluded by inviting the Allies to put forward revised peace proposals. The speeches of both Hertling and Czernin plainly indicated that they were ready to talk peace in the then existing posture of affairs, and a good deal of the language used, particularly by Hertling, appeared for the purpose of covering a desire to carry the "long-distance" peace negotiations to a point where they could be transferred to a conference table.

President Wilson, in an address to Congress on Feb. 11, followed with the boldest bid he had yet made for peace, laying down four fundamental principles, which, if accepted by the Central Empires, would be sufficient to justify the United States in beginning actual negotiations. These four propositions were justice to all peoples so that peace would be permanent, no bartering of peoples and provinces, all territorial adjustments for the benefit of the populations concerned, and free play for national aspirations. Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons next day, (Feb. 12,) expressed extreme skepticism of the sincerity of both the German and Austrian Premiers.

At this point the "peace offensive" broke down. The expectation that Hertling and Czernin would take the first opportunity to reply to President Wilson and accept his four principles was doomed to disappointment because Germany, having now disposed of Russia, was preparing, at the behest of the war party, foi another great offensive on the western front in the hope that this time a military decision might be obtained and terms of peace dictated by victorious Generals instead of being negotiated. In the weeks that followed, preparations were made with all the thoroughness for which the German Army was noted, and in the terrific onslaught that was launched against the allied armies in France and Flanders all thought of peace disappeared. The allied Governments, well aware of the impending blow, reached an agreement for a greater coordination of effort by placing the supreme direction of the campaign on the whole of the western front under an Interallied War Council sitting at Versailles.

The story of the German offensive and the united stand of the Allies and America will come in the review of the period which followed.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU



Once More French Premier at the Head of a Cabinet Pledged to "La Victoire Integrale."

MAJOR GEN. JOHN BIDDLE

Acting Chief of Staff of the United States Army During the Absence of General Bliss.

(Photo Clinedinst.)

PERIOD XL.

Russia's Desertion of the Allies—Lenine: The Man and His Ideas—One Aspect of Bolshevist Liberty—The Titanic Battles for Cambrai—Official History of the "Tanks"—Epic Battles in the Alps—Sinking a Battleship in Trieste Harbor—Clemenceau's Pledge to France—Lloyd George on War Aims—America's Purpose in the War—Declaring War on Austria-Hungary—Grappling with the Submarine Peril—The Shipping Problem—Alcohol and the War—Interallied Conference at Paris—The British Conquest of Palestine—Jerusalem in 4,000 Years of War—Germany's African Colonies All Lost—Treachery of the Greek King and Queen—Life in France in Wartime—How the Channel Ports Were Saved—Intense Activities Behind the Lines—Marvels of the New War Surgery—The Newest French Field Hospital—Pan-Germans Forced the War—Development of the Allied Blockade—Austrian Atrocities in Serbia—Torpedoing Belgian Relief Ships—Sinking Hospital Ships.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended Dec. 20, 1917]

Summary for the Month

THE month ended Dec. 20, 1917, the forty-first of the war, brought some unfavorable developments for the Allies and some encouragement to the Central Powers. The event fraught with most serious consequences was Russia's desertion of the Allies through the act of the de facto Bolshevist Government and the opening of pourparlers with the Germans for a separate peace. An armistice from the Baltic to the Black Sea, to continue four weeks, was agreed to on Dec. 17. The agreement contains a clause that "Neither is to make operative any transfer of units from the Baltic-Black Sea front until Jan. 14, 1918, excepting those begun before the agreement was signed," but the Germans and Austrians had previously begun the transfer of the most effective units in small detachments to the French and Italian fronts, hence they are at liberty to continue these transfers, which may mean prodigious accessions to their armies in the west. It was this feature that caused the chief concern among the Allies, aggravating their peril and augmenting greatly the forces they would confront; the result, in fact, did so hearten the Teutons that the offensive for the first time in over a year passed to them.

The chief military event was the initial success of the British at Cambrai, where they penetrated the Hindenburg line on a wide front to a depth of nearly six miles, but the Germans in their counter-attacks robbed this triumph of part of its fruits, and at the end of the month in that sector they seemed to be stronger, more alert and defiant than before. In the Champagne the French made some substantial gains, but with no effect on the general situation.

In Italy the Teutons did not succeed in breaking the Piave line, and Venice remains as yet unharmed, but they made some gains on the Italian left, and the general situation on that front, notwithstanding the arrival of British and French aid, was not entirely reassuring.

The event which gave most sentimental satisfaction to the Allies during the month was the taking of Jerusalem, and it is believed that this will also have an important military bearing on the eventual situation in Asia Minor, and may hasten the Turks' desertion of their allies. In German East Africa the Allies crushed and scattered the last armed resistance, thus completing the conquest of all Germany's oversea possessions. The United States declared war against Austria-Hungary on Dec. 7, as narrated in detail elsewhere; this step gave much encouragement to the Allies, especially to Italy.

Politically the month was more encouraging to the Entente Allies. President Wilson's message and its reception all [illegible] the world gave great satisfaction to America and deepened the determination of this country to bring peace through victory. The Allies formed a compact, effective, and harmonious working alliance in military, naval, financial, and economic matters. The British, French, and Italian Governments were greatly strengthened in popular support by their achievements and utterances. The triumph of the Unionists in Canada in the general elections gave the final and gratifying seal to that Dominion's approval of the conduct and support of the war.

In Germany some preliminary steps were taken toward Parliamentary reform in Prussia, but its progress will be contested by the Junkers. The new Chancellor met with a favorable reception and the political atmosphere seemed clearer and quieter. In Austria political unrest continued, with insistent peace demands from the opposition.

War preparations continued in the United States with unabated vigor. The preliminaries for a new call for 500,000 men began on Dec. 15. It was understood that several hundred thousand

Americans were in France by Dec. 20, and that thousands more were going over every week. Everything in munition making, shipbuilding, naval construction, supplies, &c., was speeded up to the highest tension, and it was believed that by April or June America would have an army in France which would more than compensate the loss of the Russian armies in the east and enable the Allies to deliver a vital and perhaps crushing blow.

* * *

Lord Lansdowne and the War Aims of the Entente

A FRESH tumult of agitation over the war aims of the belligerents was precipitated in December, 1917, by a declaration issued in London on Nov. 30 by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had been Foreign Minister in the Salisbury and Balfour Cabinets, served without portfolio in the Asquith Coalition Ministry, and had been Viceroy of India and Governor General of Canada. The Marquis urged upon the Allies a restatement of their war aims in an attempt to bring about peace before "the prolongation of the war leads to the ruin of the civilized world." He intimated that the Allies should forego previously expressed territorial claims, continuing:

> Some of our original desiderata have probably become unattainable; others would probably now be given a less prominent place than when they were first put forward; others again, notably the reparation due to Belgium, remain and must always remain in the front rank; but when it comes to a wholesale rearrangement of the map of Southeastern Europe we may well ask for a suspension of judgment and for the elucidation which a frank exchange of views between the allied powers can alone afford; for all these questions concern our allies as well as ourselves; and if we are to have an allied council for the purpose of adapting our strategy in the field to the ever-shifting developments of the war it is fair to assume that in the matter of peace terms also the Allies will make it their business to examine and, if necessary, to revise territorial requirements.

He tabulated his suggestions as follows:

> An immense stimulus would probably be given to the peace party in Germany if it were understood:
>
> (1) That we do not desire the annihilation of Germany as a great power.
>
> (2) That we do not seek to impose upon her people any form of government other than that of their own choice.
>
> (3) That, except as a legitimate war measure, we have no desire to deny to Germany her place among the great commercial communities of the world.
>
> (4) That we are prepared, when the war is over, to examine, in concert with other powers, a group of international problems, some of them of recent origin, which are connected with the question of the freedom of the seas.
>
> (5) That we are prepared to enter into an international pact, under which ample opportunities would be afforded for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Lord Lansdowne's letter produced a violent discussion in England, but with few exceptions the influential newspapers and publicists condemned his suggestions and criticised the action as untimely and as likely to create the impression of divided counsels in influential quarters.

Lord Robert Cecil of the Lloyd George Ministry stated that the Marquis "spoke only for himself" and that he "does not repesent our [the Government's] views." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, A. Bonar Law, definitely dissented from the letter, disagreed "absolutely with its tone," and regarded its publication "as a national misfortune." The leading Unionists, with which party Lord Lansdowne had been affiliated, repudiated his action by almost unanimous vote.

* * *

President Wilson's Restatement of War Aims

ALTHOUGH Lord Lansdowne's proposal received no expressed indorsement in controlling circles of allied thought, the message of President Wilson to Congress on Dec. 4 was construed as a definite restatement of the position of the Allies that there could be no peace without victory. Former Premier Asquith, who was believed to be sympathetic with the Lansdowne plan, in an address at Birmingham on Dec. 11 strongly indorsed President Wilson's position; he asserted that he recognized his own responsibility for Great Britain's entrance into the war, and declared: "If I had to live that time over again I

should make the same decision." He added these words:

> The first and most dominating misconception of our aims is that the Allies' ulterior object is not merely to vanquish but to humiliate and annihilate the German people. Neither here nor in America has such a purpose been even suggested. I repeat my summary of our aims made in November, 1914—not to sheathe the sword until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed. What the world is concerned in is not a people, but a system.
>
> Germany must learn that the enthronement of force is bad business. We do not desire to quarrel perpetually with the German Nation, but an enduring pact can only rest upon authentic proof that the German people are as ready as ourselves to enthrone common and equal right as the controlling authority in the world.

Premier Lloyd George discussed the matter in an address delivered Dec. 14, which appears elsewhere in this issue.

Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, speaking as a member of the Cabinet on Dec. 11, said:

> People who say, "Restate your war aims," really mean to make peace with the victorious Huns. President Wilson's statement of war aims is good enough for me. We mean to win the war, however long it may take. If Russia has fallen out of the ranks the United States has fallen in and is coming to our aid. The longer Great Britain and America are fighting side by side the closer they will be drawn together. That is a tremendous fact, and it will make amends for what we are now suffering.

The views of President Wilson were strongly indorsed by the leading spokesmen in official life of all the allied countries. In Italy there were enthusiastic demonstrations before the American Embassy in Rome and before the American Consulates in other Italian cities over the President's recommendation that war be declared against Austria; the Italian Premier sent the President a cable couched in terms of warmest congratulation.

* * *

Catastrophe at Halifax

AN appalling catastrophe occurred at Halifax, N. S., on Dec. 6, when the French Line steamship Mont Blanc, laden with high-explosive munitions, collided with the Belgian relief ship Imo. The munition ship, bound in from New York, met the Imo, westward bound, in the narrows leading into the harbor, and collided through a misunderstanding of signals. The Mont Blanc, which carried benzine tanks forward, burst into flames, and was abandoned by the crew when it was seen that the fire was beyond control. A few minutes later two thousand tons of the most powerful explosives were detonated, producing a monstrous concussion, which practically destroyed the older part of Halifax, known as Richmond, did great damage to Dartmouth, across the bay, produced serious damage throughout Halifax, and caused great loss of property within a radius of fifty miles, besides causing the instant death of fully 1,500 men, women, and children, injuring nearly 4,500, and producing destitution among 25,000. The material damage was estimated at $20,000,000. The disaster was followed by several severe snowstorms and unusually bitter cold; relief parties were organized throughout the United States and Canada, and supplies were quickly dispatched to the sufferers. The Admiralty instituted an inquiry.

* * *

A German Peace Move

THE fact that Germany made a new peace move in September, 1917, was first revealed through the publication of a secret diplomatic document by the Bolsheviki at Petrograd, in the form of a telegram from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, dated Oct. 6, 1917. The telegram said the Chargé had received information from Madrid that a highly placed personage in Berlin had expressed to the Spanish Ambassador to Germany a desire to enter into peace negotiations. This information was communicated to the allied Governments, and Great Britain replied that it would receive any communication from Germany respecting peace, and would consider the measure in conjunction with its allies. Foreign Secretary Balfour in the House of Commons Dec. 11 confirmed this by stating that a communication had been received by Great Britain from Germany last September, through a neutral diplomatic channel, to the effect that Germany would be glad to get in commu-

nication with Great Britain in regard to peace. The British Government answered in the terms stated above. Germany had returned no reply, Mr. Balfour said. He added that Great Britain had informed France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States of the German suggestion.

The German Government on Dec. 15 issued a reply denying Mr. Balfour's statement that the initiative in this peace move had come from Germany. It told of having itself received such a communication from Great Britain through a neutral in September, "couched in such form that, according to international usages, it might be supposed with certainty that the neutral inquiry was made with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government." Germany further declared: "The course of subsequent "events forced the conviction that noth- "ing was being done by our opponents to "facilitate a direct reply to the inquiry. "* * * The first news that Great Brit- "ain was ready to receive any communi- "cation from the German Government "was Mr. Balfour's statement to the "House of Commons." Mr. Balfour stated that the German claim as quoted was a "pure invention."

* * *

The Halifax and Other Disasters

THE explosion of the munition ship Mont Blanc, which wrought such widespread devastation at Halifax, with a death toll of 1,500 and the destruction of a large section of the Nova Scotia seaport, recalls other disasters within recent years on this side of the Atlantic. Most tragic of these was the eruption of Mont Pelée at Martinique, May 8, 1902, causing a loss of over 30,000 lives. Another was the flood at Johnstown, Penn., on May 31, 1889, caused by the bursting of a dam, through which a deluge, "treetop high," plunged down a narrow valley, causing a loss of life estimated at 5,000, with damage amounting to $8,000,000. There were disastrous floods in the Mississippi Valley in the years 1874, 1882, and 1890, the last inundating much of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, though comparatively few lives were lost. Another great disaster in the same month, March, 1890, was the Louisville tornado, which cut a clean swath through the city, working devastation similar to that at Halifax, though not more than 100 persons were killed.

Far more appalling was the loss of life in other lands. The eruption of Mount Etna in 1769 gathered a toll of 77,000 dead. The eruption of Skaptar Jokul in Iceland in 1783 destroyed a fourth of the population of Iceland. The Lisbon earthquake on Nov. 1, 1755, literally engulfed many thousands, when a great marble-paved wharf, densely crowded, disappeared in a yawning chasm, which was immediately covered by the sea. The Krakatoa eruption of Aug. 25, 1883, is supposed to have caused the loss of over 60,000 lives. The Messina earthquake in Calabria, Italy, in 1908 is credited with a death roll of 80,000.

The explosion of the Mont Blanc at Halifax was caused by the ignition of a cargo of between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of "TNT"—trinitro-toluene. The force of such modern high explosives as nitroglycerine, (dynamite,) guncotton, picric acid, and TNT, as compared with the old-fashioned gunpowder, may be realized when it is understood that, while the explosion of a large charge of gunpowder produces a pressure of forty-two tons to the square inch, the explosion of these modern high explosives produces a pressure of not less than 200 tons to the square inch. These high explosives are true chemical compounds, while gunpowder is simply a mechanical mixture of sulphur, nitre, and powdered charcoal, not a chemical compound.

* * *

The Temple at Jerusalem

NOW that the armies of Great Britain have triumphantly entered Jerusalem, and that Great Britain is pledged to the restoration of Palestine as a nation, it is suggested that this decisive moment in history be celebrated by rebuilding the great temple, which was for centuries the crowning glory of the Holy City, and the heart of Palestine's national life. It is fairly certain that the temple built by Herod the Great was, so far as possible, an exact replica of the Temple of Zerub-

babel, built about the year 500 before our era, in accordance with the decree of Cyrus, as related in the Book of Ezra; while this temple was built in accordance with the plan of Solomon's Temple, as it was remembered by the old men, who had seen it in its glory before the Babylonian captivity and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.

It is true that at that time Solomon's Temple had lost something of its glory, much of the interior gold work, which gave it such a signal splendor, having been carried off as spoils of war by the Egyptian Pharaoh, Shishak; the gold being replaced by bronze under Solomon's son, Rehoboam. But there is good reason to believe that the Temple of Herod substantially reproduced Solomon's Temple; and of that third reconstruction of the temple we have a minute and accurate description by Flavius Josephus, who gives all the measurements in cubits, which it would be a simple matter to reduce to feet, a cubit being a foot and a half.

There remains the question of the site. It seems fairly certain that the site of Solomon's Temple is now occupied by the beautiful building called, somewhat incorrectly, the Mosque of Omar, since Omar did not build it, a better name being the Dome of the Rock. This building is of high antiquity and is the finest example of the best period of early Moslem art; it would seem that, thus consecrated by time, it should remain, to preach its sermon of reverence and beauty. But the "temple inclosure" is of enormous extent, its empty spaces to the south of the Dome of the Rock being very much larger than that required to construct the great temple. Nor would there be any disharmony between the two buildings, both monuments of historic faiths.

* * *

THE declaration of war against Austria by the United States was followed on Dec. 12 by the unanimous passage of a resolution by the Cuban House of Representatives declaring a state of war to exist between Austria-Hungary and the Republic of Cuba. Ecuador, which has had strained relations with Germany since October last, when Peru dismissed Dr. Perl, the German Minister at Lima, formally severed diplomatic relations with Germany on Dec. 8.

* * *

Austrian and German Prisoners in Russia

APPREHENSIONS have been expressed that a separate peace, made between the Petrograd Bolsheviki and the Kaiser's army, would still further strengthen the Teuton arms by releasing the immense number of prisoners of war captured by the Russian imperial armies, and now in the interior of Russia and Siberia. But certain considerations would appear to lessen the danger of this. First, there are great difficulties of transportation, especially where Siberia is concerned, and General Kaledine's forces seem likely soon to get astride the Siberian railroad. But there is another and stronger reason. The enormous majority of these war prisoners of Russia, who probably number about two millions—no exact figures are available, especially for the period of the Korniloff drive last July—are not Germans, but Austrians, and not Teutonic Austrians, but precisely of those Slavonic nationalities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire who most heartily hate the Hapsburg despotism. Large numbers of these, predominantly Czechs (Bohemians) and Slovaks, deliberately expressed that age-long hatred by deserting and going over in whole battalions and regiments to Russia, and very many enlisted in the Russian Army. It is not likely that these men will willingly go back to be shot for treason by Austria—nor is it likely that there is any power in Russia which would or could compel them to. But, of the remainder, predominantly Slavs, who hate both Austria and Hungary, great numbers, dispersed throughout rural Russia and Siberia, and engaged in farm work—taking the places of Russian men at the front—have not only found Russia so attractive as to induce them to settle down, but have married daughters of their captors, and now speak passable Russian, which is closely allied to their mother tongues, at least as closely as Italian is to Spanish.

But even those who have not thus given hostages to fortune would be loath to go, for the very practical reason that rural Russia has abundance of food, wheat, oats and rye, much of it of their own raising.

* * *

The Vatican and the Russian Question

EVER since the division between the Eastern Church, with its eccelsiastical metropolis at Constantinople, or New Rome, and the Western Church, with its centre in the Old Rome, about the year 1050, there has been the keenest rivalry, often flaring up into open animosity, along the boundary line between the two ecclesiasticl empires. It can hardly be questioned that Roman propaganda, under the auspices of the House of Hapsburg, in the newly annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had belonged to the Eastern Church, aroused bitter antagonism among the Bosnian Serbs, having a share in precipitating the plot against the Archduke Ferdinand, who was believed to be an ardent proselyter, and whose assassination by Bosnians at Bosnia-Serai, or Serajevo, was made the pretext of the ultimatum to Serbia which led to the world war.

Another field of keen rivalry between the Eastern and Western Churches has long been the region of the Ukraine and Bukowina, once attached to the kingdom of Poland. After Luther's day, his views made some headway in Poland and Lithuania. King Sigismund invited the Jesuits to preach against Lutheranism. The Jesuits soon extended their campaign to include the Eastern Orthodox Church, and a compromise was entered into between the See of Rome and certain Russian Bishops, with the Metropolitan Archbishop of Kief at their head, which was known as "the Union of the Two Churches," on these terms: the Russian Orthodox Church was to recognize the supremacy of Rome—the bone of contention since 1050—but was to retain the ancient Slavonic liturgy and its own traditions. Thus was founded the "Union" in 1595, whose adherents, especially numerous in Galicia and Bukowina, are today known as "Uniates."

But this campaign of proselytism aroused a fierce reaction in the Russian Orthodox Church, which became far more consciously national than before, and which, since the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, was the natural political head of the whole Eastern Catholic Church, Moscow being even called "the Third Rome," as being the strongest See in succession to Constantinople. This underlying ecclesiastical conflict plays a large part in the whole region, which includes Poland, Galicia, Bukowina, the Ukraine, and the Balkan States, both Ferdinand of Rumania and Ferdinand of Bulgaria being Roman Catholic rulers of Eastern Orthodox States.

* * *

German Refugees in Mozambique

THERE is an element of romance and possible tragedy in the fate which may lie before the remnants of the German East African force who, finally defeated by the mixed British and Belgian army, made their escape across the boundary line of Portuguese East Africa, or Mozambique, running from Cape Delgado to Lake Nyasa. The territory which they have entered is an enormous one, even larger than German East Africa—larger, in fact, than France and Germany taken together; very much of it is dense forest, with a broad malarial plain running down the seacoast. In this vast forest it may be as difficult to find them as it is to find the proverbial needle in a haystack; far more difficult than it would be to locate a small party in a more open northern forest of 200,000 or 300,000 miles in extent, because the African jungle is, much of it, an impenetrable tangle. So long as they are well supplied with rifle cartridges, there is not the slightest reason why they should not subsist on the country indefinitely, as, for example, African explorers like H. M. Stanley or Sir Samuel Baker did for many months at a time.

Russia's Desertion of the Allies

Arrangement of an Armistice and Preliminaries of a Separate Peace Forced by the Lenine-Trotzky Régime

RUSSIA in the month ended Dec. 18, 1917, passed through the most confused period since the revolution. Civil and military affairs were in a state of chaos; civil war broke out; Finland, Bessarabia, Siberia Ukrainia, Lithuania, the Caucasus, and other districts through local organizations declared their complete independence of the Central Government. The Bolsheviki, who were in control at Petrograd and at Moscow, and who apparently had the support of an overwhelming proportion of the army, the navy, and the laboring classes under the radical leadership of Nicholai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Minister of Foreign Affairs, prevented the Moderate Delegates to the Constituent Assembly from holding any sessions at Petrograd. At the same time they opened negotiations with the Central Powers for an armistice along the entire front from the Baltic to Asia Minor, and actually signed an armistice, which went into affect on Dec. 17 to continue four weeks. Meanwhile they began negotiations for a treaty of peace between Germany and Russia.

The history of these momentous occurrences, crowded into the narrow space of four weeks, is so conflicting, involved, and fragmentary, that no full narrative can yet be given; in fact, there are no official data, the course of events having been controlled by the utterances and orders of Lenine and Trotzky, and these at times, as they were transmitted from Petrograd by the ordinary news channels, were contradictory. The official communications from the American Embassy, if any, were not made public, though occasionally meagre reports of the course of events in Russia were given out at Washington.

Move for Separate Peace

The first formal notice of the proposed peace movement by the Bolsheviki was issued on Nov. 20, when the Lenine-Trotzky Government made this announcement:

> By order of the All-Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress, the Council of "The People's Commissaries" had assumed power, with obligation to offer all the peoples and their respective Governments an immediate armistice on all fronts, with the purpose of opening pourparlers immediately for the conclusion of a "democratic peace."
>
> When the power of the council is firmly established throughout the country, the council will, without delay, make a formal offer of an armistice to all the belligerents, enemy and ally. A draft message to this effect has been sent to all the Peoples' Commissaries for foreign affairs and to all the plenipotentiaries and representatives of allied nations in Petrograd.
>
> The council also has sent orders to "the citizen Commander in Chief" that, after receiving the present message, he shall approach the commanding authorities of the enemy armies with an offer of a cessation of all hostile activities for the purpose of opening peace pourparlers, and that he shall, first, keep the council constantly informed by direct wire of pourparlers with the enemy armies, and, second, that he shall sign the preliminary act only after approval by the Commissaries Council.
>
> The communiqué was signed by Oulianoff-Lenine, President of the Commissaries Council; Trotzky, Commissary of Foreign Affairs; Krylenko, Commissary of War; Beutch-Bruevitch, Chairman of the Council, and Gorbounoff, Secretary.

General Dukhonin, the Commander in Chief, on the 20th was ordered by "the People's Commissaries of War," Lenine and Krylenko, to offer an armistice to "all nations, allied and hostile." To this request the General made no reply, and on Nov. 21 he was deposed from his functions and Ensign Krylenko was appointed the new Commander in Chief. The order of the same day added that the soldiers must observe the strongest revolutionary and military discipline. Regiments on frontal positions were to elect immediately plenipotentiaries to begin formal peace pourparlers, and on the

progress of these they must inform the commissaries by all possible means. Only the Council of Commissaries had the right to sign a final agreement for an armistice.

General Dukhonin was subsequently murdered by being thrown from a train after the Bolsheviki seized the General Headquarters.

Trotzky's Pronouncement

On Nov. 25 Foreign Minister Trotzky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of neutral powers in Petrograd informing them of the steps taken looking to an armistice, and adding:

> The consummation of an immediate peace is demanded in all countries, both belligerent and neutral. The Russian Government counts on the firm support of workmen in all countries in the struggle for peace.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates the same day Premier Lenine explained that the armistice order was issued in the desire to combat the counter-revolutionary tactics of General Dukhonin and other high officers, making it impossible for them to prevent the opening of negotiations.

This, he said, was in keeping with the policy of the democratic Government, that the masses themselves act, since the bureaucrats, civil and military, were distrusted. He pointed out that the soldiers were not empowered to sign a treaty for an armistice, but only to negotiate it.

Lenine declared that Russia did not contemplate a separate peace with Germany; that the belief that an armistice on the Russian front would make it possible for Germany to throw a large force on the French front was groundless, as the Russian Government, before signing a treaty for an armistice, would communicate with the Allies and make certain proposals to "the Imperialistic Governments of France and England, rejection of which would place them in open opposition to the wishes of their own peoples."

A period of turmoil followed throughout Russia, with conflicting reports coming from all portions of the country, announcing uprisings and predicting the speedy overthrow of the Bolsheviki.

Constitutent Assembly Election

In the meantime elections for the Constituent Assembly were held. The result in Petrograd was announced by one agency as 272,000 votes for the Bolsheviki, 211,000 for the Constitutional Democrats, and 116,000 for the Social Revolutionaries. Another report stated that the Bolsheviki headed the poll at Petrograd with 400,000, the Cadets received 250,000, the Social Revolutionaries 150,000, with the rest scattered among sixteen parties, showing that the Bolsheviki failed to obtain a majority. The latter obtained 6 seats, the Cadets 4, and the Social Revolutionaries 2. The results from other sections were not reliably reported, but the figures indicated that the Bolsheviki polled from 40 to 45 per cent. of the total vote, coming chiefly from the laboring classes and army.

Notwithstanding the prevailing chaos and opposition, the Lenine-Trotzky Government persisted in negotiations for an armistice, and representatives were sent through the lines by Ensign Krylenko on Dec. 1 to begin the parleys. It was arranged that the first conference be held at the German Headquarters in Brest-Litovsk.

The First Peace Parley

The official report of the first parley was as follows:

> We crossed the line, preceded by a trumpeter carrying a white flag. Three hundred yards from the German entanglements we were met by German officers. At 5 o'clock, our eyes blindfolded, we were conducted to a battalion staff of the German Army, where we handed over our written authorization from the National Commissaries to two officers of the German General Staff, who had been sent for the purpose.
>
> The negotiations were conducted in the French language. Our proposal to carry on negotiations for an armistice on all the fronts of belligerent countries, in order later to make peace, was immediately handed over to the staff of the division, whence it was sent by direct wire to the staff commander of the eastern front and to the chief commander of the German armies.
>
> At 6:20 o'clock we were taken in a motor car to the Minister's house on the road from Dvinsk to Ponevyezh, where we were received by Divisional General von Hoffmeister, who informed us that our pro-

posal had been handed to the highest commander, and that a reply probably would be received in twenty-four hours. But at 7:30 o'clock the first answer from the chief of the general command already had been received, announcing agreement to our proposals, and leaving the details of the next meeting to General von Hoffmeister and the Parliamentarians. After an exchange of opinion and further communication by wire from the chief of the general command, at midnight a written answer to our proposal was given to us by von Hoffmeister. In view of the fact that ours was written in Russian, the answer was given in German. The reply was:

"The chief of the German eastern front is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Russian chief command. The chief of the German eastern front is authorized by the German Commander in Chief to carry on negotiations for an armistice. The chief of the Russian armies is requested to appoint a commission with written authority to be sent to the headquarters of the commander of the German eastern front. On his side, the German commander likewise will name a commission with special authorization.

"The day and hour of the meeting are to be fixed by the Russian Commander in Chief. It is demanded that the German commander be warned in due time to prepare a special train for the purpose. Notice must be given at which part it is intended to cross the front. The commander of the German eastern front will place at the disposition of the Russian commission the necessary apparatus, so that it may keep in communication with its chief command.

(Signed) "VON HOFFMEISTER."

The Russian Parliamentarians decided to appoint as the place the junction of the Dvinsk-Vilna line, whence the Russian representatives will be conducted to the Brest-Litovsk headquarters of the German commander. The time appointed is midday of Nov. 19. (Russian calendar, or Dec. 2, new calendar.) At the same time we were informed that no firing would occur unless prompted, and that enemy fraternization would be stopped. We were blindfolded again and conducted to our lines.

The Russian peace delegates were Kameneff, Sokolnikoff, Bithenko, and Mstislasky—a peasant, a sailor, a soldier, and a workman. Kameneff, or Rosenfeld, is a well-known Bolshevist leader, slightly less extreme than Lenine. Captain Mstislavsky was formerly librarian to the General Staff. After the revolution he became a social revolutionary and proclaimed a doctrine, not of separate peace, but of a separate war of the revolutionary army against all capitalist countries.

Official Report of Conference

On Dec. 5 the official report of the conference as issued at Petrograd was as follows:

The conference opened in the presence of representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Field Marshal Holzendorf (Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf?) charged Prince Leopold of Bavaria with the negotiations, and he in his turn nominated his Chief of Staff, General Hoffmann. Other delegates received similar authority from their highest Commander in Chief. The enemy declaration was exclusively military.

Our delegates opened the conference with a declaration of our peace aims, in view of which an armistice was proposed. The enemy delegates replied that that was a question to be solved by politicians. They said they were soldiers, having powers only to negotiate conditions of an armistice, and could add nothing to the declaration of Foreign Ministers Czernin and von Kühlmann.

Our delegates, taking due note of this evasive declaration, proposed that they should immediately address all the countries involved in the war, including Germany and her allies, and all States not represented at the conference, with a proposal to take part in drawing up an armistice on all fronts.

The enemy delegates again replied evasively that they did not possess such powers. Our delegation then proposed that they ask their Government for such authority. This proposal was accepted, but no reply had been communicated to the Russian delegation up to 2 o'clock Dec. 5.

Our representatives submitted a project for an armistice on all fronts, elaborated by our military experts. The principal points of this project were: First, an interdiction against sending forces on our fronts to the fronts of our allies, and, second, the retirement of German detachments from the islands around Moon Sound.

The enemy delegation submitted a project for an armistice on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This proposal is now being examined by our military experts. Negotiations will be continued tomorrow morning.

The enemy delegation declared that our conditions for an armistice were unacceptable and expressed the opinion that such demands could be addressed only to a conquered country.

The Berlin Version

On Dec. 6 the Berlin Government issued a report of the negotiations differing somewhat from the Petrograd statement. It was as follows:

> Yesterday the authorized representatives of the chief army administrations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria concluded in writing with the authorized representatives of the Russian chief army administration a suspension of hostilities for ten days for the whole of the mutual fronts. The commencement is fixed for Friday noon. The ten days' period will be utilized for bringing to a conclusion negotiations for an armistice. For the purpose of reporting verbally regarding the present results, a portion of the members of the Russian deputation has returned home. The sittings of the commission continue.

The negotiations continued for several days; on Dec. 7 it was announced from Jassy, the temporary capital of Rumania, that the Rumanian troops had decided to associate themselves with the Russians in the proposed armistice. On the 7th it was announced from Petrograd that for the first time since the war not a shot was fired on the Russian front, from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

Note to the Allies

Foreign Secretary Trotzky on the 6th sent all the allied embassies and legations in Petrograd a note intimating that the armistice negotiations with the Central Powers had been suspended for a week, at the initiative of the Russian delegation, for the purpose of providing opportunity of informing the peoples and the Governments of the allied countries of the existence of such negotiations and their tendency.

The note added that the armistice would be signed only on condition that troops should not be transferred from one front to another and that German troops were cleared from the islands around Moon Sound. It generally indicated the points of the negotiations, and concluded:

> The period of delay thus given, even in the existing disturbed condition of international communication, is amply sufficient to afford the allied Governments opportunity to define their attitude toward the peace negotiations—that is, their willingness or refusal to participate in negotiations for an armistice and peace.
>
> In case of refusal, they must declare clearly and definitely before all mankind the aims for which the peoples of Europe may be called to shed their blood during the fourth year of the war.

So far as reported no official replies were made to this note.

It was on the day following that the Lenine-Trotzky Government issued a proclamation declaring that "Generals "Kaledine and Korniloff, assisted by "the Imperialists and Constitutional "Democrats, have raised a revolt and "declared war in the Don region against "the people and the revolution."

The proclamation added that the Constitutional Democrats and bourgeoisie were supplying the revolting Generals with scores of millions.

"The Workmen's and Soldiers' Dele- "gates have ordered the necessary move- "ments of troops against the counter- "revolution and issued decrees authoriz- "ing the local revolutionary garrisons to "attack the enemies of the people with- "out awaiting orders from the supreme "authorities and forbidding any attempts "at mediation."

This revolt, however, was not as serious as at first appeared, and after one or two slight skirmishes with the troops of Kaledine it was reported that the Bolsheviki were victorious and that General Korniloff had been wounded and Kaledine retired. All the news from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20 was conflicting, but the tone of the reports indicated that the Bolsheviki were strengthening their control all over Russia, except at Odessa and in certain Cossack districts.

The Constituent Assembly, on which the moderates had pinned their hopes, proved a fiasco. When the day came for its session, Dec. 11, less than fifty of the 600 delegates attended and Bolsheviki soldiers refused to allow them to hold a session at the Taurida Palace. It was reported that the moderates feared to come to Petrograd and that the radicals refused to have anything to do with the assembly.

During this excitement the negotiations for an armistice continued without interruption. On Dec. 16 an agreement

was reached and an armistice was signed between the Bolshevist Government and the Teutonic Allies to continue from Dec. 17 for four weeks—to Jan. 14, 1918.

Text of the Armistice

The text of the armistice agreement is as follows:

Between the representatives of the higher command of Russia on the one hand and of Bulgaria, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey on the other hand, for the purpose of achieving a lasting and honorable peace between both parties, the following armistice is concluded:

The armistice shall begin on Dec. 4 (Dec. 17) at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and continue until Jan. 1, (Jan. 14.) The contracting parties have the right to break the armistice by giving seven days' notice. Unless notice is given the armistice automatically continues.

The armistice embraces the land and aerial forces on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea and also the Russo-Turkish front in Asia Minor. During the armistice the parties concerned obligate themselves not to increase the number of troops on the above fronts or on the islands in Moon Sound, or to make a regrouping of forces.

Neither side is to make operative any transfers of units from the Baltic-Black Sea front until Jan. 1, (Jan. 14,) excepting those begun before the agreement was signed. They obligate themselves not to concentrate troops on parts of the Black Sea or Baltic Sea east of the fifteenth degree of longitude east of Greenwich.

The line of demarkation on the European front is the first line of defense. The space between will be neutral. The navigable rivers will be neutral, their navigation being forbidden except for necessary purposes of commercial transport or on sections where the positions are at a great distance. On the Russo-Turkish front the line of demarkation will be arranged by the mutual consent of the chief commanders.

Intercourse will be allowed from sunrise to sunset, no more than twenty-five persons participating at a time. The participants may exchange papers, magazines, unsealed mail, and also may carry on trade in the exchange of articles of prime necessity.

The question of release of troops freed from service who are beyond the line of demarkation will be solved during the peace negotiations. This applies also to Polish troops.

Naval Fronts—The armistice embraces all the Black Sea and Baltic Sea east of the meridian 15 degrees east of Greenwich, applying to all naval and aerial forces. In regard to extension of the armistice to the White Sea and the Arctice Russian coast a special agreement will be made. Attacks upon war and commercial vessels must cease in the above regions, and attacks in other seas must be avoided.

Exchange of Civil Prisoners

After fixing the lines of demarkation in the Black and Baltic Seas and limiting the movement of warships, the agreement stipulates that commercial navigation of these seas will be permitted under rules to be formulated by a commission.

Immediately after the signing of the armistice peace negotiations are to be begun. It is provided that measures shall be taken for the exchange of civil prisoners, invalids, women, and children under 14 years, and for the amelioration of the condition of war prisoners. The treaty concludes with these words:

With the purpose of facilitating the conduct of peace negotiations and the speedy healing of the wounds caused by the war, the contracting parties take measures for re-establishment of cultural and economic relations among the signatories. Within such limits as the armistice permits, postal commercial relations, the mailing of books and papers, will be permitted, the details to be worked out by a mixed commission, representing all the interested parties, at Petrograd.

Revolutionary Acts in Russia

Within the first month in which the Bolsheviki conducted the de facto Government of Russia numerous edicts of a radical revolutionary character were issued, but they were rendered nugatory through the refusal of public officials to execute their orders. The Russian embassies in all countries refused to recognize the Bolsheviki, and proclamations were issued dismissing the diplomats from service. No nation up to Dec. 20, except Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey had recognized the Government; on Dec. 18 Trotzky notified the foreign embassies at Petrograd that unless they viséd passports of Bolshevisit couriers, similar courtesies would be refused to themselves.

Among the most radical actions was a proclamation issued Nov. 26 by the Maximalist Commissioners proclaiming the abolition of class titles, distinctions, and

privileges. All persons henceforth are "citizens of the Russian Republic." The corporate property of nobles, merchants, and burgesses, according to the proclamation, must be handed over to the State.

On Dec. 17 it was announced that the Russian Church, which was one of the most powerful institutions under the old régime, had received attention at the hands of the Bolsheviki. They had directed the confiscation of all Church property, lands, money, gold, silver, and precious stones, and the abolition of religious instruction in the schools.

Strikes were in progress everywhere, not only by laborers, but by public functionaries and railway officials, who refused to work or to recognize the orders of the Bolsheviki. On Dec. 17 it was announced at Petrograd that the serious fuel situation in the city was complicated by strikes of employes in the Fuel Department, who refused to work under the Bolshevist Commissaries. A similar cause was responsible for a strike of the employes in the Petrograd City Hall, who quit work on the appearance of the new Bolshevist Mayor, who formerly was a day laborer.

On Dec. 16 a decree went into effect abolishing all military ranks, titles, and decorations. A correspondent cabled from Petrograd on Dec. 16 as follows regarding the effect of this decree:

> Henceforward officers will be elected by the men. The officers who are not re-elected to their duties become privates, with their pay correspondingly lowered. Privates prefer to elect officers from among themselves, and former officers are therefore almost always degraded. There were several cases on Dec. 15 of officers publicly assaulted by soldiers, who tore off their epaulettes and medals, using considerable violence and every insult contained in the luxuriant vocabulary of the Russian private.
>
> On the front, matters are even worse. With the active encouragement of German spies, the soldiers have introduced every possible means of degrading their officers. Colonels and their orderlies have been made to exchange functions. Officers of many years' service have been forced to clean out stables. An army whose soviets are unanimously opposed to the death penalty has no hesitation in its application to its own officers. The drastic reduction in pay is the last straw. Ranks have virtually ceased to count. An officer cannot desert, like a private. His country is still theoretically at war, and his fellow-soldiers would not hesitate to punish him and his family if he escaped.

Contents of Secret Treaties Revealed

LEON TROTZKY, the Bolshevist Foreign Secretary of Russia, made public shortly after assuming office the text of confidential communications that had passed between the Russian Foreign Office and foreign Governments in the earlier years of the war.

The first State document published dealt with the desire of Russia to acquire the Dardanelles, Constantinople, the west shore of the Bosporus, and certain defined areas in Asia Minor. It set forth the demand of France and England that Russia agree to the freedom of Constantinople for cargoes not from or to Russian ports, the retention of the hold of the Mussulman on places in Arabia under a separate Mussulman Government, and the inclusion of certain parts of Persia in the sphere of British influence.

This document indicated that Russia agreed on the whole, but proposed an amendment demanding a clearer definition in regard to the government of Mussulman territory and the freedom of pilgrimage. It defined the Russian sphere of influence, and indicated Russia's concern about the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and also set forth Italy's agreement provided her claims in the East were recognized.

Boundaries of Germany

The second document was a telegram from M. Izvolsky, Russian Ambassador to France, dated March 11, 1917, and stated that France recognizes Russia's freedom to define her western boundaries. This was followed by a telegram from Sergius Sazonoff, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, assuring M. Izvolsky

that the agreement with France and England in regard to the Constantinople strait need not be re-examined, and stating the willingness of Russia to give France and England the freedom of defining the western boundaries of Germany, in exchange for the freedom allowing Russia to define the eastern boundary of Germany, but insisting on the exclusion of the Polish question as a matter of international discussion, and instructing M. Izvolsky to counteract an attempt to place the future of Poland under control of the powers.

M. Sazonoff's telegram said that Russia must prevent Sweden from becoming unfriendly, and by all means must earn the friendship of Norway, and that all political efforts to influence Rumania already had been made. The telegram touched on the exclusion of Germany from the Chinese markets, but said this must be subject to an economical conference at which Japan should be represented.

Offers to Greece

On Dec. 1 a series of documents was published by the Bolshevist Government relating to successive concessions offered to Greece for the purpose of inducing her to assist Serbia. These are said to have included an offer of Southern Albania, excepting Avlona; an offer of territory in Asia Minor, and other rewards at the expense of Turkey. These all came to nothing for various reasons

One document, it is added, deals with a proposal to hand over Kavala to Bulgaria if the latter joined the Entente Allies. Another concerns Great Britain's offer of the Island of Cyprus to Greece, which lapsed owing to the refusal of Greece to help Serbia.

France and Alsace-Lorraine

One document declared that France claimed Alsace-Lorraine, the iron and coal districts of France, and the wooded regions on the left bank of the Rhine There were also to be separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon Germany, certain territories which were to be formed into free neutral States. These would be occupied by Russian troops until certain guarantees were fulfilled and peace was concluded.

One document refers to the reported conference of financiers in Switzerland last September, in which Great Britain denies having participated, concerning which it is suggested that the German delegates insisted on the cession of the Baltic Provinces and the independence of Finland.

Among the documents printed was a telegram from Sergius Sazonoff, former Foreign Minister, to the allied countries dealing with the efforts of Germany to make peace between Germany, Russia, and Japan through the German Embassy at Stockholm.

In reply to Germany, M. Sazonoff is quoted as having said that he advised the Japanese Ambassador that Russia was willing to listen to a peace proposal, provided the proposal was made to Russia, Great Britain, France, and Japan, in which event he would notify Italy, which then was not in the alliance.

Another telegram, sent by the Russian Ambassador at Rome Oct. 31, 1917, told of a desire of the Italians to have Russia make an attack on or a demonstration against the Austro-Germans to relieve the pressure on Italy.

Secret Treaty With Italy

The text of an alleged secret agreement between France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy was given out at Petrograd on Nov. 28. The agreement sanctions the annexation by Italy of certain territory in return for entering the Entente Alliance and engages to brand as inadmissible the intervention of Pope Benedict with a view of stopping the war.

The document is said to have been signed in London, April 26, 1915, by Sir Edward [now Viscount] Grey, former Foreign Secretary; Paul Cambon, French Ambassador to Great Britain, and Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador to Great Britain. It is said to contain a memorandum from the Italian Ambassador at London to the Foreign Office and the allied Ambassadors.

According to the Bolshevist revelations, Italy was to have the assistance of the French and British naval forces un-

til the Austrian Navy was destroyed. After peace Italy was to receive the Trentino, Southern Tyrol to the Brenner Pass, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia, with additional geographical boundaries outlined in great detail.

Italy was to govern the foreign relationships of Albania in the event of that country obtaining an autonomous Government; but Italy was not to oppose objections if it were decided to apportion parts of Albania to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece.

The agreement, it is alleged, supported Italy's contention in the principle of the balance of naval power in the Mediterranean, subject to future definition. Italy was to have rights in Lybia enjoyed by the Sultan on the basis of the Lausanne treaty. Italy agreed to the proposed independent standing of Mussulman sacred places in Arabia.

In the event of France and Great Britain increasing their holdings in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy was to have the right to increase hers. Great Britain was to facilitate Italy's borrowing $250,000,000 in the British money market.

France, Great Britain, and Russia, according to the report, were to support Italy in preventing Papal influence from ending the war and in regulating questions concerning it. Italy's co-operation was to begin one month after the ratification of the agreement.

Lenine: The Man and His Ideas

By a Russian Social Worker

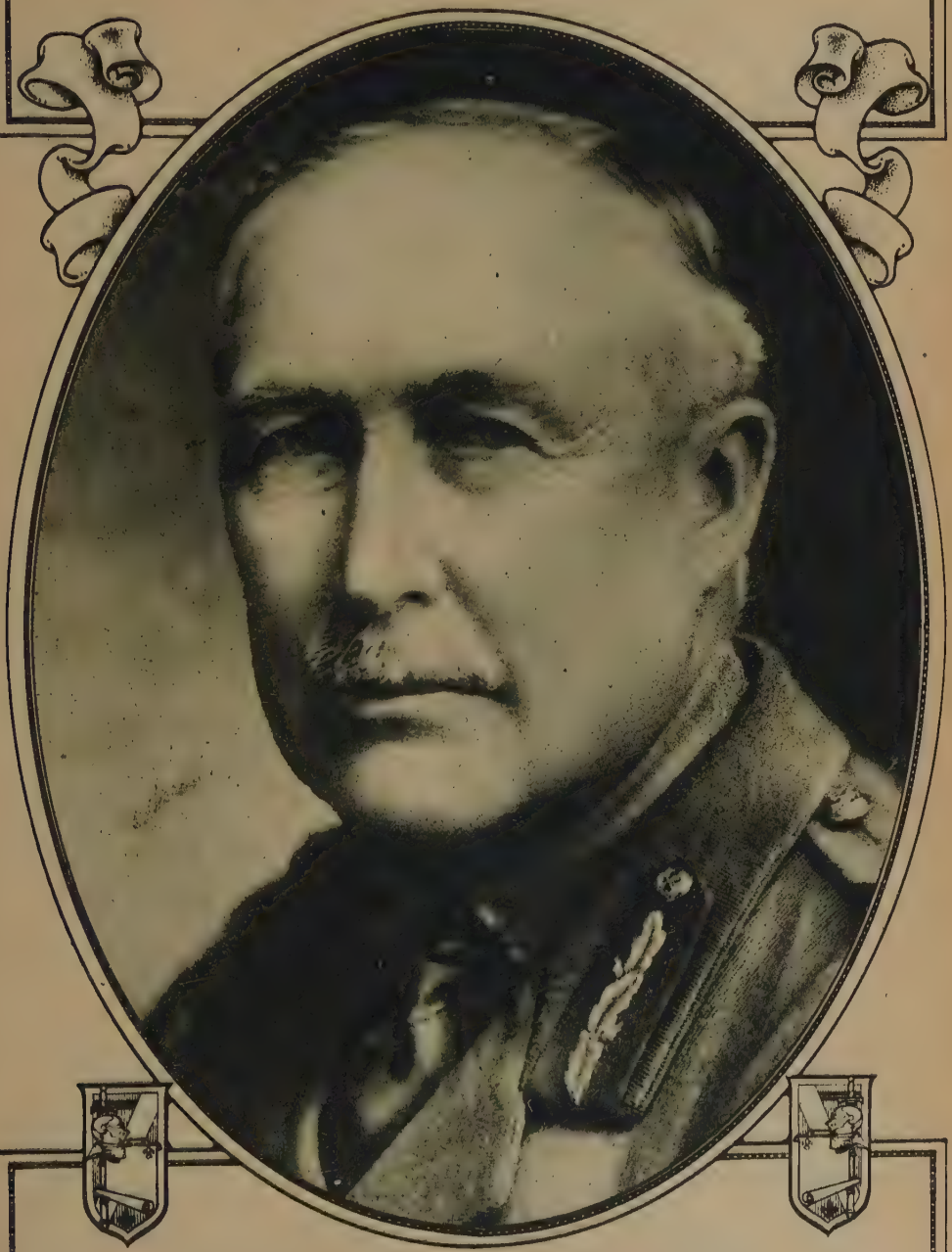
MORE than one clue to the meaning of the Bolshevist upheaval in Russia is to be found in the life of Lenine, its leading spirit. Until a few weeks ago it did not matter very much who Lenine was, or what his ideas were, but when soldiers, workmen, and peasants have suddenly translated him to the highest office in the land, it becomes important that the facts of his career should be known.

The question whether or not Lenine is a tool of the German Government may be left unanswered for the present. He undoubtedly received facilities from the German Government to return to Russia from Switzerland immediately after the revolution in March, but what motive prompted the German authorities to pick an archenemy of all autocracies for such a privilege is something of a mystery. Certainly, Lenine's previous career does not suggest him as very pliable material for German intrigue.

Nikolai Lenine was born at Simbirsk, in Central Russia, in the year 1870, and he is thus now 47 years of age. His real name is Vladimir Ilitch Ulyanov, and Lenine is only one of the several aliases which he, like other revolutionists, has found it necessary to adopt at various times. A son of a Government official employed in the Department of Public Instruction, Lenine received his preliminary education in his home town. In his early twenties he went to Petrograd to continue his studies in the political science department of the Petrograd University. Here he at once became affiliated with a group of radical students who took an active interest in the political and social problems of the day.

His brother, A. Ulyanov, also a student of the same university, was already a member of the Populist Party (Narodniki) which secretly advocated violence against the existing authorities as one of the means of bringing about the abolition of autocracy. In 1887 this brother was arrested and charged with participation in a "terrorist" plot to wreck the imperial train carrying Alexander III. After a secret trial and without many preliminaries he was condemned to death and was hanged shortly thereafter. Lenine was also arrested at the time, but was released, as there was no evidence found against him. This arrest, however, caused his expulsion from the university.

GENERAL SIR HENRY WILSON



The British Member of the Interallied General War Staff.
(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL SIR JULIAN BYNG

Commander of the British Army in the New Offensive Against the Germans at Cambrai.

(Photo Western Newspaper Union.)

Work as a Propagandist

At this time the Russian Social-Democratic movement was still in its infancy. Underground propaganda and organizing were carried on among factory employes by the enlightened and idealistic intelligentsia pledged to the "cause." It was then that Lenine spent his Sundays in a circle of uneducated workmen, explaining to them the elements of Socialist economics and the fundamentals of the teachings of Karl Marx.

Along with the propaganda work, Lenine plunged deeply into research and studies of Russian statistics and economics, particularly the phases affecting the future development of Russia, and delving into the historic mission of its working and peasant classes. His first essay, entitled "The Economic Significance of the Populist Movement," was published in 1895. "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," a historico-economic treatise, made its appearance in 1899, at a moment of an acute polemic discussion between the Narodniki, (Populists,) who contended that the economic development of Russia will differ from that of Western Europe, and the Marxists, who accepted the Social-Democratic point of view. Even at present this book is considered a valuable document in Russian economic literature.

Because of his Socialist activities Lenine was compelled to leave Russia on several occasions. Switzerland, France, and Austria were the countries of his temporary domicile. From these foreign posts he directed the work of one of the factions of the Social-Democratic Party, developing a leadership of great power and initiative.

In 1901-2 he was on the editorial staff of Iskra, (Spark,) a Social-Democratic publication. Several brochures on the agrarian question and on the development of industrialism in Russia were written by him during the same period. His pamphlet, "The Problems of the Russian Social-Democrats," was commended by the leaders of the Russian Social-Democracy as the clearest exposition of the aims of the Russian working-class movement.

A definite stand as to its program and policies was made by the Lenine faction at a general Russian Socialist convention, held in the Summer of 1903. This was the time when the word "Bolsheviki" was coined, meaning the majority that voted in accord with Lenine's proposal. In fact, the word "Leninism," used as a synonym for Bolshevism, and representing a certain factional Marxism, occurs very frequently in the Russian press.

A direct actionist, Lenine believed in the seizure of political power by means of a violent revolution and in establishing a proletarian government. Then only, he held, could there be accomplished an economic readjustment of the country, bringing with it a more equitable social order. Also, as a thorough Marxian, he had utmost faith in the ultimate triumph of the proletariat.

After the revolution of 1905 and the reaction that followed, the Lenine faction dwindled down to but a few emigrés and it seemed as if Bolshevism was destined to die out. But in 1911-12, when the spell of the reaction began to break up, and when, with the awakening, a new spirit began to permeate the political and social life of Russia, a sudden impetus to renewed activities was given to the Bolsheviki. This may also be explained by the fact that the leaders of this faction were the first to understand the momentous significance of this national resurrection. They immediately set to work, and the first Socialist daily paper, Pravda, (the Truth,) was one of the results of their efforts. Undoubtedly this daily has exercised considerable influence upon the working masses who rallied to it and gave it their whole-hearted support. Since then there has been a gradual growth of Bolshevism in the industrial centres of Russia under the intellectual guidance and leadership of Lenine. The movement gained in strength from year to year. As early as in 1913 the Bolsheviki sent six representatives to the Duma.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914 Lenine was in Cracow, at that time the headquarters of the organizations which directed the revolutionary movement in Russia. It should be remembered that Lenine, like other revolutionary leaders, was compelled to live in exile. The Aus-

trian authorities immediately arrested him on suspicion of being a Russian spy, but as he was easily able to prove that he had no connection with the Czar's Government, he was released and permitted to go to Switzerland, where he remained until March, 1917. The news of the successful revolution caused him to endeavor to return to Russia and the German Government gave him the necessary permission to pass through Germany.

Chief Russian Parties

On his arrival in Petrograd, Lenine gathered together his followers and began the agitation in favor of the Bolshevist program. This program was outlined by Lenine in a remarkable statement which in the light of recent events has become an important document for the understanding of the situation. According to this statement, the chief groupings of political parties in Russia are:

1. The representatives of the feudal landholders and the more conservative sections of the bourgeoisie.

2. The Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) and other liberal groups representing the majority of the bourgeoisie, that is, the captains of industry and those landholders who have industrial interests.

3. The Socialist groups which represent the small entrepreneurs, small middle-class proprietors, more or less well-to-do peasants, petite bourgeoisie, as well as those workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view.

4. The Bolsheviki, who ought properly to be called the Communist Party, which is at present termed the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and which represents class-conscious workers, day laborers, and the poorer strata of peasantry, which are grouped with them as the semi-proletariat.

The Bolshevist Platform

The Bolshevist platform, as outlined by Lenine, reads as follows:

The Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates must at once take every practicable and feasible step for the realization of the Socialist program.

The Bolsheviki demand a republic of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; abolition of the standing army and the police, substituting for them an armed people; officials to be not only elected but also subject to recall and their pay not to exceed that of a good worker.

Sole authority must be in the hands of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. There must be no dual authority.

No support should be given to the Provisional Government. The whole of the people must be prepared for the complete and sole authority of the Councils of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

A constituent assembly should be called as soon as possible, but it is necessary to increase the members and strengthen the power of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates by organizing and arming the masses.

A police force of the conventional type and a standing army are absolutely unnecessary. Immediately and unconditionally a universal army of the people should be introduced, so that they and the militia and the army shall be an integral whole. Capitalists must pay the workers for their days of service in the militia.

Officers Subject to Their Men

Officers must not only be elected, but every step of every officer and General must be subject to control by special soldiers' committees.

The arbitrary removal by the soldiers of their superior officers is in every respect indispensable. The soldiers will obey only the powers of their own choice; they can respect no others.

The Bolsheviki are absolutely opposed to all imperialist wars and to all bourgeois Governments which make them, among them our own Provisional Government. The Bolsheviki are absolutely opposed to "revolutionary defense" in Russia.

The Bolsheviki are against the predatory international treaties concluded between the Czar and England, France, &c., for the strangling of Persia, the division of China, Turkey, Austria, &c.

The Bolsheviki are against annexations. Any promise of a capitalist Government to renounce annexations is a huge fraud. To expose it is very simple, by demanding that each nation be freed from the yoke of its own capitalists.

The Bolsheviki are opposed to the (Russian) Liberty Loan, because the war remains imperialistic, being waged by capitalists in alliance with capitalists, and in the interests of capitalists.

The Bolsheviki refuse to leave to capitalist Governments the task of expressing the desire of the nations for peace.

All monarchies must be abolished. Revolutions do not proceed in fixed order. Only genuine revolutionaries may be trusted.

The Peasants to Seize All Land

The peasants must at once take all the land from the landholders. Order must be strictly maintained by the Councils of Peasants' Delegates. The production of bread and meat must be increased and the soldiers better fed. Destruction of cattle, of tools, &c., is not permissible.

It will be impossible to rely upon the general Councils of Peasants' Delegates, for the wealthy peasants are of the same capitalist class that is always inclined to injure or deceive the farmhands, day laborers, and the poorer peasants. We must at once form special organizations of these latter classes of the village population both within the Councils of Peasants' Delegates and in the form of special Councils of Delegates of the Farmers' Workers.

We must at once prepare the Councils of Workers' Delegates, the Councils of Delegates of Banking Employes, and others for the taking of all such steps as are feasible and completely realizable toward the union of all banks in one single national bank, and then toward a control of the Councils of Workers' Delegates over the banks and syndicates, and then toward their nationalization, that is, their passing over into the possession of the whole people.

The only Socialist International, establishing and realizing a brotherly union of all the workers in all countries, which is now desirable for the nations, is one which consists of the really revolutionary workers, who are capable of putting an end to the awful and criminal slaughter of nations, capable of delivering humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Only such people (groups, parties, &c) as the German Socialist, Karl Liebknecht, now in a German jail, only people who will tirelessly struggle with their own Government and their own bourgeoisie, and their own social-patriots, and their own "centrists," can and must immediately establish that international which is necessary to the nations.

The fraternization between soldiers of the warring countries, at the front, must be encouraged; it is good and indispensable.

It will be noticed that the Bolsheviki have actually attempted to carry out the greater part of this program, and in some cases have apparently succeeded, at least temporarily.

One Aspect of Bolshevist Liberty

Ludovic Naudeau, a Petrograd correspondent of the Paris Temps, writing in October, 1917, drew this amusing sketch of one phase of life in the Russian capital:

One morning recently I was awakened by the cries of my neighbor in the next room. His boots had been stolen. The same day the manager of a newspaper office told me that he had been robbed of six pairs of pantaloons. What use could any one have for six nether garments? The star reporter came in with eyes bulging. "Four hundred thefts every night!" he cried; "that is the average for the last two weeks. The Petrograd militia are vainly seeking for the 18,000 criminals who are living in liberty among us. It is frightful!"

Under the old régime we were guarded by 5,750 police agents—large, strong men—who cost $2,500,000 a year. Those Pharaohs have been replaced by 7,000 small, mean-looking militiamen, who cost, in present taxes, $8,500,000 annually. Formerly we enjoyed sweet security. Today things fly out of one's pockets of themselves; watches escape from their fobs; apartments empty themselves automatically of their objects of value. Every night one-half of the population is busy robbing the other half. Sometimes the thieves are civilians dressed as soldiers, and sometimes they are soldiers dressed as civilians. It is robbery made free-for-all — a socialistic budge-all-catch-all.

Besides, the persons whom one meets in prison do not stay there. One no longer stays in prison; it is not good form. Sometimes a new outburst of popular wrath opens the doors; sometimes the guards and sentinels give the prisoner to understand that the best thing he can do is to go away. There is talk of organizing a mass patrol of the streets, in which all the honest men of the city would have to go on guard by turns "in squads."

All this is true, confirmed by a thousand witnesses. During the weeks immediately following the fall of the empire, the capital, in a sort of solemn and anguished waiting, enjoyed absolute

peace, a truce of the underworld, a sort of petrification of crime. But today robbery has risen to the rank of a social institution. And yet, as Russia has not ceased to be a land of contrasts, there are no Apaches in the streets, no highwaymen, no hold-up men, none of those bloodthirsty thugs who menace life at night in other capitals. Many petty thieves and relatively few assassins!

I wrote this note in a street car, and when I put my notebook in my pocket I discovered that I had been relieved of my purse; a fact that is not without its good side, since I had forgotten to mention the pickpockets, who are as numerous as the pockets of honest men.

The Russian people lived for centuries under an autocracy, and yet they are by nature the most parliamentary of all the nations, doubtless because they are the most placid, the least irritable. We observed this once more at the All-Russian Congress, where a few momentary tumults did not destroy our general impression of a dignified and rather sad calmness. In that old and pompous Alexandra Theatre, under the blaze of the candelabra, amid the dull radiance of gilding almost a century old, we saw 1,500 delegates. Their controversies were long, grave, sometimes noisy, but the spectator who recalled the Boulanger episode and the Dreyfus affair noticed how much less irascible and excitable the Russians were by comparison. If the Russian people did not have, deep in their nature, a vast fund of cheerful and accommodating plasticity, a great tendency to prevent or rather to postpone conflicts by means of discussion and pacific "readjustment," of provisional agreement, civil war would have broken out fifty times since last March.

General Gurko on the Revolution

Exiled Russian Commander's Views

General Gurko, one of the army commanders who made history for Russia in the days before the downfall of the Czar, was arrested and exiled by the Provisional Government in the first days of the revolution. He arrived in Paris early in November, 1917, and said interesting things to a newspaper representative, as follows:

YOU know that it was because of a letter which I wrote to the Czar that I was imprisoned in the Fortress of Peter and Paul; yes, a letter written two days after the revolution. Now, a week after the revolution, a law of amnesty was decreed. My letter, it seems to me, should have come under that amnesty, even if it had been criminal, which it was not. The text of it was published recently in an English newspaper, and still later in one of the principal Russian journals. The gist of it was this: All the Ministers of the Czar having been arrested and imprisoned at the moment of the revolutionary uprising, and most of them being entirely innocent of any misdeed, as time has proved—except in the case of two or three of them—I thought that I ought to appeal in their behalf to the fallen sovereign, so that he might say something in their defense. Besides, out of politeness rather than conviction, I expressed the thought that perhaps the future would be more kind to the imperial family. It was because of these sentiments that I was accused of criminality. In order to punish me, and doubtless to be rid of the troublesome personage which certain men in power saw in me, I was arrested. They might have done it by means of two policemen, or even one would have sufficed. They preferred to mobilize a platoon of soldiers, two automobile machine guns, and an escort of cavalry.

In imprisoning me in the fortress they committed illegal acts which they tried later to make amends for. No matter! During the first days I was subjected to the treatment of a condemned criminal in a cell; later more humanity was shown. During the last weeks of my captivity I

occupied a large room, with barred windows, of course, but my wife was allowed to come and live with me. Then the authorities decided to set me free—and exile me. I sailed from Archangel for London, and now I am living in Paris. Before I can return to Russia the present order of things will have to change.

Many legends have been invented in regard to the origins of the revolution. One of them represents the Czar's family as pro-German. I assure you that it is nothing of the kind. The Czarina held the Germans in horror and treated William II. as a "mountebank." As for the Czar, with whom I often conversed and with whom I discussed all the current military questions, he was Commander in Chief only in name, and the military operations at the front escaped from his control, and even from his action. In imperial circles Rasputin passed for a partisan of Germany, but Rasputin had been dead two months when the revolution broke out.

The revolution had been brewing a long time. There, too, German gold did its work, as it is trying to do everywhere. Food supply difficulties, which had by no means reached the stage of starvation, furnished a suitable occasion. This revolutionary movement could have been suppressed. It would merely have been necessary to make use of the troops, instead of parading them before the crowd as a menace. In such cases it is not well to let soldiers mingle with the people; they fraternize.

One of the most disastrous consequences of the revolution was the crumbling of the Russian army on certain sectors under the influence of new doctrines. When that catastrophe occurred I presented myself, along with the Commander in Chief, Alexeieff, before the Provisional Government, the Executive Committee of the Soviet, and certain representatives of the Duma. We urged and begged them to stop the disorganization of the army; but apparently the task was not undertaken with entire good will. * * * Besides, the Russian front is 1,200 miles long!

This revolution was to give Russia all kinds of liberty, but, alas! the dream lasted only one morning. One can now announce the failure of the movement and can state that the future belongs to the Government that shall go back to the beginning point, give the country the necessary force for the establishment of law and order, lay a solid foundation for its liberties—and, above all, banish politics from the army and restore discipline. We are still, I fear, in the descending period; but soon we shall touch bottom, and then, believe me, the good will gain ascendency over the evil—at what price remains to be seen!

[General Gurko summed up the situation at that time (Nov. 15) by saying that if the Bolsheviki succeeded in entering into direct peace negotiations with the German Government, from whom they were already receiving financial aid, there would be reason for the gravest fears as to the immediate outcome. He continued:]

From the viewpoint of military success it is bitterly to be deplored that the Russian Army for the moment has ceased to wield anything more than a defensive, or, rather, a passive power. It still, however, holds 130 enemy divisions on that front. The German shock troops, today operating in Italy, have been taken from the Riga sector, where they were no longer needed; a few, also, have been drawn from the Russo-Bulgarian and French fronts. It is not possible for the Germans to strip the whole Russian front, where their 130 divisions are so spread out that they form only a very thin curtain.

In any case, the interests of Russia and those of the Entente Allies are and must remain one and the same. The Allies need Russia, and Russia cannot live without the Allies except by falling under the economic domination of the Central Empires. * * * Do not forget that the Russian soldier today is the same as the one of 1915 who fought without rifle, artillery, or munitions, rushing forward to be cut to pieces on the battlefield, and that Russian officers have shown that they knew how to die. What our armies did then they will do again when their leaders order it.

Military Events of the Month

From November 18 to December 17, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

ASIDE from the political events in the Chancelleries of the Allies, the declaration of war by the United States against Austria-Hungary, the formation of international councils of army and navy men for a better co-ordination of material, plan, and execution in the conduct of the war, and the dwindling belligerency of Russia and Rumania—and aside from such purely military actions as the double surprise wrought before Cambrai, the operations in the Regione of Veneto, the capture of Jerusalem, and the completion of the conquest of German East Africa—the principal event has been of tactical rather than of strategic importance. Its scope and character are as yet unrevealed, although its advent has been proclaimed by the German press of every shade of political and military opinion as something decisive in the war. It is the transfer of certain scores of enemy divisions from the Russian to the French front.

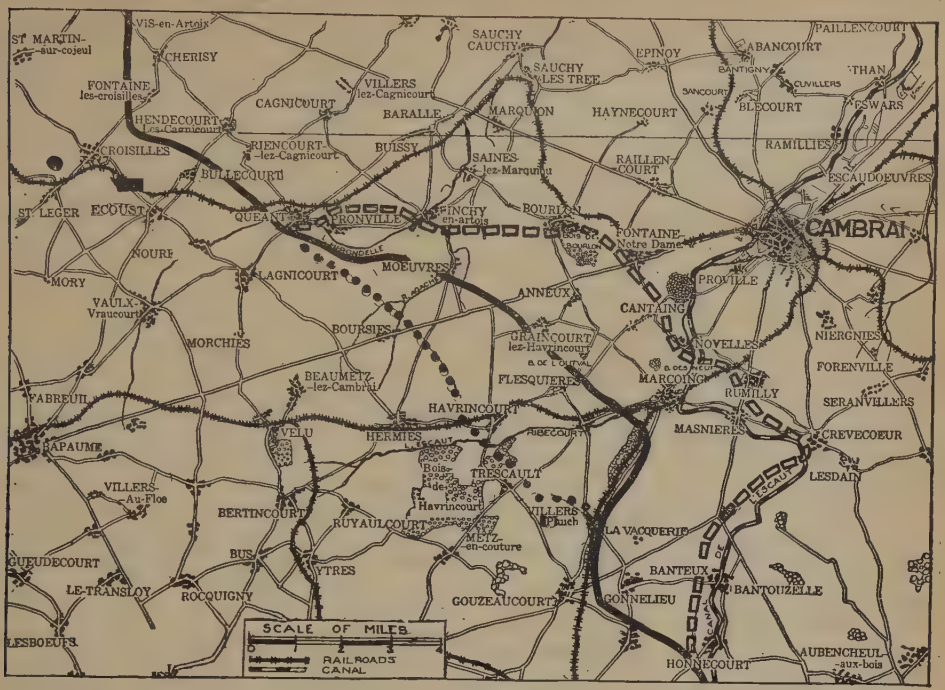
Before the Russian collapse we knew that von Hindenburg with his headquarters at Kovno was responsible for 450 miles of Russian front, and that on this front he had forty-eight divisions of infantry and ten of cavalry—in all an aggregate strength of about 1,200,000 men. South of him there were forty Austro-Hungarian divisions and an aggregation of Bulgars and Turks amounting to ten more. There were about 2,000,000 Teutonic effectives on the Russian front before the collapse.

Of these we have positive information that forty-seven divisions, or nearly a million men, were sent in October to do battle in Italy and that their places were taken by half as many men in the first stages of training drawn from Germany and Austria. Moreover, from observations made by the French Headquarters Staff, published on Dec. 15, we are informed that Austria-Hungary's entire man power today reaches only 1,239,908. This last figure indicates that the Austro-Hungarian man power has been greatly exaggerated. It is a fair deduction to make that the German man power has been similarly expanded. Yet we have the exact number of divisions formerly commanded by von Hindenburg on the Russian front. To know just how many divisions are being released for work against the English, French, and Americans on the western front would presuppose a knowledge of two unknown elements—how thinly guarded the Germans dare leave the eastern front and to what number the men diverted from it may be replaced by reservists.

After dealing at once with the matter of Cambrai, without attempting to identify the German reinforcements there as having already arrived from the Russian front or as being merely locally diverted, I shall take up some other events of the period covered, which, while of varied military importance, may tend to lighten for the Allies the most gloomy month of the most gloomy year of the war.

General Byng's Cambrai Drive

The manoeuvre executed by the Third British Army, under General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, between St. Quentin and the River Scarpe in the last fortnight of November, when viewed alone, looms large on the annals of the war of attrition conducted by the British and French on the western front. Its initiative without artillery preparation, the tanks cutting the barbed-wire defenses, the territory occupied, and the large number of prisoners captured, when seen apart from other events, cause Vimy Ridge, which opened the way to an envelopment of Lens; Messines Ridge, which opened the way to the battles of Flanders, and even the great battle of the Somme to sink into insignificance. The hitherto invulnerable Hindenburg line



BATTLE OF CAMBRAI: DOTTED LINE SHOWS ORIGINAL POSITION, BROKEN LINE THE FURTHEST BRITISH ADVANCE, AND BLACK LINE THE POSITION AFTER BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

was pierced, and the approaches to that great supply depot, Cambrai, the junction of four railways and four highways, secured.

Its logical and strategic sequel was obvious: a similar surprise attack just north along the Arras front against the so-called Siegfried emergency line, presumably as lightly held, from Drocourt to Queant, and Lens would have been irrevocably flanked from the southeast and Cambrai from the northwest, and that other depot, Douai, the complement of Cambrai, would have been as good as lost to the Germans. Yet the logical sequel did not come to pass. A few days later the Germans walked right through the southern part of the salient just formed, and so ruptured the plan of campaign that all positions commanding the German approaches to Cambrai and several dominating those to Cambrai itself had to be surrendered. Comparisons with Vimy, Messines, and the Somme have vanished and have been replaced by that truer analogy presented by Castelnau and the Crown Prince of Bavaria on the Lorraine front in the early days of the war—when first the Bavarian and then the Frenchman surprised each other in rapid sequence.

At this writing, however, the advantage of the ground before Cambrai still remains with the British. Documents found on German prisoners indicate that the enemy was about to abandon his static method of fighting and use his units in a more mobile fashion. Only the conviction that he possessed a superior man power would induce him to substitute the strategy of manoeuvre for the strategy of fortified position. Meanwhile, however, there is no fundamental military reason for supposing that the initiative of offensive has already passed from the Allies to the Germans.

Cambrai Battle in Detail

After a two-day artillery diversion on the Flanders front, particularly at Houthulst Forest and Zandvoorde, and of raids and counterraids elsewhere, the British Army under General Byng, early in the morning of Nov. 20, without any

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artillery preparation, launched an attack from the defenses left a year ago west of Cambrai, when the battle of the Somme came to an end. For four days the assault was pushed with all possible zeal and with comparatively slight resistance on the part of the enemy, whose reserves on this sector had apparently been drawn off to protect the Passchendaele defenses, where the British artillery diversion was in progress.

Even the first accounts showed Byng's offensive to be one of the greatest British efforts of the war: at a stroke it had penetrated the Hindenburg line, lying northwest of the depot city of Cambrai, and on a thirty-two-mile front had advanced more than five miles, reaching the village of Cantaing, less than three miles southwest of the city. In the first two days of the battle the number of British casualties, principally borne by the Welsh and English county troops, was far less than the number of prisoners taken, which reached more than 9,000.

Struggle for Bourlon Wood

On the 24th a fierce struggle began for the occupation of Bourlon Wood, three and a half miles west of Cambrai. Both this wood and the town of the same name, lying to the northwest, possessed elevations vital to the defense of Cambrai. In the two days succeeding the town changed hands three times and was left on the 26th in German hands, the British, frightfully shelled, still holding on to part of the wood. On the 27th the British attempted a flanking movement, capturing the northwestern part of Fontaine Notre Dame, but were driven back owing to a concentration of German machine guns in La Folie Wood to the southeast. Several isolated British raiding parties, which had proceeded beyond their designated objectives, were picked up by the Germans. In certain instances these detachments were later rescued by others.

A certain lack of co-ordination, if not, indeed, confusion, began to characterize the British movements, which from Nov. 27 until Nov. 30 were subjected to a galling artillery fire from German guns in new emplacements which British observation seemed at a loss to locate. Renewed German artillery activity was also noticed to be concentrated against the British positions on Passchendaele Ridge along the Flanders sector away to the north.

British Surprised in Turn

Then on the last day of the month the Germans made two simultaneous attacks upon the British positions before Cambrai, which were as much of a surprise as had been the British assault of the 20th. They began on the southern part of the salient formed by the British advance. One was delivered against Bourlon Wood, the other between Vendhuile and Crevecoeur. Like the British assault it was preceded by no bombardment, but the infantry advanced, supported by heavy artillery fire.

It was a most curious procedure, and in certain features resembled on a smaller scale the initiative of the German attack at Plezzo and Tolmino against the Italians on Oct. 24. In both cases apparently nothing more than a demonstration was at first intended until the way opened of itself for a general offensive —on the Plezzo-Tolmino front by the discovery of the demoralization of certain detachments of the Second Army, and on the Cambrai front by the discovery that there was nobody there to fight them. German detachments penetrated for two miles within the British lines, surprised roadmenders and ambulance sections at work, and transportation trains innocently proceeding to the first British lines, which had been broken through without warning and without sending back information of what had happened.

In the southern attack the Germans entered the British lines south of Villers-Guislain and, by executing a turning movement to the north, succeeded in enveloping Gauche Wood, Gouzeaucourt, Gonnelieu, and La Vacquerie. In the northern attack the enemy pushed down between Moeuvres and Bourlon Wood, but here at first met stronger forces and were hurled back by repeated counter-attacks. On the first day of the battle the number of prisoners taken by the Germans reveals how lightly the line had been held, while their tremendous losses met with on the succeeding days, when

the enemy attempted to push his initiative, show how quickly the British forces had co-ordinated to meet what was developing into a formidable offensive. Several British detachments were surprised and captured in No Man's Land, others after capture were rescued, and some guns were detonated in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

Partial British Retirement

From Dec. 1 to 4 both armies manoeuvred for positions, but the German penetration, by accident or design, had reached so far and commanded so many strategic points that British retirements became necessary—but usually only after inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. Thus on the 2d the British retired from the village of Masnières, while in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie and Bovrealon German massed attacks came repeatedly to grief. On Dec. 3 there were a series of furious German assaults, principally along the line from Marcoing to Gonnelieu, where wave after wave of the enemy rolled up only to be shattered and dissipated.

The relative positions of the armies on Dec. 5, with the Germans in possession of Graincourt, Anneux, Cantaing, Noyelles, and the wood and heights north of Marcoing, and the fact that they had penetrated on an eight-mile front to a depth of three miles, almost enveloping the new British salient, made further withdrawals of the British necessary if they were to avoid severe and unprofitable losses. These withdrawals would not necessarily weaken their positions west and northwest of Cambrai. Thus the British quietly got out of Bourlon Wood, which had become a slaughter pen, while still maintaining their captured positions on the Hindenburg line.

From Dec. 10 to Dec. 13 Bullecourt on the Hindenburg line became the centre of conflict, with Germans making trench gains east of the town and along the angle south of Rienocourt-lez-Cagnicourt.

Meanwhile, on the 12th, forty-eight miles to the north, the Germans attempted to do to the Ypres salient in Flanders what they had successfully achieved over the Cambrai salient. They made a surprise attack on the southern flank and penetrated 300 yards of British trenches southeast of Polygon Wood, in the neighborhood of Polderhoek Château.

Italy and Her Invaders

When the last review of the operations in the Regione of Veneto closed, the Austro-German forces were making every effort to establish positions on the right or western bank of the Piave, behind which the Italian Second Army under General Cappello and the Third Army under the Duke of Aosta were being reformed. In the north, between the Astico and the Brenta, across the plateau of the Sette Comuni, and between the Brenta and the Piave, across the mountains and hills which form the northern slopes of the Monte Grappa Range, they were striving to develop their positions, confronted in the western sphere by the First Army under General Pectori and in the eastern by the Fourth Army under General Romilant.

The triune command—General Foch, Sir Harry Wilson, and General Cadorna—which had been constituted for the direction of the war in Italy, seemed to be convinced that the enemy could not be retained in the north, and must ultimately cross the Piave, and that the next line of defense, the Brenta, could not be held. So the reinforcements of French and British troops were employed to fortify the next line, the Adige, a retirement to which would have meant a pivot movement to the southwest performed by the First Army to the Val Lagarina, lying east of the Lago di Garda and parallel to it, and a retreat over the Venetian plains of the other three armies, with the sacrifice not only of such historic towns as Vicenza and Verona, but also of the Queen of the Adriatic, Venice.

But the Italians raised the cry of the French at Verdun: "They shall not pass!" They kept repeating: "Da qui non si passa!" With that conviction they fought and for a month little has been heard of the triune command. And although the English and French have been digging in along the Adige to protect the back door to France the Italians have revived the old Garibaldian cry of

SCENE OF ITALY'S BATTLES AGAINST THE INVADERS IN THE ALPS FROM ASIAGO TO THE PIAVE RIVER

'66: "L'Italia farà da se!" and have poured forth to defend the front door of Italy. And nobly have they alone defended it.

Situation in the Alps

It is a matter of thirty miles across the enemy's front in the north—from the Astico on the west to the Piave on the east. This front is fed entirely through one line of communication—the railway and highway which proceed together from the great military depot at Trent, which is in adequate communication with Bolzano, thirty-two miles further up the Adige, whence runs the great Trentino life line through the passes into Bavaria and northeast along the northern slopes of the Carnic Alps to Vienna—and this line of communication proceeds down the Val Sugana via Borgo and down the Brenta via Valstagna and Bassano to the plains. From it there are several highways, usually blocked by snow in the Winter, running westward through the mountains and hills north of the Monte Grappa Range and the Sette Comuni, which in the dispatches is sometimes called the Asiago Plateau. South of the Monte Grappa and the Sette Comuni there are few lateral highways until the plains which begin at Asolo, Bassano, and Thiene are reached.

It will thus be seen at a glance that the invaders, weather permitting, have the great advantage of diversion which the defenders have not. At the same time they could not drive a wedge down the Brenta and reach the plains via Valstagna and Bassano, for the valley is very narrow and they would be exposed from the fire of the flanking hills and mountains strongly held by the Italians. Thus, the Sette Comuni in the western sphere and the Monte Grappa in the eastern, with all their hills and mountains, would first have to be cleared of defenders before the invaders could concentrate for a final thrust where the Valley of the Brenta broadens just above Valstagna.

What the Invaders Accomplished

This is what the Austro-German armies have been trying to do, and they have made measurable progress in accomplishing it; in the west they have occupied nearly all the spurs of the Meletta Range, the principal obstacle, and have descended the Val Frenzela which runs south of Gallio to within three or four miles of Valstagna; in the east they are still blocked by those northern ap-

proaches to Monte Grappa, although nearer the Brenta they have finally occupied the Caprile Hill, which would open the way to the lower valley, the Val San Lorenzo, were the approach not flanked by elevations still held by the Italians.

The situation presented on Dec. 17 was complicated; as the invaders press on, their angles of penetration become more acute and larger bodies of Italians can be sent to oppose them. In the rear their lines of communication are rendered more and more hazardous by the advance of the season of snows, which does not simultaneously affect the defenders manoeuvring in lower altitudes. It has been estimated that there are between 270,000 and 300,000 men in the Austro-German armies, on the thirty-mile line between the Piave and the Astico, who may at any moment become snowbound. Their casualties, it has been authoritatively stated, amount to half the number first named. The losses of the defending Italians have also been staggering, but they can be replaced. The replacing of the enemy casualties will depend entirely upon the weather until the end of March.

Meanwhile, over the late General Headquarters of the Italian armies at Udine float not only the Austrian and German flags, but also those of Turkey and Bulgaria.

Two Perilous Positions

Because of the constantly augmenting resistance of part of the Italian 4th Army, of the survivors of the 2d, and the reconstructed 3d along the Piave, Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf, who had been placed in command of the Austrian troops in the Trentino, began about Nov. 19 to develop the positions he had already secured between the Piave and the Brenta and the Brenta and Asiago. On the former terrain, as has already been shown, he was obstructed by the Monte Grappa Range, on the latter by the irregular heights of the so-called plateau to Sette Comuni. This development was preceded by an intense artillery fire, which extended from the Lago di Garda on the west to the Piave on the east. Bombardments upon Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badenecche, west of the Brenta, were not, however, at first followed up by infantry attacks, but east of the Brenta, the bombardment of Monte Monfenera, Monte Pertica, and Monte Tomba, was so followed. In the western sphere, in the Meletta region, the Italians made raids inside the Austrian barrage and captured prisoners; in the eastern they were obliged to yield the lower slopes of Monte Tomba.

Both positions were extremely critical for the Italians during the last ten days of November. In both they were overmatched by the enemy in men and guns—first two to one and then five to two. Besides, as long as the enemy's line of communication was kept open—the railway and highway from Trent down the Val Sugana and the Brenta—he could receive as much reinforcement in supplies and men as his transport service could take care of and the depots at Trent and Bolzano would permit. The snowstorm of a single day, however, would render his line of communication inoperative. A continued storm might bring him disaster. Meanwhile, the Italians fought on, confident in their superior positions and hoping for an Alpine blizzard.

On Nov. 21 Berlin announced and Rome later confirmed the capture by the Austrians of the summits of Monte Fontana Secca and Monte Spinoncia, between the Piave and the Brenta. This was a tactical rather than a strategic victory. It allowed a larger concentration of men along the slopes of the mighty Grappa Range, but it led nowhere.

In the Asiago Region

On the 23d the attack shifted to the Asiago region, where the Austrians, aided by some German detachments, attempted to rush Monte Meletta and its spurs, Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badenecche, and from the west toward the front of Monte Castelgomberto-Caserta-Meletta d'Avanti, but were in all places met by the men of the First Army, and on the same day in the eastern sphere the Italian Fourth Army recaptured the slopes of Monte Tomba. From

that date until the end of the month there was a lull in the fighting. Observations then taken revealed two things —the enemy had met with tremendous losses and was bringing about a new concentration of troops for another offensive.

It came on Dec. 4 and lasted until Dec. 10, when news arrived from Rome that its violence had been broken. It secured for the enemy certain strategic positions more vital to the Italians west of the Brenta than east of it, but it brought about a loss to the enemy of over 150,000 men. In the first few days it caused the Italians to withdraw from between Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badenecche, where they had maintained a salient. But from Monte Sisemol, in the same Meletta region, the Italians had repelled attacks with great slaughter. Among these mountains, the enemy announced in a Berlin dispatch that he had captured 11,000 men and 60 guns. But from the advantage of position he had obtained between Tondarecar and Badenecche, the enemy on the 6th was in a position to attack from the rear position along Monte Castelgomberto and Meletta di Gallio. This the next day he proceeded to do, extending his attack from Castelgomberto to the Forza spur. On that day the prisoners captured during the offensive were increased to 15,000, so Berlin reported.

Results of Six Furious Days

Besides this what happened during these six days of fury is not quite clear, because certain positions beyond which the enemy had gone were still held by isolated bodies of Italians. It seems evident, however, that he had captured Gallio, proceeded down Frenzela Torrent, which flows south of that town to Valstagna, on the Brenta—but not so far as to reach the fields just northwest of Valstagna—and had captured the southern spurs of the Meletta Ridge.

On the 10th snow began to appear on the Sette Comuni, and the enemy turned his attention to the terrain east of the Brenta. Here, overlooking that river, a fierce struggle raged around the Col della Berretta, where the Austrians were aided by an enfilading fire from the opposite bank. In the middle space, between the Brenta and the Piave, the battle raged around the Col dell' Orso, where the enemy gained a foothold. Further east the conflict blazed around Monte Spinoncia. Here several detachments of Germans aided the Austrians, who were also reinforced by the 4th Austrian Division, fresh from the Russian front. On the 14th the enemy reached Col Caprile from the slopes of Col della Berretta, at the head of the San Lorenzo Valley, and announced that the five-day operations between the Brenta and the Piave had resulted in 3,000 prisoners. On the 15th he captured the hill of Caprile, overlooking the valley which leads to a level opposite Valstagna.

The month along the Piave has been characterized by several vain attempts on the part of the Austrians to cross the river and develop the positions they had already secured at Fagare, a few miles above Zenson, and at Grisolera, south of Musile, where Italian engineers have flooded the twelve-mile triangle between the old bed of the river—the Sile—and the new. In the defense of the lower Piave the navy, assisted by British monitors, played an important part, and under the protection of monitors and destroyers the fortifications of Venice were reinforced and extended.

Capture of Jerusalem

As the preceding review went to press on Nov. 18 the announcement was slipped in that the British Egyptian army under General Allenby had occupied the port of Jaffa, thirty-one miles from Jerusalem, on the preceding day. The investment of the Holy City was already in progress and the steps which led to the event had been described in these pages. Meanwhile, every opportunity was given the Turkish troops to withdraw from the place by utilizing the Eastern Gate. This was taken advantage of, and on Saturday, Dec. 8, the gap in the encircling line was closed and the city surrendered. On the following Tuesday General Allenby, accompanied by the French, Italian, and Moslem missions, entered the gates and found the holy sites intact.

It was after the defeat of the Turkish expedition against the Suez Canal in

February, 1915, that the British Government decided that Palestine and not the canal, not even the Desert of Sinai, must be the bulwark of Egypt on the east. So Egypt changed her defensive to offen sive operations, and, first under Maxwell

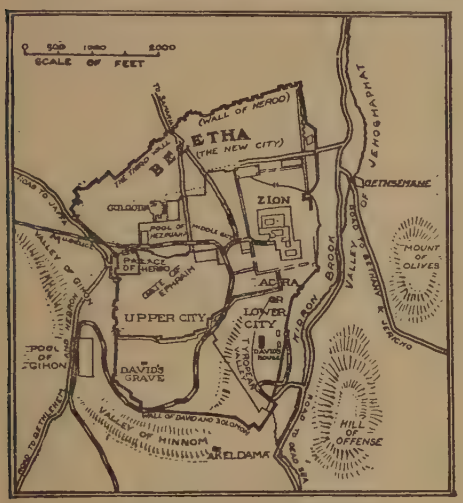


DIAGRAM OF JERUSALEM
(See article on page 101)

and then under the unfortunate Murray, and now under Allenby, the modern cru sade was started across the desert to establish a better protection for the canal —the lifeline between Great Britain and her Indian empire. Unlike the famous crusades of the past, however, this one had in its ranks coreligionists of the Turks. For now the fellahin of Egypt and the Arabs of the new Kingdom o Hedjas have helped Jew and Gentile, after 673 years, to recover the Holy Sepulchre.

Much has been written about the conquest of German East Africa, which was proceeding by British, Belgian, and Portuguese troops. On Dec. 3 it was officially announced in London that this, the last oversea possession of Germany, had been "completely cleared of the enemy." Of all these possessions, having a total area of 1,027,820 square miles, German East Africa accounts for 384,180—175,220 square miles larger than the German Empire. Of their total population of 25,000 whites and 15,000,000 natives, German East Africa accounts for 15,000 whites and 8,000,000 natives.

The Month's Naval Events

The most important naval exploit of the month occurred on the night of Dec. 9-10, when two Italian launches entered the Harbor of Trieste and torpedoed two Austrian predreadnoughts, the Monarch and the Wien. The Wien sank immediately, and the Italians returned without a scratch. Repeating their raiding adventure of Oct. 17, when two German destroyers sank nine merchantmen and the two British destroyers accompanying them, four German destroyers, on Dec. 12, sank a convoy of one British and five neutral merchantmen and a British destroyer and four armed trawlers which were there to protect them. Both these encounters took place in the North Sea. On the same day German destroyers sank two neutral merchant vessels and a trawler off the Tyne. In the week of Nov. 24 two American destroyers sank a German submarine by a depth charge and captured the crew. On Nov. 20 the American destroyer Chauncey was sunk in collision with a loss of twenty-one men, and on Dec. 6 the Jacob Jones, another American destroyer, was sunk by a German submarine with a loss of twenty-seven.

War has existed between the United States and Austria-Hungary since Dec. 7, thus facilitating the use of American troops in Italy, if expedient. Representatives from sixteen nations which are at war with Germany met in Paris for a three days' council on Nov. 29. On Dec. 1 the Supreme War Council of the Allies met at Versailles. The Paris Council concluded an agreement for a joint Naval Board and an Interallied General Staff for closer co-ordination, not only in regard to the fighting program, but also concerning questions of supply, economics, and finance. On Dec. 15 the formation of an American Military War Council was announced at Washington.

Two personal notes of military character have been the sending of Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall to succeed the late Major Gen. Frederick Stanley Maude as commander of the Anglo-Indian forces in Mesopotamia, and General Sir Herbert Plumer of the Second British Army in France to command the British troops in Italy.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From November 19 Up to and Including December 16, 1917

UNITED STATES

Nov. 19—President Wilson issued a proclamation providing for the registration and surveillance of enemy aliens and the protection of property.

Two Americans were killed in action in France, and five were wounded, on Nov. 20. Three American engineers who were working on the railways back of the British lines in France were killed in the battle of Cambrai on Nov. 30; one was wounded, and seventeen were reported missing.

Official announcement was made on Nov. 29 that National Guardsmen from every State had arrived in France.

Many imports were placed under license, and the export embargo was extended by a proclamation issued by President Wilson on Nov. 28. On Dec. 4 the War Trade Board made public its first "blacklist" of German-controlled banks and industries in South America, Cuba, and Mexico.

An agreement was signed in Paris on Dec. 5 by representatives of the United States and Switzerland providing for the shipping of food supplies to Switzerland and the maintenance of strict neutrality by Switzerland.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Dec. 4, recommending a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. The resolution calling for war was passed by Congress and signed by the President on Dec. 7. On Dec. 12 a Presidential proclamation was issued, declaring a state of war, and outlining plans for dealing with Austro-Hungarians in the United States.

The formation of a Military War Council, to be composed of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, and five high ranking officers of the regular army, was announced by Secretary Baker on Dec. 15.

Colonel Edward M. House, head of the American Mission to Europe, returned to the United States on Dec. 15.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamer Schuylkill was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Nov. 23. The American Consul at a Mediterranean port was ordered to ascertain whether the vessel was sunk by a German or an Austrian submarine.

Announcement was made on Nov. 24 that two American destroyers had sunk a submarine in the war zone and captured the crew.

The American steamer Actaeon was sunk on Nov. 24. Two members of the armed guard were killed and two were reported missing.

The destroyer Jacob Jones was torpedoed Dec. 6 while on patrol duty in the North Atlantic. Sixty-five men were lost.

In the week ended Nov. 18, ten British vessels of over 1,600 tons were sunk; in the week ended Nov. 25, fourteen; in the week ended Dec. 1, sixteen, and in the week ended Dec. 8, fourteen.

The British steamer Apapa was sunk on Dec. 5. Eighty passengers and the crew perished.

French shipping losses averaged about four ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Spain announced on Dec. 10 that the Spanish steamship Claudio had been bombarded by a German submarine. Eight sailors were killed and several wounded.

In a decree made public Nov. 22 Germany established a barred zone around the Azores.

Norway lost two ships, the Strathome, which was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, and the San Croix, which was sunk in the English Channel. Five thousand Norwegian sailors have been lost since the beginning of the war.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 24—Austrians renew attacks on Italian lines in Southern Albania, between the Voyusa and Osum Rivers, but are repulsed.

Dec. 5—Fighting resumed on the entire Macedonian front from the Struma to the mouth of the Vajusa; several Bulgarian patrols captured by the French.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Nov. 20—British forces make successful attacks between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River.

Nov. 21—British under General Byng break the Hindenburg line on a thirty-two-mile front between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River, penetrate German defenses for a distance of more than six miles at the deepest point, reaching Caintaing, less than three miles from Cambrai, and capturing many villages and the first two German defense lines; French make attack on the Aisne in the Juvincourt region, taking several positions north of Craonne and Berry-au-Bac.

Nov. 22—British consolidate their positions; Germans fail in many attempts to regain lost positions, but retake Fontaine Notre

Dame; British advance between Bullecourt and Fontaine-les-Crossille.

Nov. 23—British renew their attack on Fontaine Notre Dame; French check counterattacks in the Juvincourt region.

Nov. 24—British carry some high points in Bourlon Wood.

Nov. 25—French in Verdun sector capture first and second German lines and deep dugouts between Samogneaux and the region to the south of the Anglemont Farm; British battle for Bourlon Wood.

Nov. 26—Germans, reinforced, enter Bourlon Village; French hold Verdun gains against fierce counterattacks.

Nov. 27—British retake part of Fontaine Notre Dame and advance their Bourlon line.

Nov. 30—Germans gain ground south of Cambrai, taking Vacquerie and Gouzeaucourt, but are driven back again; successful raids made against French positions north of Braye.

Dec. 1—Germans break through British lines south of Villers-Guislan, and advance almost two miles, reaching Gouzeaucourt, but are repulsed in new attack on Moeuvres; French beat off attacks at Fosses Wood; American and Canadian engineers working on British railways join in battle at Gouzeaucourt; several captured, but escape; seventeen missing.

Dec. 2—British withdraw from Masnières; General Haig advances Passchendaele line from 300 to 400 yards.

Dec. 3—Germans launch terrific attacks south and southwest of Cambrai; British forced to draw back east of Marcoing and at Vacquerie.

Dec. 6—British withdraw from the northern edge of Bourlon Wood; Germans occupy villages.

Dec. 9—General von Hindenburg joins General von Ludendorff in directing operations at Cambrai; French stop German thrust in the direction of Bezonvausc, in the Verdun region.

Dec. 11—Heavy German reinforcements arrive on the western front.

Dec. 12—German mass attacks on the British line between Bullecourt and Quéant win 500 yards of British trenches.

Dec. 14—Germans attack on the Ypres front and carry 300 yards of British trenches near Polygon Wood.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 19—Italians begin offensive on the Asiago Plateau and prevent new attempts at crossing the lower Piave River; Teutons take Quero, Monte Cornelle, and Monte Tomba.

Nov. 20—Teutons driven back four times on the Monfenera Spur.

Nov. 21—Italians repulse attacks at Monte Pertica.

Nov. 22—Teutons capture Monte Fontana Secca and Monte Spinoncia, but are repulsed at Monte Pertica and Monte Monfenera.

Nov. 23—Italians thwart encircling movement against Monte Meletta and repel attacks between the Brenta and Piave Rivers.

Nov. 24—Italians hold the invaders on the Asiago, Brenta, and Piave fronts, and recapture Monte Tomba and Monte Pertica.

Nov. 25—First Italian army takes the offensive at Meletta, capturing some machine guns.

Nov. 26-27—Italians repulse massed attacks between the Brenta and Piave Rivers.

Nov. 29—Austrians mass troops in the Val di Assa and Val di Galmarara.

Dec. 2—Italians repulsed in attack on Monte Pertica.

Dec. 4—Italians repulse infantry attacks in the Giudicaria region.

Dec. 5-6—Teutons force Italians from strong positions between Mounts Tondarecar and Badenecche, but are checked near Meletta.

Dec. 7—Austrians take Monte Sisemol, but fail to break through Italian line south of Gallio.

Dec. 8—Teutons drive wedge between Mounts Tondarecar and Badenecche.

Dec. 9—Asiago battle suspended by Teutons, who are checked at positions guarding the Franella and Gadena Passes.

Dec. 11—Italians repulse Teutons' attempts to retake the Agenzia and Zuliani positions in the Capo Sile region of the Lower Piave.

Dec. 12—Austrians resume attacks in the Col della Beretta and Col dell'Orso regions; Germans storm Monte Spinoncia and defenses in the Calcina Valley.

Dec. 15—Teutons reach Col Caprille.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Nov. 21—British advance five miles northwest of Jerusalem.

Nov. 23—British capture a Turkish post at Jabir, in Arabia, fifteen miles north of Aden.

Nov. 24—British storm the Nebi Samwil Ridge, the site of ancient Mizpah.

Nov. 26—British capture Bitur Station and Ain Karun.

Nov. 27—Turko-German artillery shells the mosque on the site of the tomb of the Prophet Samuel.

Dec. 4—British make successful raid on Turkish post south of Nahr Auja.

Dec. 7—British occupy Hebron.

Dec. 10—British take Jerusalem.

Dec. 12—British advance their line northwest of Jerusalem; Ghurkas carry positions as far as the mouth of the Midieh.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Official announcement was made by the British on Dec. 1 that East Africa was entirely cleared of the enemy.

AERIAL RECORD

Venice was raided by the Austrians on Nov. 25.

Twenty-five German machines raided London on Dec. 6. Seven persons were killed, and twenty-one injured. Two machines were captured.

Announcement was made on Dec. 7 that two American aviation mechanics were wounded by bombs dropped on a French town.

British and French air fleets drop bombs in reprisal on German Rhenish industrial centres, inflicting serious damage.

NAVAL OPERATIONS

The German auxiliary cruiser Botnia was destroyed by German mines off the coast of the Island of Amager, on Dec. 5.

Italian torpedo craft on Dec. 9 sank the Austrian warship Wien in the harbor of Trieste.

RUSSIA

General Dukhonin was deposed by Nikolai Lenine on Nov. 22 for refusing to offer an armistice to the Germans, and Ensign Krylenko was appointed Commander in chief. On the same day the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, Leon Trotzky, formally notified the Allies of the armistice offer. On Nov. 25 the Cadet Party issued a declaration that no peace proposals issued by the Bolsheviki could be regarded as expressing the will of the Russian people. Ambassador Bakhmeteff repudiated the Bolshevist régime and several members of the embassy staff in Washington resigned. Kerensky resigned as Premier of the Provisional Government on Nov. 24. The Maximalist Commissioners, in a decree made public Nov. 26, abolished all class titles, distinctions, and privileges, and demanded that all corporate property be handed over to the State. The Congress of the Second Army approved all measures promulgated by the Council of National Commissioners, including the decree for an immediate armistice and peace. A conference of the leaders of all parties, including Milukoff and Tchernoff, met at army headquarters on Nov. 27 to organize a new Government. Information was received that German staff officers had arrived in Petrograd and were acting as advisers to Lenine. A temporary Soviet Parliament was agreed to on Nov. 28.

On Nov. 29, Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag, said that he was ready to enter into peace negotiations as soon as the Russian Government sent representatives having full powers to Berlin. On the same day announcement was made that the Bolsheviki carried six seats in the elections in Petrograd for the Constituent Assembly, the Cadets four, and the Social Revolutionists two. The Petrograd City Council adopted a resolution proposed by the Cadets repudiating truce negotiations. The Bolsheviki were reported to have received about 40 per cent. of the entire vote. American and French military representatives protested against a separate armistice.

Trotzky issued an order on Nov. 30 that no British subjects should be permitted to leave Russia, pending the settlement of the cases of Chicherin and Petroff, two Russians alleged to be held in England because of their political convictions.

On Dec. 1 the Bolsheviki outlawed all their military opponents, imprisoned Count Kapnist, Chief of the Naval Staff, and declared General Dukhonin a public enemy. Trotzky dismissed Meklakoff, the Minister to France, because of his participation in the Interallied Conference. He later dismissed the Russian Legation and Consulates abroad which refused to recognize the Bolshevist Government.

General Dukhonin was killed by being thrown from a train on Dec. 5 after the Bolshevist forces had captured his headquarters at Mohilev. General Korniloff escaped before the arrival of the Bolshevist forces.

An official communication of the Bolshevist Government, issued Dec. 5, announced that a preliminary ten-day armistice had been agreed to. In spite of the opposition of Ukrainia and the Caucasus, the armistice went into effect on Dec. 8, after Trotzky had sent a note to the allied embassies and legations in Petrograd, giving their Governments a week in which to accept or reject the plan. On Dec. 10 the Rumanians were forced by the Russians to sign an armistice. The formal armistice agreement between the Bolshevist Government and the Teutonic allies was signed at Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 15 to continue until Jan. 14, 1918.

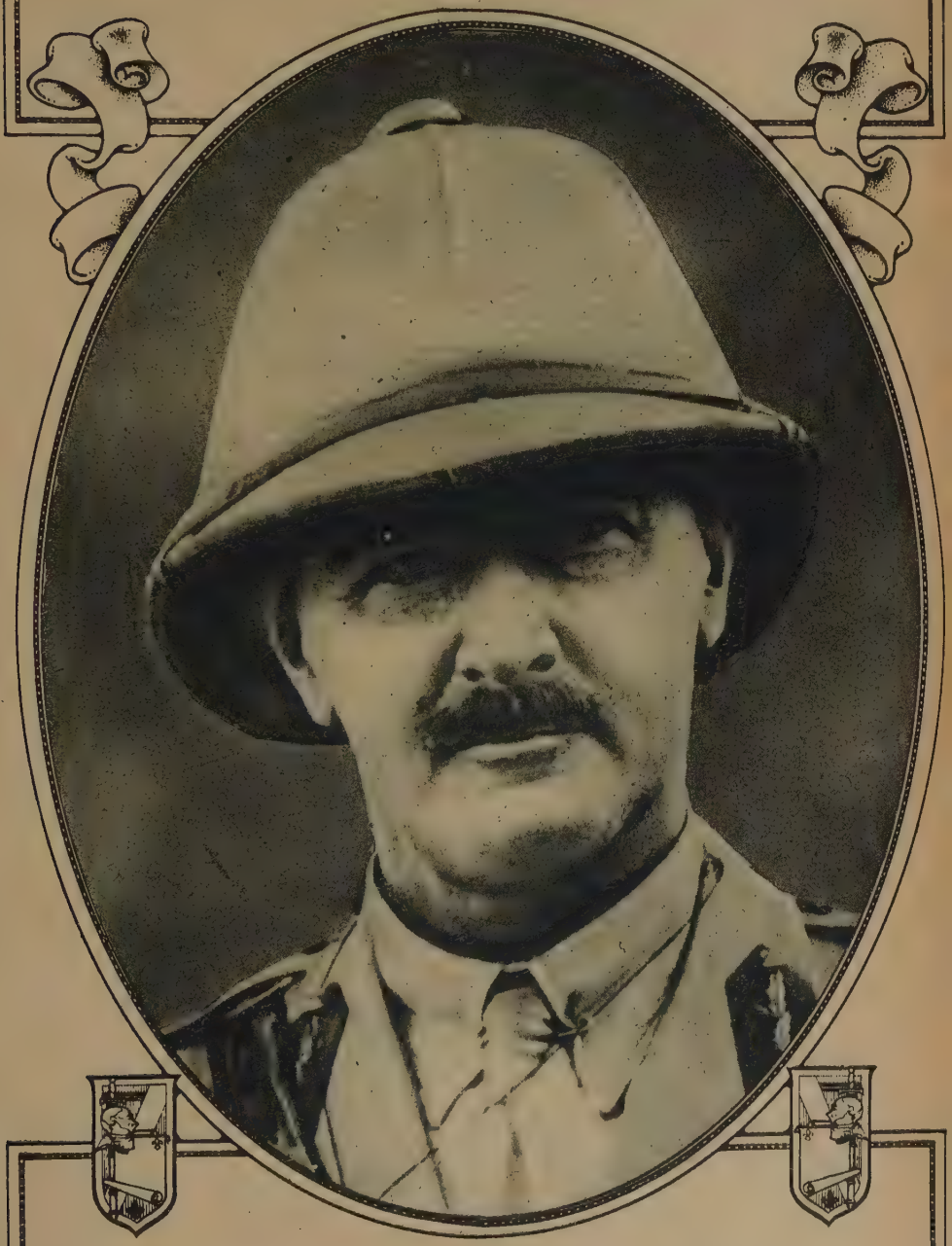
Several provinces seceded from Russia and established separate Governments. The Ukrainian Rada proclaimed a republic on Nov. 20. Kuban and Siberia were reported to have established republics on Dec. 4. The provisional Government of Siberia stopped all food supplies to European Russia, and a temporary Government was established with Kerensky as Minister of Justice. Finland proclaimed her independence on Dec. 7.

The Bolshevist Government published the text of alleged secret agreements made by the Entente Allies concerning territorial aims and peace terms.

On Dec. 9 Generals Kaledine and Korniloff headed a revolt of the Cossacks, Imperialists and Constitutional Democrats in the Ural and Don regions against the Bolshevist rule. Kaledine was reported arrested on Dec. 15, and the cities of Rostov, Nakhitchevan, and Taganrog were reported in the hands of the Bolshevist troops.

The Constituent Assembly attempted to meet at Petrograd on Dec. 11, but the few

GENERAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY



Commander of the British Expedition Advancing in Palestine.

(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

GENERAL CONRAD VON HOETZENDORFF

Chief of Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army.

delegates who appeared were threatened or arrested by the Bolsheviki.

The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, at a meeting held Dec. 16, approved a decree declaring the Constitutional Democrats enemies of the people. The Peasants' Congress, denouncing the arrest of members of the Constituent Assembly, called upon the army and navy to defend the delegates.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria and Germany closed the last Swiss frontiers on Nov. 27.

The Scandinavian monarchs, at a conference held in the week ended Nov. 29, agreed to maintain neutrality and to aid one another economically as long as the war lasted.

The British House of Commons on Nov. 21 voted to disfranchise conscientious objectors. Lord Rothermere accepted the post of Air Minister. General Sir Herbert Plumer was appointed commander of the British forces in Italy and Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall was placed in command of the forces in Mesopotamia, to succeed General Maude.

The German Reichstag passed a war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks on Dec. 1. An electoral reform bill, approved by the Kaiser, was introduced in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet on Dec. 7, and subsequently referred to a committee to report in January.

Ecuador severed diplomatic relations with Germany on Dec. 8.

The Cuban House of Representatives passed a resolution on Dec. 12 calling for a declaration of war on Austria-Hungary.

A meeting of the Supreme War Council of the Allies was held in Versailles on Dec. 1. The Interallied Conference was in session in Paris from Nov. 29 to Dec. 3.

A meeting of the Board on Finances and War Purchases was held in London Dec. 15, and Oscar T. Crosby was elected President.

The Titanic Battles for Cambrai

Story of British Drive, Led by Hundreds of "Tanks," That Broke Hindenburg Line—Partial German Recovery

By Philip Gibbs

The most sensational and sanguinary battles in France in 1917 *were fought by the British and the Germans between Nov.* 20 *and Dec.* 12 *for possession of the important city of Cambrai. In the initial offensive Field Marshal Haig's forces under the command of General Sir Julian Byng made their attack on a thirty-two-mile front between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River, penetrating the Hindenburg line to a depth of five miles and recovering nearly* 140 *square miles of French territory. The attack was irresistible, being led by several hundred "tanks," and for a while the fall of Cambrai, a pivotal German supply centre, seemed imminent. The Germans a few days later massed many thousands of fresh troops from the eastern front and began a stubborn counterattack, which regained fully one-third of the lost ground and saved Cambrai for them. The British took about* 9,000 *prisoners, the Germans in their counterattacks about* 6,000. *The battle was continuous for nearly twenty days and is regarded as one of the most sanguinary fought in the entire war. The descriptions here presented are in the main from cable letters by Philip Gibbs.*

[See Map on Page 21]

THE enemy yesterday (Nov. 20, 1917) had, I am sure, the surprise of his life on the western front, where without any warning by ordinary preparations that are made before a battle, without any sign of strength in men and guns behind the British front, without a single shot fired before the attack, and with his great belts of hideously strong wire still intact, the British troops suddenly assaulted him at dawn, led forward by great numbers of tanks, smashed through his wire, passed beyond to his trenches, and penetrated in many places the main Hindenburg line and the Hindenburg support line beyond.

To my mind it is the most sensational

and dramatic episode of this year's fighting, brilliantly imagined and carried through with the greatest secrecy. Not a whisper of it had reached men like myself, who are always up and down the lines, and since the secret of the tanks themselves, which suddenly made their appearance on the Somme last year, this is, I believe, the best-kept secret of the war. How could the enemy guess, in his wildest nightmare, that a blow would be struck quite suddenly at that Hindenburg line of his—enormously strong in redoubts, tunnels, and trenches—and without any artillery preparation or any sign of gun power behind the British front?

The enemy had withdrawn many of his guns from this "quiet" sector, and he did not know that during recent nights great numbers of tanks had been crawling along the roads toward Havrincourt and the British lines below Flesquieres Ridge, hiding by day in the copses of this wooded and rolling country beyond Péronne and Bapaume. Indeed, he knew little of all that was going on before him under the cover of darkness.

Most of the prisoners say that the first thing they knew of the attack was when, out of the mist, they saw the tanks advancing upon them, smashing down their wire, crawling over their trenches and nosing forward with gunfire and machine-gun fire slashing from their sides

The Germans were aghast and dazed Many hid down in their dugouts and tunnels, and then surrendered. Only the steadiest and bravest of them rushed to the machine guns and got them into action and used their rifles to snipe the British.

British Rushed on Cheering

Out of the silence which had prevailed behind the British lines a great fire of guns came upon the Germans. They knew they had been caught by an amazing stratagem, and they were full of terror. Behind the tanks, coming forward in platoons, the infantry swarmed, cheering and shouting, trudging through the thistles, while the tanks made a scythe of machine-gun fire in front of them, and thousands of shells went screaming over the Hindenburg lines.

The German artillery made but a feeble answer. Their gun positions were being smothered by the fire of all the British batteries. There were not many German batteries, and the enemy's infantry could get no great help from them. They were caught, German officers knew they had been caught, like rats in a trap. It was their black day.

I think all the British felt the drama of this adventure and had the thrill of it, a thrill which I had believed had departed out of war because of the ferocity of shellfire and the staleness of war's mechanism and formula of attack.

Cavalry in Action

A mass of cavalry was brought up and hidden very close to the enemy's lines, ready to make a sweeping drive should the Hindenburg line be pierced by the advance of the tanks over the great belts of barbed wire and the deep, wide trenches of the strongest lines on the western front.

Yesterday I saw the cavalry in all this country waiting for their orders to saddle up and get their first great chance. I was astounded to see them there and was stirred by a great thrill of excitement, not without some tragic foreboding, because after seeing much of the war on this front and coming straight from Flanders with its terrifying artillery and frightful barrages it seemed to me incredible that after all cavalry should ride out into the open and round up the enemy. I had seen the Hindenburg line up by Bullecourt and Queant and knew the strength of it and the depth of the barbed wire belts that surround it.

The cavalry were in the highest spirits and full of tense expectation. Young cavalry officers galloped past smiling, and called out a cheery "Good morning," like men who have good sport ahead. In the folds of land toward the German lines there were thousands of cavalry horses, massed in parks, with their horse artillery limbered up, and ready for their ride.

This morning, very early, in the steady rain and wet mist, I saw squadrons of them going into action, and it was the most stirring sight I had seen for many

a long day in this war, one which I sometimes thought I should never live to see. They rode past me as I walked along the road through our newly captured ground and across the Hindenburg line. They streamed by at a quick trot and the noise of the horses' hoofs was a strange, rushing sound.

Rain slashed down upon their steel hats, their capes were glistening, and mud was flung up to the horses' flanks, as in long columns they went up and down the rolling country and cantered up the steep track, making a wide curve around two great mine craters in roads which the enemy had blown up in his retreat. It was a wonderful picture to see and remember.

Other squadrons of cavalry had already gone ahead and had been fighting in the open country since midday yesterday after crossing the bridges at Masniéres and Marcoing, which the enemy did not have time to destroy. They had done well. One squadron rode down a battery of German guns, and a patrol had ridden into Flesquières village when the Germans were still there. Still other bodies of cavalry had swept around German machine-gun emplacements and German villages and drawn many prisoners into their net.

Tanks Do Their "Damndest"

The drama was far beyond the most fantastic imagination. This attack on the Hindenburg lines before Cambrai has never been approached on the western front, and the first act began when the tanks moved forward before dawn toward the long, wide belts of wire, which they had to destroy before the rest could follow.

These squadrons of tanks were led into action by the General commanding their corps, who carried his flag on his own tank—a most gallant man, full of enthusiasm for his monsters and their brave crews, and determined that this day should be theirs. To every officer and man of the tanks he sent this Order of the Day before the battle:

"The Tank Corps expects that every tank this day will do its damndest."

They did. As the pilot of one of them told me, they "played merry hell." They moved forward in small groups, several hundreds of them, rolled down the German wire, trampled down its lines, and then crossed the deep gulf of the Hindenburg main line, pitching their noses downward as they drew their long bodies over the parapets, rearing up again with their long forward reach of body, and heaving themselves on to the ground beyond.

The German troops knew nothing of the fate that awaited them until out of the gloom of dawn they saw these great numbers of gray inhuman creatures bearing down upon them. A German officer whom I saw today, one out of thousands of prisoners who have been taken, described his own sensations. At first he could not believe his eyes. He seemed in some horrible nightmare and thought he had gone mad. After that from his dugout he watched all the tanks trampling about, crunching down the wire, heaving themselves across his trenches and searching about for machine-gun emplacements, while his men ran about in terror, trying to avoid the bursts of fire and crying out in surrender.

Some of the German troops kept their nerve and served their machine guns, firing between the tanks at British infantry, but the tanks dealt with them and silenced them. Some of the German snipers fired at the British at a few yards and the infantry dealt with them masterfully. But, for the most part, the enemy broke as soon as the tanks were on them and fled or surrendered.

A few of the tanks had bad luck, and I saw these cripples this morning where they were overturned by shellfire or had become bogged. Elsewhere I saw one or two which had buried their noses deep into the soft earth and lay overturned or lay head downward over deep banks down which they had tried to crawl. But the tank casualties were light, and large numbers of them went ahead and fought all day up Flesquières Ridge and round the château of Havrincourt, where the enemy held out for some time, and across the bridges of Marcoing and Masnières and up to the neighborhood of Noyelles and Graincourt and beyond Ribecourt.

Strange Tank Adventures

Standing on the battlefield, I heard from a young pilot a tale of his adventure in this battle, and all through his tale ran one refrain—it was his need of sleep. He spoke the word "sleep" as if it were some spell word, holding all the beauty of life. For nine days and nights before the surprise at dawn he had been working to get his engine right, to get his guns right, to fix things up, as he said, speaking with a grim, worn look at the box of tricks by his side. Half an hour before he went over he was seen by the enemy in Havrincourt Château away on a hill in front of him by the white glare of the Verey lights. He had tried to stop every time the light went up, but they saw his movement and instantly a field gun opened on him. Its shooting was marvelous, and I saw how near the shells had fallen to the track of that tank. The young pilot was sitting outside his tank with his Sergeant, but presently he said: "I guess we'll get inside. This is getting too hot."

As they advanced to battle the pilot and Sergeant and one other man were the only ones awake. All the rest were fast asleep—dead and drugged by sleep after their long ordeal.

That seems to me the queerest thing I have heard in this battle—that and the experience of a tank which was hit twice by direct hits. The first shell burst inside the tank after passing between the arm and body of the pilot, and by an amazing chance did not wound a soul. Another shell came inside and again no one was hit.

Later the officers and crew got out to deal with their tank, which had become stuck between two banks up by Havrincourt Village, while the enemy was still fighting there. Machine-gun bullets whipped round them like a swarm of wasps, but only one man was hit and he was only slightly touched.

"It was a million to one chance each time," said the pilot, "a miracle which you can't count on again."

Heroism of the Ulster Men

The attack of the Ulster battalions on the first two days of the battle was a hard and grim episode of the general action, and ground was gained only by the most persistent endeavors and courage.

These men, newly down from the battles of Flanders, where they had terrible and tragic fighting, were determined to go far in this new field, and their spirit was high.

They had no tanks to cut the wire in front of them, as those machines were concentrated in large numbers on the right wing of the attack. The Ulstermen had the Hindenburg trenches before them, wide belts of wire, and beyond the trenches the deep ditch of the Canal du Nord, a most formidable series of defenses. They had to break down the wire in front of them by bomb explosions and under heavy machine-gun fire from the trenches and the further side of the canal bank, where the Germans were in concrete blockhouses and strong emplacements.

At first they broke their way through all obstacles in spite of being hung up by wire here and there and the harassing fire of snipers, and they cleared the trenches of the men who were demoralized by the surprise and suddenness of the attack.

Later some of the Ulstermen came up against a high "spoil" bank or waste heap, sixty feet high from the canal bank, and defended from tunneled dugouts underneath it. About 8:30 in the morning they captured the spoil heap and a crowd of prisoners in the dugouts, and then tried to get astride the Cambrai Road and to cross the canal.

A gallant little body of Belfast men, all from shipbuilding works on Queens Island, worked for hours under fire to build a bridge across and repair the destroyed causeway so that the infantry could pass. It was done before dusk, and the Ulstermen seized the way across the Cambrai Road, but could not cross the canal or get forward very far owing to the fierce machine-gun fire that swept down upon them from the east side of the canal, where the enemy was holding Moeuvres and Graincourt.

As the British troops advanced and the various villages were captured, the French civilians who had for three years been under German domination were re-

leased. The scenes at the liberation of these people are thus described by Mr. Gibbs in a cable letter written on Nov. 22:

The people I saw today (gathered together in a ruined village, in the heart of all these new scenes of war, with the tide of cavalry streaming up the roads, with tanks crawling on the hillsides and guns firing across the open fields, and new batches of German prisoners tramping down under escort, haggard and dazed by the swift turn of fortune's wheel, which had flung them into British hands when they seemed so safe behind their great lines) were all from Masnières near Marcoing, where 450 of them had awaited the coming of the English in feverish excitement since they heard the approach of the advance guards.

They were pitiful groups of men, women, and children—pitiful because of their helplessness in this corner of war among the guns. Some of the women had babies with them in perambulators and wooden boxes on wheels, into which also they had tucked a few things from their abandoned homes. Some of them were young women neatly dressed, but all plastered with mud after the tramp across the battlefields and woefully bedraggled. Some of the little girls had brought their dogs with them, and one child had a bird in a cage.

There were sturdy peasants among them and old folk with wrinkled faces and frightened eyes because of this strange adventure in their old age, and young men of military age who had not been taken away like most of their comrades for forced labor because their work was useful to the enemy in their own district. This was the case of a good-looking young barber to whom I talked, who had shaved the German officers and men for three years in Masnières.

These people looked woebegone as they waited in the ruins for the English lorries to take them away to safety, but in their hearts there was great joy, as I found when I talked to them, because they were on the British side of the lines and out of reach of the enemy, whom they hate bitterly because of the discipline put upon them and their servitude, and most of all and all in all because he is the enemy of their country and the destroyer of their land and blood.

They told me that after the coming of the Germans in the early days of the war, when the Uhlans entered Masnières and fought with French and English cavalry at Crevecourt, where our cavalry was again fighting yesterday, they had no liberty and no property. The Germans requisitioned everything. They took their pigs and their poultry and their grain and their wine. If a peasant hid a hen he was heavily fined or put in prison; if he was discovered with a bottle of wine he was fined 10 francs or put in prison.

Kept Alive by American Food

In Masnières there were some fine houses like that of M. Millais, a manufacturer, full of good furniture and pictures. They were all stripped and left bare. The very floors were taken up. In all the little houses there was search made for any bit of lead piping, for any bit of brass or metal.

The civil population were fed almost entirely by the American Relief Committee, and after the entry of America into the war by the Spanish-Dutch Committee, which carried on the work. "Without that," they told me, "we should have starved."

The men were all put to work for the enemy in fields or in workshops and the women made to sweep roads, wash the dirty linen of the German soldiers, and to clean out the rooms, which were filled and refilled with the vermin of the trenches. The commandants of the village were generally young Lieutenants, very supercilious and very strict, but on the other hand not brutal or unjust. They were hard with the French people, as they were hard with their men.

The Mayor of Masnières, with whom I spoke today, said that there was no shadow of doubt that the German people are suffering severe privations from real hunger—so much that the officers often address the men on parade and in their lecture rooms and tell them that the soldiers must stand firm because they

are suffering less than the people at home. Other men told me the same thing today.

Hid in Cellar Three Years

The first news that came to these people of the change that was upon them was when they heard the firing of the British guns on Tuesday morning and later the sound of rifle shots and machine-gun fire. * * * The French civilians were very much frightened, and took refuge in their cellars, but they were buoyed up with a great hope that their liberation was at hand. Then they rushed out to greet their liberators, weeping with joy.

One man who has now come to the British side of the line is a man of thirty-eight or so, but with the look of one of 60, and with a strange, waxen color like that of death. He has a strange history. For all these three years and more since the beginning of the war he lived in hiding in the cellar of his own house, where German officers were billeted. He was fed by his wife out of extra rations given to the baby born during the war. The house was searched once a week, according to rule, and both husband and wife would have been punished by death if the man had been discovered, but he was never found. By queer chance, the morning that the English came to Masnières was the day on which the house was to be searched again. The man, who is now free, has wept ever since his liberation from that dark cellar in the town.

Where the Battle Was Fought

Mr. Gibbs gave this graphic and interesting description of the battlefield in a cable letter dated Nov. 25:

The way up to Havrincourt Village, on the ridge to the west of Flesquières, (by a stone cross, five centuries old, dedicated to St. Hubert, the patron saint of huntsmen before the tanks went a-hunting on a fine November morning,) was littered with things the Germans had left behind—field-gray overcoats, shrapnel helmets, innumerable pairs of boots, goatskin pouches, rifles, bayonets, bandoliers, tunics, gas masks. It was as if great numbers of men had thrown everything away from them in a moment of great terror and had fled naked from their fear.

I went out into the open country. Outstretched before me was the whole panorama of this battle. I went up to the edge of it as close as one could go without getting into the furnace fires. All around me were the swirl and turmoil of the battlefield. Everywhere tanks were crawling over the ground, some of them moving forward into action, some of them out of action, mortally wounded, some of them like battle cruisers of the land going forward in reconnoissance.

Less than 2,000 yards away from us was a town on fire. It was Graincourt, and the enemy was "knocking hell out of it," in revenge for its capture. It had been my intention to go there, but I stopped short of it and was glad I had gone no further.

Shell after shell burst among its roofs and walls without ceasing for several hours. Red brick cottages went up in clouds of rosy smoke with flames in the heart of it. The enemy's shells burst in Graincourt with so many colors—green, purple, orange, rose, and pink—that it was a wonderful poem in color, but as tragic as the death that was there.

The German Surprise Attack

The Germans retaliated on Nov. 30 *by delivering two flank and a centre attack southwest of Cambrai on a wide front and succeeded in surprising one weaker section of the British line, where* 4,000 *men were captured, with some territory, compelling the British a few days later to withdraw from about one-third of the advance they had previously made. This bloody attack is described as follows:*

The assault began at about 8:40 o'clock. The enemy went over the ridge between these Moeuvres and Bourlon woods in dense masses. As they swept down the slope toward the Bapaume-Cambrai road they came under the fire of the British artillery. The British gunners had so many targets that they hardly knew where to begin shooting, but immediately poured a veritable deluge of shells into the advancing German ranks. British machine guns and rifles

also took part in the sanguinary business.

The Germans fell by scores as they advanced over the ridge in close formation, but they kept coming on. British infantrymen were thrown into the battle line for a counterattack, and hot fighting ensued. The Germans succeeded in penetrating to the vicinity of the Bapaume-Cambrai highway northwest of Graincourt, but this was as far as they were able to get.

Notwithstanding their terrible losses, the Germans continued to rush over the ridge in waves all day and always with the same result—they came under an intense fire and were mown down in great numbers. Late in the day British counterattacks succeeded in pushing the enemy back to virtually the same line that they had left.

Further to the south the Germans broke through the British front south of Villers-Guislain, and, by executing a turning movement to the north, succeeded in enveloping Gauche Wood, Gouzeaucourt, Gonnelieu, and La Vacquerie.

The Battle at Masnieres

The Germans followed their advantage by continuing their attacks on Dec. 1 with fresh fury. The correspondent describes the battle for the village of Masnières as follows:

Nine separate counterattacks launched against Masnières by strong German forces yesterday were all repulsed after most sanguinary fighting, although the British pulled their line back somewhat to lessen the sharp salient there. An intense battle raged all day, and it is stated that the British killed more Germans between daylight and dark than in any similar period since the war began. It was practically a continuous fight from the start of the first counterattack.

The enemy infantry kept surging forward in waves, and as each came up it was caught by the fire from the artillery, rifles, and machine guns. The attacking forces were mowed down like wheat before the wind, but with characteristic Prussian discipline they continued to fill their ranks and advance until after the ninth assault had failed.

During the afternoon the Germans succeeded in capturing Les Rues Vertes, a suburb south of Masnières, but a British counterattack pushed the enemy out again.

The British had to encounter ten German attacks in great force, advancing into the suburbs of Les Rues Vertes under the protection of a frightful bombardment. They repulsed these attacks ten times with machine-gun and rifle fire, until the enemy officers sent back word that their position in this suburb was untenable and they had to retreat from the annihilating fire. But by this time Masnières was at the end of a sharp salient, formed by the enemy's gain of the ridge below, and during the night, according to orders, the British withdrew unknown to the Germans, who were busy with their dead and wounded. Even on Sunday morning the Germans did not know that not a single English soldier remained in Masnières, and they bombarded it anew before sending forward more storm troops in the afternoon, when they discovered its abandonment.

The Germans continued their battle on the 2d and 3d, employing great forces. They approached La Vacquerie from the east and southeast, and at the outset it appeared that the attack was comparatively local. In their first charge the enemy came up against a stone wall and they were forced to fall back. They kept coming in waves, however. They finally won a footing in the town, but immediately were ejected. Intense fighting at close quarters followed.

British Lose Bourlon Wood

In the early dawn on Dec. 4 the British withdrew from the Bourlon salient to a depth varying from a half to two and a half miles. The readjustment of the lines was effected without any losses to the British and left them in possession of about two-thirds of the territory originally captured. Fierce artillery exchanges between the two fronts continued day and night from the 6th to the 12th, and there were indications that the Germans were massing immense forces for another great offensive.

Official History of the "Tanks"

Story of Evolution of the Armored Motor Cars That Broke the Hindenburg Line

The great part played by several hundred "tanks" in the British drive at Cambrai has confirmed the military value of these new engines of war. The subjoined narrative by an officer of the General Staff tells how these land dreadnoughts were developed by the British Government and how the crews were trained in secret before the début of the "tanks" at the battle of the Somme:

THE Machine Gun Corps of the British Army as constituted in October, 1915, was divided into an infantry, a cavalry, and a motor branch. Six months later a new section was formed at Bisley. The men for this new section were taken from the pick of the Derby recruits; for the junior officers two Colonels went on a voyage of discovery to cadet battalions and other units and selected promising young men with a knowledge of internal combustion engines who had given proofs of an adventurous spirit and of ability to make men move. For some time the object of the new unit remained a mystery even to those drafted into it, except so far as the qualifications required of the officers afforded an inkling.

The name given to the new organization—the Heavy Armored Section of the Motor Machine Gun Service—only deepened the mystery, as there were no signs of cars, armored or unarmored, and the only training given to the men was foot drill and machine-gun practice. However, after some time spent in these occupations, the Colonel in command addressed the company commanders and some other officers on parade, and after commending the spirit they had hitherto shown, bade them be of good heart, as a wonderful new car, which would astonish them all, was shortly to be issued to them for service in the field.

At last it was announced that the new car was ready. But it was not brought to the camp near Aldershot, where the section was stationed—that was far too much in the public eye. A site had been chosen in a more remote part of the country; there a camp was pitched, carefully screened from inquisitive passers-by; it was surrounded by fences and guarded by sentries posted at intervals of 100 yards, with orders to admit no one who was not furnished with a special pass. Companies of the Armored Car Section, as soon as their preliminary training was completed, were successively drafted to this camp to become familiarized with their weapon of destruction.

Monster Weighing Forty Tons

The new armored car concealed in this lair certainly had all the promised elements of surprise. At first sight it appeared little more than a huge, shapeless bulk of metal. It was said to weigh some forty tons, was armor plated all over, with tiny spyholes at intervals, from some of which peeped out murderous-looking gun muzzles, and had no visible means of progression except two small motor wheels attached like a tail behind. The wheels behind were found to act only as a rudder to direct its course, the propulsive force coming from some internal and invisible wheels that traveled over long endless metal tracks, extending in an elliptical shape from the snout to the rump and moving forward as the creature advanced. The pace at which this strange object moved was slow—barely three miles an hour. The first company of the Heavy Armored Car Section were delighted with the spectacle of the creature intrusted to their care, and promptly adopted the name "Big Willie," with which their new pet had previously been christened. The two next of the same breed to come in were called "Little Willie" and "Mother."

In the Autumn of 1914, when the opponents had settled down to trench war-

fare, it became obvious that some means of parrying the danger of well-directed and well-protected machine-gun fire from the German trenches must be discovered if our infantry were to carry out assaults with success. The idea of a self-propelled armored car which could move unscathed over unprotected ground, could crush down wire entanglements, and carry guns with crews to work them occurred to several people both in the army and the navy. Such an engine, recalling the turris mobilis of Livy and the beffroi of the Middle Ages, would not only be able to tackle troublesome machine guns in the German trenches, but would also help to clear a way through barbed wire obstacles for the infantry.

Suggested by American Tractor

Even before this war the development of the caterpillar tractor had suggested to a few far-sighted people the possibility of evolving from this invention a machine capable of offensive use over rough country in close warfare.

Among the earliest of the more practical suggestions was one by Colonel Swinton, the first commanding officer of the "Heavy Section," in October, 1914, to build armored cars on the Holt tractor system, an American invention, or on a similar caterpillar principle, to smash through wire entanglements and climb trenches. This idea was subsequently referred to the Committee of Imperial Defense and the War Office, and experiments with various tractors were made on behalf of the War Office for some time without practical result. In the meantime, a similar idea had occurred to officers in the Royal Naval Air Service, and Mr. Churchill, then First Lord, took it up warmly.

When in June, 1915, the Commander in Chief in France sent in a memorandum urging an exhaustive examination of the question, two State departments chiefly concerned had the matter well in hand. Moreover, the Ministry of Munitions, which had recently been established, was also considering the matter. Through the medium of the Committee of Imperial Defense the various efforts for the solution of the problem were co-ordinated, and a committee, of which Mr. Churchill was a member, was appointed to decide on the distribution of the work.

According to the recommendation of this committee, the War Office laid down the conditions which had to be fulfilled by the car. It should be able to climb a five-foot parapet and cross a ten-foot ditch; in weight and width it had to conform to the measurements of standard War Office bridges and to railway transportation requirements, and it must not be too high, for reasons of visibility to the enemy; it must be protected against close-range rifle and machine-gun fire, and must be able to destroy machine-gun emplacements. It was agreed, however, that the first experimental work should be left in the hands of the Admiralty Committee.

A Year Spent in Experiments

A year was spent by the Admiralty Committee in researches and experiments before a satisfactory machine was designed and constructed. Finally, from among the numerous types of tractors inspected the most satisfactory was found to be a caterpillar tractor with an endless self-laid track, over which internal driving wheels could be propelled by the engines.

The construction of these new engines of warfare was still necessarily a slow business. Improvements were continually being adopted, which necessitated changes in the original designs, and men had to be specially trained in the factories for the work required. It was not, therefore, as we have seen, till about July, 1916, that the first consignment arrived at the secret manoeuvre ground to meet the personnel which was to use them.

The new machines, as delivered at the secret camp, were found to be of two slightly different designs. One, called the male, was armed with two Hotchkiss quick-fire guns, with a subsidiary armament of some machine guns. These were especially designed for dealing at close quarters with the concrete emplacements for the German machine guns. The other type, called the female, was armed only with machine guns, and was more suitable for dealing with machine-gun per-

sonnel and riflemen than with the emplacements.

The members of the Heavy Section of the Machine Gun Corps after arriving at their camp had a good deal of work in front of them before they could hope to take their tanks on active service. They had to learn how to drive and steer them, to repair them, and to fire off their guns when boxed up within their narrow compass; they even had to learn how to live at all inside them.

Hardships Suffered by Crews

Imagine a narrow cabin some nine or ten feet wide, thirteen feet long, and four feet high, into which had to be crammed an engine of over 100 horse power, two guns, and three or four machine guns, provisions for three days, ammunition and equipment, besides a crew of several men. The noise made by the engine made it impossible to hear an order, consequently every communication had to be made by signs; the armor plating was so effective that one could only see for steering or for aiming the guns through the narrowest chinks; the motion, too, of the tank over rough ground was not unlike that of a ship in a heavy sea, and this motion, combined with the smell of oil, the close atmosphere, the heat and the noise, was at first apt to induce the same symptoms as sometimes afflict those uninured to sea voyages.

In spite of all these difficulties, so great was the zeal displayed that at the end of July, 1916, it was possible to hold two exhibition combats with tanks over the trench system prepared, one before General Staff officers, the other before the King. These exhibitions showed that the tanks answered the purposes for which they had been designed, and orders were given for them to be made ready for France. At the end of August fifty tanks were loaded at night on the railway at the camp's private siding and sent off to France with all due precaution for secrecy. They were landed at Havre on Aug. 29, and went up to the front, some by road, others by railway.

The tanks sent over were painted all over, for the purpose of concealment, with weird colors, which added to their grotesque appearance. They were also given fancy names by the men, sometimes illustrated by rough heraldic emblems on the body. Among the names given were His Majesty's Landships Cyclops, Chaos, Café au Lait, Champagne, Cordon Rouge, Chartreuse, Chablis, Cognac, Curaçoa, and Crême de Menthe. There was an H. M. L. S. Dreadnought, a Daredevil, and a Deadwood Dick.

First Tanks in Battle

When the tanks arrived at the front they were naturally objects of wonder to all who were privileged to see them. Detachments of tanks were assigned to the army commander then engaged in the continuation of the Somme offensive. On Sept. 15 they were let loose for the test of battle.

The new offensive, which began on Sept. 15, was a continuation of the great battle of the Somme that had started in the previous July. The object of this offensive was to drive the Germans out of high ground running east and south of Thiepval, from which they could enfilade our newly gained positions. The Germans were strongly intrenched, and had hundreds of gigantic wasps' nests scattered about in the shape of strong concrete emplacements for machine guns. Bitter experience had taught our Generals that a successful advance under cover of our artillery barrage into the first-line trenches was too often doomed to be hung up by the concerted fire from these wasps' nests, which could not be reached by our infantry. The chief business of the tanks was to help our infantry by destroying these nests.

Sept. 15 was a misty morning and comparatively few of our troops saw the long line of tanks which the night before had been comfortably parked in a secluded valley, deploying into battle position. But when the mists rose and the tanks appeared to friend and foe in all their grotesque uncouthness, the effect was as exhilarating to us as it was dumfounding to the Germans.

When the Germans had recovered their senses sufficiently they directed all the available rifle and machine-gun fire upon them. But the tanks did not mind. A war correspondent, describing the ad-

ventures of Crême de Menthe on the way to Courcelette, narrates that:

"The bullets fell from its sides harmlessly. It advanced upon a broken wall, leaned up against it heavily until it fell with a crash of bricks, and then rose on to the bricks and passed over them, and walked straight into the midst of factory ruins."

Exploits of the Monsters

One tank in another part of the field was in action for twenty consecutive hours. Another, getting well ahead of the infantry, on finding itself alone, turned back to see what had become of its human companions. They were found to be held up by a machine-gun emplacement full of Germans, so the tank obligingly sat on the emplacement, shot down the Germans, and led the men on to further victories.

It must not, however, be imagined that the proceedings of the tanks were quite as amusing to those inside as they appeared to the British infantry, who had barbed wire leveled for them and machine-gun emplacements crushed as they advanced. The cramped quarters, the head-splitting noise, and the difficulty of ascertaining what was going on outside made the lives of the tank crew anything but agreeable in battle. Their periscopes were apt to be shot away; the steering gear, never easy, became almost impossible. The mere manual labor of moving the levers of the engines and turning apparatus was enormous, especially in these early machines. The crew had difficulty in communicating with the outside world, and had to rely chiefly on two carrier pigeons taken with them on the voyage; as for communication with them by the outside world, this was even harder. The tank, indeed, proved to be an admirable protection against ordinary rifle bullets.

Even when the tanks themselves were knocked out, this was not necessarily fatal to the crews, who often managed to escape, and the casualties were small in proportion to the number of tanks put out of action. Those who inaugurated tank attacks in this first battle deserve all the credit they can receive.

Tanks Used at Gaza

Once having proved their value, the tanks came to stay. Later in the year tanks were sent out to Egypt and were in action at Gaza. In November they were used again in France. Meanwhile, more and more tanks were being constructed and an increasing personnel to form the crews and the repair sections was being trained in England. After the first success in France the growing importance of the organization was emphasized by a change of title from "Heavy Section" to "Heavy Branch of the Machine Gun Corps." Finally, in July, 1917, the growing size and importance of the tanks organization justified the Army Council in entirely separating it from the Machine Gun Corps and establishing it as a special Tank Corps by itself under a Director General.

Enemy's Countermeasures

In France the tanks have been in action in successively increasing numbers at each attack delivered on a large scale. At Arras in April, at Messines in June, and at the third battle of Ypres in August they have continued their valuable work. It could not be expected that a vigilant enemy like the Germans would not contrive countermeasures. They have established special observers and airplanes to watch for tanks and signal their appearance, and guns, both in the rear and in the trenches, to deal with them. Armor-piercing bullets are served out to their riflemen and machine gunners for use at close quarters, and elaborately concealed tank traps are prepared to engulf the monsters.

It is hardly possible yet to allocate all the credit for the hard and persistent work carried out by the pioneers of this corps. But even if they cannot yet be named, they have the satisfaction of having helped to save the lives of hundreds of brave men, and perhaps to have brought nearer the final victory. It has been truly said that we were first this time in inventing a new engine of war, an engine at once effective and at the same time, unlike so many of the German inventions, transgressing none of the hitherto accepted conventions of war.

Epic Battles in the Alps

Italians in a Month's Fierce Fighting Hold the Invaders on the Piave and Asiago Fronts

THE world watched with breathless interest the struggle of Italy to stop the Austro-German invasion at the line of the Piave, where last month's story left the invaders within less than a score of miles of Venice. The intervening weeks brought desperate fighting all along the Piave line, especially in the northern reaches among the Alps and around Asiago; but with slight exceptions the Italians held fast and the Austrians suffered heavy losses in vain.

To take up the narrative where it stopped a month ago: The effects of the sanguinary fighting along the lower Piave, where the Italian Third Army, under the Duke of Aosta, had checked the invaders, were described on Nov. 19, 1917, by an Associated Press correspondent, who had made a tour of thirty miles along the battle front, visiting Zenson, Fagare, and the Sega Mill.

"Everywhere," he wrote, "the enemy had been thrown back, except at the brink of the river at Zenson, where a few men were huddled in the bushes, unable to go backward or forward, and were being slowly cut to pieces. At Fagare, Follina, and the Sega Mill the rout of the enemy was complete, having been accomplished in fearful hand-to-hand fighting on Nov. 16 and 17. * * *

"On the cemetery road, where the Austrians advanced and set up their line of quick-firers, a fearful scene was spread before the party. The road was littered as though a tornado had passed by. Dead horses lay all about in contorted shapes. The highway was strewn with enemy helmets, blood-stained clothing, cartridge belts, and all kinds of accoutrements. The trees on either side were cut in two, and the lines of bushes were leveled like grain before a storm.

"Just ahead on the road was Sega Mill, where the bloodiest fighting was centred. The mill wheel was still running, and the water was flowing peacefully, but all about were evidences of fearful carnage. The soldiers who held the mill stood unconcernedly at the door, while all over the ground were tatters left by the Austrians as they were driven on the mill and thrown into the river.

"Passing on to the bank of the river, just back of the mill, a horrible sight opened just under the eyes of the visitors. Over there on the sand bar in midstream lay corpses in heaps, as far as the eye could see, the uniforms showing plainly that they were Austrians. Some lay on the bank, and some floated in the water. The Italians had just buried the bodies of 300 Austrians, but those other hundreds could not be brought back for decent burial, as the Austrian guns cut down stretcher bearers every time they went off toward the sand bar. An officer's dead horse, with saddle and rich saddle cloth, lay among the bodies.

"The gruesome line of bodies extended far down the river. The Austrians had been cut down by machine-gun fire as though by a scythe. All the men in the line pitched forward on their faces and lay there, as though on dress parade, but prostrate.

"Going on to Zenson, the little town could be seen to have been retaken by the Italians after the enemy had obtained a brief lodgment in it. Behind the town on the river edge are bushes. Here were huddled what remained of the first enemy storming party which crossed the river. The whole place was swept by fire, and one realized the fearful furnace these men were in.

"As our party passed the inundated region the tops of cornstalks could be seen above the long stretches of water, indicating that it was about five feet deep. Similar traces of vineyards could be seen above the flood. Soldiers of the Engineer Corps were along the banks of the canal. They had opened the sluices wide, and the water was up to the sills.

The harvest had been gathered, but there can be no planting or sowing there next Spring."

Battles in the Mountains

Between the Piave and Brenta Rivers and on the Asiago Plateau the Austrians greatly outnumbered the Italians, but the mountainous terrain gave the defenders some advantage, and in both regions terrific fighting went on from day to day. On Nov. 22 a great encircling attack was attempted by the Austro-German forces against Monte Meletta, but the Italians held all their positions. Where the spurs of Monte Tomba overhang the Piave River the enemy's artillery concentrated in a desperate attempt to blast a road to the heart of the plain of Venice. The first concerted attack here was described by Perceval Gibbon under date of Nov. 22:

"For three days previously the Italians on the west bank at Cornuda, at Vidon Bridge, and along the banks had seen the distant roads on the other side crowded with the enemy—a whole army moving in plain sight against the background of Autumn hills and flowing down to threaten the river. Such gunfire as only a month ago the Italians could have developed on the Isonzo would have shut the roads in a hundred places, but that is not possible now, and the great machine of death and destruction came down to its place. Ahead of it the big motor guns flung their fire curtain among the villages that so recently were new to war, and at about 8 o'clock in the evening of Saturday, (Nov. 17,) as soon as it was definitely dark, came the first attempt to cross.

Attack in River Boats

"Von Below wasted no time in attempts to bridge the river. He had a flotilla of those large, high-nosed boats which are used on the rivers of the plain, and several companies occupying about forty of these craft came suddenly poling and rowing into the glare of the searchlights in an attempt to get across and gain a footing by mere swiftness and suddenness of manoeuvre.

"The Piave at Fener has two channels separated by a long island of shingle, and the boats came shooting around the head of this island into a strange blaze of illumination—searchlights converging, rockets ascending and descending in showers of blinding white magnesium flame, and gun flashes flickering afar like wildfire. The Italian machine guns and those deadly Fiat machine pistols, which fire faster than any known weapon, started to life with a single rending roar. The boats, which had been rowed with desperate energy, and were crammed to the gunwales with men, stopped as though they had run aground, flogged to a standstill by the frenzy of fire. Some went drifting down stream, full of dead and dying Germans. Two were overturned, and from yet others there were seen men leaping overboard to take the chance of saving themselves by swimming. Others got back around the nose of the island and reached the eastern bank again, but, save for the swimmers who surrendered and the wounded who came ashore lower down, not a man of them reached the Italian side.

Second Attempt Successful

"But another attack was already in preparation opposite the village of Fener itself, and already the German guns were shelling the ruins of the little place and the positions around it, and at 1 o'clock Sunday morning a large body of them managed to pass the water in the darkness and to secure a footing on the western bank. Supported by intense shellfire from their guns across the river, they pushed on and occupied the village, while the Italians fell back with their machine guns.

"The enemy's organization was as good as always. Hardly were his first men in the village when his pontoons were swinging down the river into position, and from above, on Monfenera, searchlights showed the methodical bustle of activity as the Germans and Austrians brought their forces forward for the next prompt step in the unending battle.

"There was no rest. Before noon on Tuesday the big Prussians were thrusting at the slopes at Monfenera, and by night they were aloft on the steep sides of the river. Their fire was truly

infernal at this time. They moved behind a walking wall of shells converging from the eastern roads, where their motor guns were massed in large numbers.

"Yesterday morning an Italian counterattack was launched. It is the Italian Fourth Army which fights on this sector, and its chosen brigades, such as the Brigata and the Como, are as sound as ever they were. They charged with the bayonet again and again, turning the fight into a hand-to-hand struggle at a dozen points. From the very start the enemy began to yield ground, and when night fell he had been thrown back for more than half the distance to the river. He tried more than once to return to the attack, but failed to achieve anything."

In the Brenta Gorge

The losses of the enemy were ghastly and of the Italians heavy in that encounter, but the Monte Tomba defenses held, and the blow failed. Then another portion of General von Hoetzendorf's great machine was reinforced, and the full strength of the Fourteenth Army under von Below was aimed at the Brenta Valley and the adjoining slopes of Monte Grappa. A part of Perceval Gibbon's account of the fighting there in the last week of November is as follows:

"The gorge of the Brenta became a spout of shells, aimed at the Italian machine-gun positions, and the Grappa front, where Monte Pertica flanks it on the north and Col del Orso and Monte Solarolo on the northeast, were searched from end to end with exhaustive fire by great masses of medium calibre artillery, in which the enemy is especially rich.

"The Italian guns here were mostly mountain artillery, little guns which fire more rapidly than any I have ever seen, but so light and small that I witnessed a gunner lift the barrel off its carriage and carry it away. The answering fire was, therefore, negligible. It was only when big attacks showed themselves that the Italians were able to get some of their own back.

"It was a country as little favorable as can be imagined for the German method of trampling down the defense by the mass and momentum of large bodies of attacking troops, as Prussians, who followed their shells down the Brenta gorge, went forward easily enough till they reached a point where the valley suddenly widens. There they met a blast of machine guns and were stopped as though at a dead wall.

"Three times they withdrew to shelter, while their guns searched afresh for the Italian emplacements, and three times went forward again, always with the same result. A number of them, led by a Lieutenant, who managed to crawl beyond the dead line of machine-gun fire along the stones that litter the river side, were observed and forced to take to the water by riflemen above the road. There the waters of Brenta took charge of them and hustled them down, drenched and frozen, into captivity.

Alpini Versus Edelweiss

"It was a clear repulse for the enemy, and his next attack was upon another point of the Grappa front, where the Col della Berreta lifts over the Brenta Valley east and a little south of San Marino. The fine flower of Austrian mountain troops was brought up, the famous Edelweiss, who wear their badge, a specimen of that depressing flower. The bombardment was varied by truly a frightful fire, directed beyond the defenders' lines, a curtain of shells designed to shut them in with the slaughterers and shut reinforcements out.

"Then up came the Edelweiss, a whole division of it, to the attack. There was a moment when the situation was grave for the Italians. The Alpini and infantry, who held the line, were terribly outnumbered, and from the first moment their communications with the rear were broken, the telephone wires cut into short lengths by shells, the signalers shot down as they tried to speak with flags, and runners who started were never heard of again.

"There were also a certain number of gas shells beginning to flavor the incessant bombardment, sending up a dense, acrid smoke that drifted toward the defenders and blinded them as to what was taking place beyond the smoke. Out of that darkness the Edelweiss came pressing up, taking their positions for a final

rush in parties of one platoon at a time, getting their machine guns into position among the rocks and finally attacking with the usual bombing parties.

"The leading Italian infantry and Alpini fought desperately in their trenches and out of them; there was never a moment at which they were not snowed under by weight of numbers. Yet they fought on, and here and there even succeeded in clearing their front for a short time and attempting local counterattacks. But it was a pretty hopeless business, and in the minds of the commanders there was always dawning the knowledge that the question of retreating must be faced.

Reinforcements Just in Time

"The curtain fire was still roaring in their rear when from the right of the line the uproar of the fight took a new note, and along that battered front there ran news that reinforcements were coming up and that some were already there and counterattacking. It was true. They had come through the curtain of death, paying a toll of losses, half a dozen battalions of them, and not feeling any the kindlier to the Edelweiss for the trouble they had in getting there. They went into the fight with a dash which Italian troops seem able to command at any moment, and the Edelweiss never had another chance. The newcomers simply rushed them down the hill to the woods and fought them there in the smoke and over the charred wood underfoot, killing lavishly with the long sword bayonets which infantrymen are prone to slip from their rifles and use as daggers.

"There can be no question as to the gravity of the enemy losses. The slopes above the wood and fringes of the burning wood itself were full of his dead, and he had not gained an inch of ground. Edelweiss badges can be bought very cheaply in the Italian lines today."

Stopping the Asiago Drive

On the high tableland that takes its name from the ruined village of Asiago the Italians met the supreme test. General von Hoetzendorf massed his strongest divisions here for a blow that was to smash a way through the Sette Comuni and down the Brenta Valley to the plain of Venice; and here a small Italian army under General Boriani stood its ground under daily attack from Nov. 9 to the end of the month, yielding a little at some points, but triumphantly preventing the Austrians from breaking through. It was one of the most heroic achievements in all this Alpine fighting for the life of Italy. Mr. Gibbon wrote on Nov. 29:

"Hither after the retreat from the Isonzo came General Boriani and what was left of his 5th Brigade of Bersaglieri, with sufficient Alpini and infantry added to them to make them look like a weak division. * * * They were the men sent thither to withstand that mighty Austrian thrust, whose total strength reached forty-four battalions of the cream of the Austrian Army, such divisions as the 19th, which the Italians hammered down to a residue of 3,000 men, while their own strength totaled no more than twelve battalions at any one time, and their total forces from Nov. 9 to now have been only nineteen battalions of Alpini infantry and Bersaglieri.

"Upon them and upon that ecstasy of strength which comes to brave men from the knowledge of their weakness depended the defense of one of the high-roads to the plain, that old blood-sodden, hard-bought road across the Asiago Plateau, which opens on the east to the Brenta Valley and on the west to the Valley of the Astico—easy roads, both of them, leading by plain and straight ways to the heart of Italy.

In an Untenable Position

"Faced at Monte Meletta with the alternatives of an almost immediate further retirement to another line or of attacking with inferior forces, in the hope of recovering some of the lost ground and thereby mending the situation, Boriani chose the latter, and on Nov. 16 his men by sheer fighting retook the whole of Meletta d'Avanti and Meletta di Gallio, besides thrusting out westward and ridding themselves of a number of objectionable Austrian neighbors in the form of advanced posts.

"He had accomplished what he de-

signed, but no single victory could make his position a good one. * * * The incessant bombardment and Austrian pressure made the position daily worse. The snow was deepening on the desolate levels of the tableland, walled in by its fringe of great mountains.

"It was a case of attacking or being squeezed or hunted out. Boriani, of course, attacked. He organized his attack to begin on the morning of Nov. 22, before the bitter dawn of these high, wintry deserts. He did not know—he had no means of knowing—that the Austrians were as tired of him as he of them, and had themselves arranged an attack for that morning, to start just after the hour which he had arranged. So, when the Italians went forward they were met by the preliminary bombardment which was to make things easy for the Austrian infantry. * * *

"There ensued perhaps the most frightful open fighting which this war has seen. It was a mêlée over acres of ground where battalions were locked one with another and stabbed and slashed among the crags and over the snow while the Austrian shells burst among them, killing friend and foe together. There were men who fought barehanded and others who fought with stones. It was a saturnalia of killing. Sheer numbers decided it, and by nightfall the Italians had lost a little ground, every yard of which had been paid for with dead men. They recovered the whole of that ground in the course of the night, and it was not till the night of Nov. 26 that they fell back, without a fight and without pressure from the enemy upon their present line."

The Austro-Germans delivered a heavier blow in the Asiago region on Dec. 3-6, capturing 15,000 Italians and taking several villages in the Meletta sector, but by the 9th they had been definitely checked and remained penned up in the high valleys, apparently for the Winter. Field Marshal von Hoetzendorf had sacrificed hundreds of thousands of his men and had failed in the main object.

Again it is the pen of Perceval Gibbon that furnishes the most graphic story of those days of fighting:

"It was upon the uplands of Sette Comuni that the great hope of Germany in Italy has been frustrated by something more than heroism. A wind drove into the faces of the Italians, the iron Bersaglieri, the glorious infantry, the red hot Alpini, and they saw beyond the slope in the moving mists the mass of their foe. Nothing but that vision and the memory of Italy's subjection and humiliation could have furnished and nourished that feverish fire of battle which has raged over the plateau of the seven communes during the four days and halted General Conrad von Hoetzendorf in sight of the goal of his life's ambition.

"It was gunnery and nothing else which carried the Austrians around Badenecche on the south to the Pit of Vorlara and across its northern saddle between its main height and that of Tondarecar upon the evening of the 5th. After a day of grim fighting the Bersaglieri, baptized with their own blood, stopped dead attack after attack and saw a barricade of Austrian corpses build itself in front of their machine-gun positions.

"To realize what was then happening, you need a vision of death striding those misty valleys like a proprietor walking in his own fields. The hill of the Bersaglieri was held by front men who had fought since the offensive in August on the Bainsizza Plateau. They fought till fighting availed no longer, and then fell back, fighting still and attacking at every opportunity with the bayonet.

Feat of Eighteen Italians

"Eighteen of the Bersaglieri, who wandered back along the valley, came up Monte Fior in the morning. By that time the Austrians had spread through the valleys in the rear of the first line barrier of great mountains and occupied this peak. The Bersaglieri knew nothing of what was happening. They only saw Austrians, and there was no officer to call them off. Therefore, true to their tradition, they attacked.

"There was not even a corporal to lead them, but by some miracle of their own valor and faith they actually cap-

GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ

The New Supreme Commander of the Italian Armies in Succession to Cadorna.

(Photo Paul Thompson.)

GENERAL BADOGLIO

Chief of Staff to General Diaz, the New Head of the Italian Armies.

(Photo Paul Thompson.)

tured the mountain before the enemy knew that he had only a handful to deal with, and they held it for twenty minutes before the enemy found out his mistake and came back in his hundreds to kill them all. But one (he was wounded and overlooked among the rocks, has made his way back to the Italian lines and testifies as an eyewitness to that crazy heroic feat of arms.

"Battalions of the Alpini who held the linked mountains of Monte Castelgomberto and Monte Fior against attack crossed the saddle between Badenecche and Tondarecar in the rear of these heights. The Alpini did not retire. They counterattacked Tondarecar and retook it. But the forward flow of the enemy forced them to fall back again on their own positions. Then the enemy surged up about them.

Alpini Died Where They Stood

"Ere yet they were fully enveloped and while there yet remained a last channel of communication with the living world there came through a message from their commander. 'The enemy is pressing on the south,' it said. 'I am attacking him with two battalions.'

"From that moment he was cut off. Those who listened could hear the stammer of his machine guns and the spatter of his rifle fire, a salvo of salute to fate by those who wear green color badges and eagle feathers.

"Prisoners spoke of them as they were twenty-four hours later, diminishing in numbers, hard pressed, refusing all overtures of surrender and still fighting and dying in the ancient Alpini manner. Then the final silence closed down on them. The Austrian fire opened from Monte Fior, and we knew that the Alpini had left us by their own road, a lofty and glorious road, which has always been theirs.

"That night with the enemy moving in columns behind his first line of mountain barrier and his men exhausted and reduced by long days of intermittent fighting, the General gave the order for retirement to the line of Mont Spil, Monte Miela, and Lazzaretti village. * * * When next morning General von Hoetzendorf turned up before the final line, he was stopped dead. The great battle was over. It has been a strange business at ghastly cost, which none but the Austrians who paid it can reckon fully. The sum is told in the mounds and litters of dead among the snow patches of the mountain desolations. General von Hoetzendorf's hope of Austria has penetrated our front for four kilometers on a width of twelve kilometers and he is no nearer his dream than ever."

Fighting in Lagoons to Save Venice

Fifteen centuries ago Attila and his Huns drove the inhabitants of the Italian mainland into the marshes and lagoons between the Piave and Sile Rivers, where they founded the colonies which later became Venice. In exactly the same spot today the "modern Huns" are trying to break through to that city. Italy's war of the lagoons to save Venice is one of the strangest conflicts in history. An eyewitness described it on Dec. 15, 1917, *as follows:*

Since Nov. 13, when the Austrians in crossing the lower Piave in their headlong rush to Venice were suddenly checked by the Italian lagoon defenses, the entire Gulf of Venice, with its endless canals and marshes, with islands disappearing and reappearing with the tide, has been the scene of a continuous battle. The fighting is absolutely without precedent.

The Teutons are desperately trying to turn the Italian right wing by working their way around the northern limits of the Venetian Gulf. The Italians inundated the region and sealed all the entrances into the gulf by mine fields. The gulf, therefore, was converted into an isolated sea. Over this inland waterway the conflict is raging bitterly. The Italians have a "lagoon fleet" ranging

from the swiftest of motor boats, armed with machine guns, small cannon, and torpedo tubes, to huge, cumbersome, flat-bottomed British monitors, mounting the biggest guns.

The Italian vessels navigate secret channels dug in the bottom of the shallow lagoons. Only the Italian war pilots know these courses. Even gondolas straying out of the channels are instantly and hopelessly stranded. Not only this, but since the muddy flats and marshy islands do not permit of artillery emplacements, the Italians have developed an immense fleet of floating batteries. The guns range from three-inch fieldpieces to great fifteen-inch monsters. Each is camouflaged to represent a tiny island, a garden patch, or a house-boat. Floating on the glasslike surface of the lagoons, the guns fire a few shots and then change position—making it utterly impossible for the enemy to locate them. The entire auxiliary service of supplying this floating army has been adapted to meet the lagoon warfare. Munition dumps are on boats, constantly moved about to prevent the enemy spotting. them. Gondolas and motor boats replace the automobile supply lorries customary in land warfare. Instead of motor ambulances, motor boats carry off dead and wounded. Hydroaeroplanes replace ordinary fighting aircraft.

Along the northern limit of the Venetian Gulf, where the Austrians, having filtered into the Piave Delta, now seek to cross both the Sile and the Piave, the enemy each night hooks up pontoons. At daybreak every morning one end of a huge pontoon structure is anchored to the east bank of the Piave and the other flung out to the strong current, which soon stretches the makeshift bridge across.

The moment this happens the enemy infantry madly dashes across. Simultaneously the Italian floating batteries open a terrific fire. Every morning so far the Austrians have tried the trick, and every morning they have failed, with heavy losses, to effect a crossing.

The flooding of the delta maroons thousands of Italian families on island-like patches, and likewise cuts off some Austrian troops. The latter stick stubbornly to their strongholds, supplied by Austrian boats. Day after day these patches of land are the scenes of fierce hand-to-hand fighting, when small detachments of either side try to drive the others off.

Sinking a Battleship in Trieste Harbor

By Perceval Gibbon

The exploit of Lieutenant Rizzo of the Italian Navy in going into the Harbor of Trieste with two small motor boats and their crews and torpedoing the Austrian battleship Wien, with her sister ship, the Monarch, was told in these words in a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES:

THE Wien was one of three ships launched in 1895. Her sisters were the Monarch and Budapest. She carried four 10-inch guns and six 6-inch guns and a crew of 441 officers and men. The Italians almost got her a month ago when she was shelling the lower Piave line and motor boats went for her with their torpedoes. She had other narrow escapes, too, and now she lies on the clean sandy bottom of Trieste Harbor in about eleven fathoms of turquoise-blue water.

Lieutenant Rizzo and the crews of his two launches—craft not much bigger than a ship's lifeboat—are the men who put her there. The thing had been well prepared, after careful study of the mined area. It seems that the Austrians had devised a system of combined nets and mines, so that Rizzo's chances were great, at best, of being blown to pieces. One of his chief problems was that of the huge steel cables attached to the nets, but he cut these handily asunder on the night of Dec. 9, [1917.]

When the two little boats set out there was a mist on the sea. It was past midnight when they crawled in toward the coast, where lies the white City of Trieste, cascading in snowy traces down its radiant hillside to the piers and docks of its port. The two boats crawled in toward the harbor mouth.

Trieste Harbor is an affair of three piers jutting seaward, making thus two channels, one on either hand of the central pier, which is also a breakwater. These channels were closed by booms and nets, with their mines all linked to the piers by great steel hawsers.

The boats glided alongside one pier and Rizzo climbed up its concrete side and reconnoitred the situation. There was nobody on that pier. On the middle pier, however, was a guardroom. There could be heard a confusion of voices and barkings of dogs, and from the railway station ashore the noise of an engine screaming vociferously, and between whiles the slapstep feet of the sentry patrolling the middle pier.

Lieutenant Rizzo crawled back and gave the order, and up came his men, crawling on hands and knees over the concrete, passing the big cutting tools from hand to hand, groping their way to the cables. Some set to work to cut them, while two men scouted inshore lest some sentry should arrive.

The cutting instruments worked well It needed only a strong jar to set the mines exploding, but the cutters bit their way through strand after strand of twisted steel wire. Three cables above water were severed without trouble; then five more below water were grappled and hauled to the surface and cut in their turn.

At last came the moment when the weight of the net and its attachments tore the last remaining steel strands asunder, the whole great cobweb of metal and explosives sank, and the harbor lay open. Rizzo and his men crawled back to their boats, and those boats moved like shadows into the Vaplone di Muggia, where the Wien and Monarch lay nosing their buoys. Nearest lay the Wien; the Monarch slumbered 200 yards beyond her. Rizzo edged in to investigate, and then backed off till he had his enemy at 150 yards. His second boat, commanded by an old petty officer, shifted out upon his beam to get a line which cleared the Wien's bow and commanded the Monarch's great steel flank. Rizzo raised his arm in that gloom and saw the answering gesture of the petty officer. It was the moment to let her go. In a second four long steel devils were sliding through the water for the enemy.

A roar, a blast of flame, a waterspout raining on them, and a second roar as the Monarch, too, got her dose. In the motor boats the men yelled involuntarily as the torpedoes landed on their targets.

A searchlight flashed out from the Wien and sawed at the darkness. A scream sounded over the water: "Wer da?" There were shoutings and stampings along the deck of the wounded ship, searchlights waking along the shore and on the breakwaters, and anti-aircraft guns arousing everywhere. No one in Trieste knew whence the attack had come, whether from the air or the sea. The sky was festooned with bursting shrapnel, while the ships in the harbor opened with their guns toward the harbor mouth, shelling the mist of the Adriatic at random. By the light of that furious illumination the Italian sailors saw the great bulk of the Wien listing toward them.

By this time they were making for the harbor mouth, shells spouting around them, but none hit them, and both boats saw before they left that last subsidence, that wriggle and resignation with which a great ship goes under. The Monarch still floated, but the Wien lay at the bottom.

Clemenceau's Pledge to France

New Premier, on Taking Office, Declares the One Purpose of His Government Is Victory

Georges Clemenceau, the new Premier of France, delivered his formal declaration of Ministerial policy in the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 20, 1917, and received a vote of confidence by 418 to 65, the opposition being that of the United Socialists. He read his declaration in a firm, clear voice, and his emotion when he spoke of France's debt to her dead was evinced only by the trembling of the sheets in his hand. His speech in full is as follows:

GENTLEMEN: We have accepted places in the Government in order to conduct the war with redoubled efforts and with a better concentration of all our energies. We come before you with the sole idea of a unified war. We would that the confidence which we shall ask you to give us might be an act of confidence in yourselves, an appeal to the historic virtues of the men of France. Never before has France felt so clearly the need of living and growing in the ideal of force placed at the service of the human conscience, in the resolve progressively to advance the right, both as among individuals and as between peoples capable of establishing their liberties.

"Conquer that justice may prevail"—that is the watchword of all our Governments since the beginning of the war. That program, open as the sky, we shall maintain.

We have great soldiers, of great traditions, under leaders tempered by trial and animated by that supreme devotion which gave their elders renown. Through them, through all of us, the immortal native land, in the noble ambitions of peace, will pursue the course of its destinies.

Those Frenchmen whom we were constrained to throw into the battle have claims upon us. Their desire is that none of our thoughts turn away from them, that none of our acts be foreign to their interests. We owe them everything, without any reserve—everything for France, bleeding in her glory; everything for the exaltation of right triumphant.

The single, simple duty is to stand by the soldier, live, suffer, and fight with him; renounce everything that is not of the fatherland. The hour has come for us to be solely French, and with pride to declare that that suffices for us.

Salvation in Solidarity

Let everything today be blended—the claims of the front and the duty in the rear. Let every zone be the zone of war. If there must be men who find in their souls impulses of the old times, let us put them aside. All civilized nations are engaged in the same battle against the modern development of ancient barbarity. Against this, with all our good allies, we are an immovable rock, a barrier that shall not be passed.

Let only fraternal solidarity, the surest foundation of the world to come, be shown at the forefront of the alliance, at every instant and everywhere. In the field of ideas France has suffered for everything that makes man firm. In her hope, drawn from the sources of purest humanity, she consents to suffer still for the defense of the soil of her great ancestors, with the hope of opening ever wider, to men as to peoples, all the doors of life. The force of the French soul is in that. That is what animates our people while they work as well as while they fight.

Those silent soldiers of the workshops, deaf to evil suggestions, those old peasants bent over their land, those robust women at their toil, those children who bring them aid—there are our "poilus," who, thinking later on of the great work, may say, like those of the trenches, "I was in it."

With those also we must remain steadfast; we must see to it that, stripping ourselves for the fatherland, we one day may be loved. To love each other, it is not sufficient to say so, we must prove it. We would like to try to give that proof, and we ask you to aid us. Can there be a finer program of government?

"*War, Nothing But War*"

There have been mistakes. Let us think only of repairing them. Alas, there have been crimes also—crimes against France. Let them receive prompt chastisement. We take before you, before the country that demands justice, a vow that justice shall be done according to the rigors of the law.

Neither personal consideration nor political ardor shall turn us from our duty or lead us to go beyond it. Too many criminal attempts have already resulted on our battle front in the shedding of a superabundance of French blood. Weakness would be complicity. We shall be without weakness, yet also without violence. All the accused before courts-martial—that is our policy, the soldier in the pretorium in solidarity with the soldier in combat. No more pacifist campaigns, no more German intrigues. Neither treason nor semi-treason. War—nothing but war!

More Liberal Censorship

Our armies shall not be taken between two fires. Justice is on the way. The country will know that it is defended and is a France forever free. We have paid too great a price for our liberties to cede any part of them beyond the need of preventing publicity and excitations from which the enemy might profit. A censorship shall be maintained for diplomatic and military information, as well as for those susceptible of disturbing peace at home, up to the limits of respect for opinions. A press bureau will give news, nothing but news, to all who solicit it.

In wartime, as in time of peace, liberty is to be exercised under the personal responsibility of the writer. Outside of that rule there is only arbitrary anarchy.

It has not seemed to us necessary to say more under the present circumstances to indicate the character of this Government. Days will follow days, problems will follow problems, we shall march in step with you to the realizations that the necessities impose. We are under your control. The question of confidence will be continually in the balance.

We are going to enter upon a régime of restrictions after the example of England, Italy, and America, admirable in her ardor. We shall ask of each citizen that he take his full part in the common defense, that he give more and consent to receive less. There is abnegation in the army. So let abnegation exist throughout the country.

We shall not forge a greater France without putting our life into it. Something of our savings is asked besides. If the action that concludes this session is favorable to us, we expect of it consecration. In the complete success of our war loan is to be found supreme evidence of the confidence that France owes to herself when she is asked for victory.

May it be vouchsafed us to live that victory in this hour, to live it in advance in the communion of our hearts, in proportion as we draw more and more upon that inexhaustible spirit of self-sacrifice which should culminate in the sublime flight of the soul of France to the highest peak of its hopes. Some day, from Paris to the humblest village, shouts of acclamation will greet our victorious standards, stained with blood and tears and torn by shells—magnificent emblem of our noble dead. That day, the greatest day of our race, after so many others of grandeur, it is in our power to create. For our unchangeable resolution, gentlemen, we ask the seal of your approval.

Victory His One Aim

Replying to interpellations on the policy of his Government, M. Clemenceau said to the Chamber later on the same day:

I will speak sincerely and briefly. The Ministerial declaration has already replied to the question regarding our war aims and the League of Nations for which M. Ribot's committee is preparing. I have been reproached with being unfavorable to arbitration. Well, at the time of the Casablanca affair I proposed

arbitration, but it was refused by both Germany and Austria. I understand your idealism and I share it, but where we differ is that I am under no illusion regarding the reality of facts. I do not believe that a League of Nations is the necessary outcome of the present war. Why? Because if the entry of Germany into the League of Nations were proposed tomorrow I would not consent. You might offer me as a guarantee a signature. Well, go and ask the Belgians what that is worth.

Peoples must be capable of freeing themselves. You are compelled to begin by saying that Germany will smash up Prussian militarism, but the terrible fact is that she does not break it. Hypothesis is always in the stage of hypothesis. We cannot commit ourselves to such a course without injuring the morale which enables us to persevere with the war. When we are thoroughly embarked in a course of action we should talk as little as possible. The argument of M. Forgeot is incontestable in theory, but it will not hold water in the face of realities. The men in the trenches are fighting for a peace which will give them life and honor.

You ask me my war aims. I reply that my aim is to be victorious.

Lloyd George on War Aims

The British Premier Indorses President Wilson's Views on Peace With Victory

Premier Lloyd George, in an address at London before Grey's Inn Benchers on Dec. 14, asserted that any overtures to Prussia for peace before victory would be a betrayal of trust. He declared himself in accord with President Wilson's address to Congress. Striking passages from the Premier's address follow:

I WARN the nation to watch men who think there is a half-way house between victory and defeat. [This reference was to the Lansdowne proposal.] There is no such half-way house. These are the men who think the war can be ended now by some sort of peace—the setting up of a League of Nations, with conditions as to arbitration for disputes and provisions for disarmament, and with a covenant on the part of all nations to sign a treaty along these lines.

That is the right policy after victory. Without victory it would be a farce. Who would sign such a treaty? I presume, among others, the people who have so far successfully broken the last. Who would enforce the new treaty? I presume the nations that have so far not quite succeeded in enforcing the last. To end the war entered upon and to enforce a treaty without reparation for infringement of that treaty merely by entering into a more sweeping treaty would, indeed, be a farce in the setting of a tragedy.

We are not misled by mere words like disarmament, arbitration, and similar terms. You cannot wage war or secure peace by mere words. We ought never to have started unless we meant, at all hazards, to complete our task.

Of course, our enemies are ready to accept a peace, leaving them with some of the richest provinces and the fairest cities of Russia in their pockets. It is idle to talk of security under such conditions. There is no protection for life or property in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception. We are dealing with a criminal State now, and there will always be criminal States until the reward for international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive.

We are confronted with the alternatives of abasing ourselves in terror before the lawlessness, which means ultimately a world intimidated by successful bandits, or going through with our task to establish a righteous and lasting peace

for ourselves and our children. Surely no nation with any regard for its self-respect and any honor can hesitate a moment in its choice.

A Hopeful Prospect

If there were no prospects of things going better the longer we fought, it would be infamous to prolong the war, but because I am fully convinced, despite some untoward events and discouraging appearances, that we are making steady progress toward the desired goal, I would regard peace overtures to Prussia, at the very moment when the Prussian military spirit is drunk with boastfulness, as a betrayal of the great trust with which my colleagues and I have been charged.

The German victories have been emblazoned to the world, but her troubles did not appear in the bulletins. However, we know something of them. The deadly grip of the British Navy is having its effect, and the valor of the troops is making an impression which will tell in the end. * * *

This is not the most propitious hour. Russia's threatened retirement from the war strengthens the Hohenzollerns and weakens the forces of democracy, but Russia's action will not lead, as she imagines, to universal peace. It will simply prolong the world's agony and inevitably put her in bondage to Prussian military dominance.

[If Russia persisted in her present policy, the Premier pointed out, the withdrawal by the enemy from the east of a third of his troops must release hundreds of thousands of men and masses of material to attack Great Britain, France, and Italy. He went on:]

It would be folly to underestimate the danger from the release of the enemy's eastern forces. It would equally be folly to exaggerate it. But the greatest folly of all would be not to face it.

America Coming "With Both Arms"

If the Russian democracy has decided to abandon the struggle against military autocracy, the American democracy is taking it up. This is the most momentous fact of the year, which has transposed the whole situation. There is no more powerful country in the world than the United States, with their gigantic resources and indomitable people, and if Russia is out, America is coming in with both arms.

If this is the worst moment, it is because Russia has stepped out and America is only preparing to come in. Her army is not yet ready and her tonnage is unbuilt, but with every hour that passes the gap formed by Russia's retirement will be filled by the valiant sons of the great American Republic.

Germany knows it and Austria knows it. Hence the desperate efforts to force the issue before America is ready.

They will not succeed, but we must be prepared for greater efforts and greater sacrifices. It is no time to cower or to falter.

Great Britain's will is as tempered steel and will bear all right to the end. There must be a further drain upon our man power in order to sustain the additional burden until the American Army arrives.

There is no ground for panic. Even now, after we have sent troops to Italy, the Allies have marked superiority in numbers in France and Flanders and considerable reserves at home.

Much greater progress has been made in man power in the last few months than either our friends or our foes realize, but it is not enough to enable us to face the new contingencies without anxiety. The problem of man power, however, does not end with the army.

Victory a Question of Tonnage

Victory now is a question of tonnage. Nothing can defeat us but the shortage of tonnage, and the advent of the United States has increased the tonnage problem enormously. Germany has gambled on America's failure to transport her army to Europe.

The Prussian claim is that autocracy alone can do things. The honor of democracy is at stake, and I do not doubt that the Prussians will be disillusioned, but both America and Great Britain will have to strain their resources to the utmost to increase their tonnage.

The fact that American tonnage will be absorbed in the transport of its own armies compels us to increase our responsibilities in assisting France and

Italy with the transportation of essential commodities to their shores.

In order to obtain the necessary men for this object we must interfere to even a greater extent than heretofore with the industries not absolutely essential to the prosecution of the war.

[Premier Lloyd George, in concluding, emphasized how the country could aid by further economizing and in the increase of home production. "We must strip even barer for the fight," he said. British food imports next year, he stated in this connection, must be reduced 3,000,000 tons by increased home production and economy. The Premier also spoke on aerial warfare, saying that the nations possibly would determine that this must be the last war in which air weapons were used, as they brought the perils and horrors of the battlefields to civilians at home, who previously had dwelt in security.]

Air Reprisals by Allies

Baron Rothermere, the British Air Minister, made the following declarations in favor of air reprisals at the same meeting:

My advisers have asked me to make a precise statement of our air policy. The question of reprisals comes first and foremost. At the Air Board we are wholeheartedly in favor of reprisals. It is our duty to avenge the murder of innocent women and their children. As the enemy elect, therefore, so be it—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. And in this respect we shall strive for a complete and satisfying retaliation. Von Ludendorff proclaims this a War of the Nations, suggesting that the civil population is a mark for the bombs equally with the fighting men. We detest this doctrine, holding it to be grossly immoral, but, fighting for our lives and the lives of our women and children, we will not consent to its one-sided application. The enemy has to learn in this, as in the larger things, that outrages on the civilian population of this country do not pay.

America's Purpose in the War

Address by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, Summarizing the Government's Views of the War's Results

The United States Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, delivered an address in New York City Dec. 12, 1917, which was regarded as of deep significance, voicing the Government's views respecting the war. Secretary Baker spoke before the Southern Society of New York and emphasized the obliteration of sectional feeling in his opening remarks as follows:

THE year 1917 is writing a new date line in our history. It will take none of the glory from any of our memories; it will leave us as a priceless inheritance the great traditions of our race, out of which our institutions and our liberties have been fabricated, but from this year many things which are separated in sentence are all written under a new date, and the supremacy of common sacrifices in a common cause makes us more really a united people, more really a nation, than we have ever been in our entire history.

The family of the nation has become continental in its extent. Many of these distinctions which once troubled us will be absorbed in the new glory of citizenship in the new nation. And this will be especially true because of the heroic character and the idealism of this enterprise. Every now and then somebody tells me that he has heard somebody say that America is fighting somebody else's war, and my instant reflection is, Well, suppose that were true? Is it not more heroic to save somebody else's life than your own? To whom do we build monuments, for whom do we cast hero medals —the men who save their own lives or

those who save the lives of others? What is the quality of heroism if it be not unselfish self-sacrifice?

And yet it is not necessary, nay, it would not be true, to admit that this is an unselfish expedition in that sense or to that extent, for in very truth our nation is engaged in fighting its own battles, its own material battles, if that mattered, but it does not. It is engaged in fighting its own spiritual battle; it is engaged in saving the soul of democracy.

And so all wars which have been waged for the prestige of Kings or the territorial extension of empires fail in their analogy. There is a quality in this war which evokes a spiritual response and that will be a new kind of cement for the making of a stronger and more triumphant people when it is over.

And there is another exceedingly happy quality in this. We are not fighting this battle alone. I am not even ambitious that the glory of the final conquest should come to us alone. I would far rather have the triumph of democracy the reward of the associated effort of democratic peoples everywhere, so that when this war is over neither we nor they can have any monopoly of that virtue, but will be partners in its glory, and so associates in the further progress which is to be made.

For we must never forget, when we speak of democracy, that it is not an accomplishment, it is not a thing that has been done, but it is a progress; it is a system of growth, and though today we might achieve what our limited vision proclaims to us as the democratic ideal, its quality is such that when we stand on what now seems to us the highest peak in that range, there will be greater heights to tempt and inspire us.

And so, when this war is over, and the crude mediaevalism which at last brings the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs to confront their fate in the young giant of the democratic spirit; when this contest is over and the David of democracy has dealt with the Goliath of mediaevalism and autocracy, there will still be work for David to do worthy of his best efforts, and in the accomplishment of it large benefits to the race will remain to be achieved.

Pride in War Preparations

People are sometimes disposed to adopt a complaining tone about our efforts, not many, but here and there one. There are two ways of looking at this war and our preparation in it. One is to look at what we have done, and one is to look at what we have not done. If we realize that practically every activity of the Government associated in this business has been required in a very short space of time to expand 3,000 per cent., if we take account of the things that actually have been achieved, not only will we find that we have won the admiring commendation of visitors from the Old World, who are familiar with what they have done and are still amazed at our progress, but we will find sound ground for pride in the strength, capacity, and greatness of our own people.

Now, I am perfectly aware that in any great enterprise where one starts in wishing to achieve everything and to accomplish all, in the mere rush of preparation there are things for which the industry of the country was not yet adequately prepared; things which time will right, and so if one goes about with a critical and fault-finding spirit, he can always find enough to satisfy that sort of spirit—it does not take much.

What the Nation Has Done

But when you think that a people who really love peace, who for 100 years had devoted themselves to its ideals and its practices, whose affections were engaged with the accomplishments of peace and civilization, who had learned to love justice and who had embodied it in their own political and social institutions, who had established among themselves a generous competition in industrial and scientific and commercial progress, who had spread abroad among themselves processes of universal education, so that almost year by year the general level of the material and intellectual and spiritual life of their people was visibly elevated—if you come to recognize in us that sort of people, devoting ourselves with an intense devotion to the working out of finer adjustments for human happiness and for the recognition of the

rights of the individual, and then see us suddenly summoned to go back 500 years and deal with a recrudescence of brute force, unilluminated by any sort of morality or humanitarian consideration, and then see what we have done in that space of time to readjust ourselves to this odious and unlovely thing that we are forced to do, I think it will be agreed, not only that we have done great things, but that we can be reassured about civilization.

It does not mean the enfeeblement of a people. Disinclination to fight does not mean inability to fight. We can with confidence, from now on, pursue those processes which have hitherto engaged us and seem to promise so much, always with the assured conviction that education does not destroy courage and that a civilized, peace-loving, God-fearing nation, if it has to protect itself against brute aggression, has the capacity, the concentration of purpose necessary; nay, that in democratic institutions there is that virtue which is perfectly sufficient to any contest it may be called upon to face.

Tribute to Our Soldiers

[After alluding to the nation's extraordinary response to the Selective Draft act and the orderly manner in which ten million Americans were registered in one day, as well as the universal desire of all classes to render aid in any manner, he continued:]

While we are in this war to make the world safe for democracy, democracy is making itself manifest here among us; for that is democracy—the co-operation, without distinction of fortune or opportunity, of all the men of the nation for the common good, and the good of each individual is democracy.

We are recognizing it, too, in our human relations. I have been traveling around over the country seeing these training camps, and I find that when 10,000 or 20,000 or 30,000 boys are camped near a city, large or small, the city adopts them. There is an instantaneous and widespread process of affectionate adoption going on, so that men have the feeling, men of my time of life, when they walk along the street and see a man in khaki, there is an almost irresistible desire to say, "My son!"

How beautiful that is, and how true it is! For when, on some moonlight night on the fields of France, some American boy's face is upturned from having made the grand and final sacrifice in this cause, no passerby nor no imagination that reaches him will be able to discern whether he came from a blacksmith's forge or a merchant's counter or a banker's counting room. He will simply be an American, and our affection for him, our adoption of him, our pride in him, will be as undiscriminating.

Now, all this tends to afford some consolation. It is one of the by-products of this war that is going to be of immense value to mankind when it is over. * * *

Alignment of Civilized Nations

It is a wonderful story, the alignment of the nations which can truly be called civilized, against the ancient mediaevalism which survives in the heart of Europe. The hope of mankind, so often frustrated, apparently is now to be accomplished. It could not be done in Napoleon's times, in spite of the French Revolution and its philosophy and its promise, because of what Danton called "the Allied Kings of Europe." It could not be done in 1849 because of the Metterniches and the Bismarcks. It could not be done in 1870 because they were still triumphant, but out of the West, out of this youngest and latest and most hopeful of the nations of the earth; out of this young giant, fashioned out of all the peoples, who originate in a new philosophy, little rivulets of it have gone over to other peoples in other parts of the world.

And now, in the fullness of time, this giant is full grown, and she joins hands with other peoples, who, though older, are yet the children of her spirit, and we are partners now with great men of great nations who have borne for three years heroically the brunt of this struggle, and at the end of it, out of the noise of battle and smoke of the battlefield, there arises the picture of a new federation of nations, of a new fraternity of mankind—the sons and daughters of civilization joining hands to protect the sacred prin-

ciples upon which the freedom of mankind rests.

Rise of a New Ideal

Napoleon is credited with the statement that morals is to force as three to one. If Napoleon thought that, what shall we make the proportion? And it is because the American people realize this that they have shot through all their preparations for this war an influence of idealism and morality which is a new thing in the world.

About our training camps new conditions have arisen. All sorts of modern, advanced notions with regard to the amusement and entertainment and recreation of young men in order that they may be virile, strong, and high-minded have been adopted, not because of any particular wisdom in any place, but because of the unanimous judgment and demand of the American people, and so, when our army goes abroad, it will be a knightly army, not an army of conquest that expects to come home with a chariot and somebody chained to the wheels and loaded up with material spoils, but an army that is going over to live and die for the fine fruits of a high idealism and a purified national morality.

American Army at Home and Abroad

Engineers Under Fire in France

AMERICAN army engineers had an unexpected first brush with the enemy while working on the British railways in the region of Gouzeaucourt on Nov. 30, 1917, when they were caught in a German turning movement. The Americans escaped by lying prone on the ground in shell holes while the British fired over them. Then, when the British were near enough to enable them to participate in the fighting, the Americans played an important part in replying to the enemy.

Americans elsewhere took a busy hand in the fighting and were under hot German shellfire. Numbers of them volunteered for patrol work in the danger zone, and all acquitted themselves finely.

After the British had pushed the Germans out of Gouzeaucourt and back from the ridge to the east, the engineers furnished volunteers for patrol work during the night. All night they kept the vigil amid shellfire and bullets from the machine guns and rifles. They could have done no better if they had been picked troops from regular infantry. Several American units working in the back areas came under very heavy shellfire as the German attack progressed.

The French official communication paid the following tribute to the Americans:

> We must remark upon the conduct of certain American soldiers, pioneers, and workmen on the military railroad in the sector of the German attack west of Cambrai on Nov. 30. They exchanged their picks and shovels for rifles and cartridges and fought beside the English. Many died thus bravely, arms in hand, before the invader. All helped to repulse the enemy. There is not a single person who saw them at work who does not render warm praise to the coolness, discipline, and courage of these improvised combatants.

Another interesting account of the Americans in action comes from the enemy, in the form of an article from a German correspondent, which was published in Berlin on Dec. 3. It reads:

> Independent American units have been thrown into the trench line. The felt hat has given way to the English-fashioned steel helmet, and the whistling and bursting of the shells have become familiar sounds to American ears.
>
> For the first time since they have been participating as independent contingents the Americans have tasted the real earnestness of war, even though it was but a minor hand-to-hand scuffle. But this time the shells did not merely fly over their heads, but into the very trenches they had selected, and presently, with an infernal noise, these things which the young soldiers believed to be a firm protection began to quake and burst.
>
> And hard on the heels of this a firm attack by our onrushing Bavarian reserves forced the way into the American trenches, and musket shots and bursting

hand grenades relieved the artillery fire.

Our new opponents made a most determined defense, and desperate hand-to-hand fighting set in. Butts of guns, fists, and hand grenades were freely brought into play, and many men fell to the ground before the rest gave up resistance and surrendered. After a bare hour the German storming troops were back in their own trenches with booty and prisoners.

There they stood before us—these young men from the land of liberty. They were sturdy and sportsmanlike in build. Good-natured smiles radiated from their blue eyes, and they were quite surprised that we did not propose to shoot them down, as they had been led in the French training camp to believe we would do.

They know no reply to our query, "Why does the United States carry on war against Germany?" The sinking of American ships by U-boats, which was the favorite pretext, sounds a trifle stale. One prisoner expressed the opinion that we had treated Belgium rather badly. Another asserted that it was Lafayette who brought America French aid in the war of independence, and because of this the United States would now stand by France.

Moving Troops to France

Secretary Baker, in the first statement so far made regarding the progress in increasing General Pershing's forces, said on Nov. 23 that troops were departing from the United States and arriving in France as rapidly as intended in the War Department's plans. "As many American troops are now overseas as we expected in the beginning to have overseas at this time," were Mr. Baker's exact words.

Announcement was permitted on Nov. 29 that National Guardsmen from every State in the Union had arrived in France. While it was not permitted to disclose the identity of units, it was stated that all those which sailed from the United States had arrived safely, and that some already were in training within sound of guns on the battle front.

The guardsmen had been arriving in the American zone for many weeks. They were scattered somewhat, but as far as possible the units from the same State were being kept close together, except in one case. They found the regular army had made good preparations for them, and, while many were billeted in houses in French towns, others were quartered in low wooden barracks specially erected.

Health of Training Camps

To offset the effect of rumors of a high mortality rate in the army, the War Department on Dec. 1 made public a report which showed that since the United States entered the war only 1,394 men had died, been wounded, or reported as captured or missing. The report covered every branch of the army, National Guard, national army, and the regular army in the United States and in France, or about 800,000 men. The number of soldiers who had died from all causes was 1,348, 35 had been wounded, and 11 had been captured or reported as missing. "Natural causes" was marked against 937 deaths, accidents had resulted in 352 deaths, while only 11 had been killed in action and 18 lost at sea. This left a discrepancy of thirty in the deaths, the causes of which had not been determined officially. These may be comprised in the cases which eventually will come under the classifications of suicide, accident, or homicide.

Considerable anxiety was caused by a report from Surgeon General Gorgas. One of the first results was the promulgation of most stringent regulations designed to reduce the number of pneumonia cases in the National Guard and national army camps. Venereal diseases, next to pneumonia and measles, have been the most prominent in sick reports from army camps. At the end of November these diseases averaged in National Guard camps at the rate of 135 to 1,000 men, and in national army camps at the rate of 139 per 1,000. Secretary Baker, in calling the attention of department and divisional commanders to this menace, said: "The present rate is twice as high as has obtianed under strict discipline in the past." Strict instructions were issued to prevent infected men from being sent to join the army in France.

Few Cases of Crime

The first case of an American soldier abroad being condemned to death by court-martial and being executed was that of Private Frank Cadue, an infan-

tryman, who was hanged on Nov. 5 for the rape and murder of a seven-year-old French girl in France. A statement issued by the War Department on Dec. 3 said that the sentence had been approved. The record of the trial says that Cadue confessed to the crime and pleaded that, being under the influence of liquor, he did not know what he was doing.

Reports show that the discipline of the American Expeditionary Force is good.

Thirteen negroes, soldiers of the 24th United States Infantry, were hanged at dawn on Dec. 11, 1917, on the Government reservation near San Antonio, Texas, for murders committed during mutinous rioting in the streets of Houston, Texas, on Aug. 23. Forty-one other negro soldiers were sentenced to life imprisonment, four others to short terms, and five were acquitted. A statement issued by the Chief of Staff at Southern Department Headquarters after the execution contained the information that the sixty-three negroes had been tried by a general court-martial and that the sentences had been approved by the commanding General. The law did not require the President's approval.

Recruiting for the regular army broke all previous high records during the week ended Dec. 15, 1917, as a result of the announcement by the War Department that no man of draft age would be accepted on the basis of voluntary enlistment after that date. This brought the total number of regular army enlistments since April 1, 1917, up to 337,247.

The aggregate of soldiers' and sailors' war risk insurance written by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department crossed the $1,000,000,000 mark on Nov. 24, with hundreds of policies on the way from France yet to come in. More than 120,000 policies have been recorded, the average protection asked being about $8,500.

Military War Council

Secretary Baker announced on Dec. 15, 1917, that with President Wilson's sanction there had that day been created a "Military War Council within the War Department," consisting of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, and five high ranking officers of the United States Army. The object of the new body is to serve as a connecting link between the War Department and the American forces abroad, and to handle problems of supplies as well as of military policy. It will act in conjunction with the Interallied War Purchase Board, of which Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, has been made President.

No detailed explanation was made as to the apportionment of military and strategical authority between the new War Council and the General Staff, but Secretary Baker issued the following statement defining other aspects of the subject:

> At the outset the council consists of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, (General Tasker H. Bliss;) Major Gen. Henry G. Sharpe, (Quartermaster General;) Major Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver, (Chief of Artillery;) Major Gen. William Crozier, (Chief of Ordnance,) and Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, (Judge Advocate General, who is also Provost Marshal General in charge of Selective Draft.) The purpose of the council is to oversee and co-ordinate all matters of supply of our field armies and the military relations between the armies in the field and the War Department. The council will act through the Chief of Staff and will be provided suitable accommodations and facilities for the transaction of its business.
>
> The work of the War Council is of the highest importance and there will be added to the council from time to time general officers of large experience, so that it may constitute the main reliance of the department for the large planning and initiative necessary to make our support of the armies in the field most effective and helpful. * * * From time to time members of the council will be directed to spend in the theatre of war the time necessary to make general observations and special studies for the information of the council. All details to the council are at the pleasure of the Secretary of War. While any officer is detailed to the council, provision will be made to free him from administration duties and responsibilities.
>
> The War Council does not take over the specialized duties of the General Staff or the War College, but is intended to bring to the larger problems of the department both the experience and general training of the officers of most mature years and largest experience in the service.

Present Strength of United States Navy

THE annual report of the Secretary of the Navy, issued on Dec. 9, 1917, contained striking figures of the United States Navy's war expansion, showing that its personnel at that date numbered 269,000.

Since Jan. 1, 1917, the naval force had increased from 4,500 officers and 68,000 men to 15,000 officers and 254,000 men; the number of stations of all kinds operated by the navy had increased from 130 to 363; the number of civil employes from 35,000 to 60,000; the strength of the Naval Reserve from a few hundred to 49,246 men; the average monthly expenditure from $8,000,000 to $60,000,000; the number of ships in commission from a little more than 300 to more than 1,000; the hospital corps from 1,600 to 7,000; the national naval volunteers from zero to 16,000 men; the Marine Corps from 344 officers and 9,921 men to 1,197 officers and 30,000 men.

Secretary Daniels asked that the permanent enlisted personnel be increased to 129,000 bluejackets, 10,000 apprentice seamen, 7,000 men in the trade schools, and 4,000 for the air service; and that the figures for war purposes be 180,000 bluejackets, 24,000 apprentices, 14,000 in trade schools, and 10,000 for aviation. Training facilities have already been provided for 113,650 men, exclusive of the Naval Academy and the regular service schools. For the new fiscal year Mr. Daniels asked for a naval budget of $1,039,660,502. In regard to the future building program of the navy he contented himself with recommending that the remainder of the three-year program already approved be authorized.

The formation of an Allied Naval Council was announced on Dec. 14 by Secretary Daniels. The council is the direct outgrowth of the Allied Naval Conference held in Paris on Nov. 29-30. (See Page 91 of this issue.) The announcement was made after the receipt in Washington of a cablegram from Admiral William S. Benson, in which he said:

> It has been decided to create a naval allied council in order to insure the closest touch and complete co-operation between the allied fleets. The task of the council will be to watch over the general conduct of the naval war and to insure co-ordination of effort at sea as well as the development of all scientific operations connected with the conduct of the war.
>
> The council will make all the necessary recommendations to enable the Government to make decisions. It will keep itself informed as to the execution of plans decided upon. The members of the council will report to their respective Governments as may be necessary.
>
> The individual responsibility of the Chiefs of Staffs and of the Commander in Chief at sea toward their Governments as regards operations, as well as the strategical and tactical disposition of the forces placed under their command, remains unchanged. It has been decided that the council should consist of the Ministers of Marine of the nations represented and of the Chiefs of the Naval Staffs.
>
> As the meeting of the council will of necessity be held in Europe, the chiefs of the General Naval Staffs of the United States and Japan will be represented by flag officers nominated by their respective Governments. The Allied Naval Council will be provided with a permanent Secretary, whose business it will be to collect and collate all necessary information, &c.
>
> The council will meet as often as may be thought necessary, under the Presidency of the Minister of Marine of the country in which the meeting is held. The various Admiralties will furnish the council with the information which is necessary for the work to be carried on.

Two American Destroyers Sunk

The United States destroyer Jacob Jones, one of the fastest and largest craft of her type, was torpedoed and sunk at dusk on Dec. 6, 1917, by a German submarine while on patrol duty in foreign waters. The destroyer sank almost immediately. Forty-four officers and men out of a total of 110 were saved, one being taken prisoner by the submarine. Among the survivors was Lieut. Commander David Worth Bagley, brother-in-law of Secretary Daniels.

The torpedo struck the destroyer amidships, blowing the afterpart of the vessel to pieces. Some fifty men engaged in that part of the ship were killed. The remaining members of the crew got away on rafts and in boats, in which they remained until the next morning, when

the rescue steamer arrived. Several of the men died from exposure, while the others suffered severely during the seventeen hours in the boats. Lieut. Commander Bagley was rescued by one of his seamen, who afterward died from injuries and exposure. The seaman, with six other members of the crew, was swimming toward a raft when he bumped into a floating object which he thought was a bundle of clothes, but proved to be Commander Bagley with the fur collar of his greatcoat wrapped about his head. Bagley appeared almost unconscious. Although suffering intensely himself from injuries and the cold water, the seaman caught hold of the commander, and, with the aid of his shipmates, pulled him to the raft, where he soon revived. The seaman, however, succumbed a few hours later, and was buried at sea.

The Jacob Jones was built at the New York Shipbuilding Company's plant in Camden, N. J., and was launched in May, 1915. The vessel was 315 feet 3 inches over all, 30 feet 6½ inches beam, 17 feet 7½ inches in depth, and had a draft of 9 feet 8½ inches. Its trial displacement was 1,150 tons and its speed 29½ knots. The destroyer burned oil and had a fuel capacity of 200 tons. It was able to develop 17,000 horse power. Two attempts are alleged to have been made to destroy the Jacob Jones last February. The first was on Feb. 1, while the vessel was off the Delaware Capes, and the second was made a few days later, either at the Philadelphia Navy Yard or while it was coming up the Delaware River bound for the yard.

Another American naval loss was that of the destroyer Chauncey, which was engaged in naval patrol duty and the U-boat hunt in foreign waters. It was sunk in collision on Nov. 19. Admiral Sims reported that twenty-one men were lost. The Chauncey was one of the old type of destroyers, completed in 1902, and displaced 420 tons, less than half the displacement of the newer and speedier destroyers now being built. Its complement was ninety-one officers and men. For several years before the war the Chauncey was used only in coast defense work, and was classified as a coast torpedo vessel.

Enemy Aliens Under Surveillance

RESTRICTIONS governing the conduct of enemy aliens in the United States and providing for the protection of shipping and other property from destruction or damage, in addition to regulations already in force, were established by President Wilson in a proclamation issued on Nov. 19, 1917.

By this new order machinery was created to prevent, by means of military guards, the approach of enemy aliens within prescribed waterfront areas or within three miles of navigable streams, and to expel enemy aliens from and prevent their re-entrance into the District of Columbia and the Panama Canal Zone. It was also provided that enemy aliens must be registered, must obtain Government consent to travel or change their occupations, and must report from time to time to Federal and municipal officers.

Steps were taken by the United States to inform the German Government of the measures adopted under the President's proclamation in order to assure the Berlin authorities that no abuse of their countrymen here was contemplated. Through the neutral embassies now representing the hostile Governments at the two capitals, the information was conveyed that the United States was doing no more to German subjects here than Germany did to Americans there long ago. Along with this report, it was understood, went a memorandum of the German sailors in this country held as prisoners of war, civilians interned as dangerous aliens, and crews of the former German merchantmen detained under guard by the immigration authorities.

The number of unnaturalized Germans already interned does not exceed 600, and officials do not expect an increase of more than two or three hundred at the most as a result of failure to obey the

new regulations. The men interned are comfortably housed in barracks at military prisons, receive their food, clothing, and lodging, and many are allowed to work and receive pay.

Estimates based on returns received up to Nov. 27 from corporations, banks, and warehouses indicated that the money and property in the United States belonging to Germans and subject to sequestration by A. Mitchell Palmer, as Alien Property Custodian, exceeded $600,000,000 and would probably approach a billion dollars.

As is shown in the President's proclamation regarding the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, [printed elsewhere in this magazine,] subjects of that empire are on a different footing from Germans. Similarly, the property of Austro-Hungarians is safe from seizure. This was made clear in a statement issued by the Alien Property Custodian on Dec. 9, in which he said:

> Declaration of war with Austria-Hungary will not change the status of citizens or subjects of Austria-Hungary resident in this country. Such persons are not included within the term "enemy" as employed in the Trading with the Enemy act, and their property in this country will not be molested or interfered with in any way.
>
> Deposits in the Postal Savings banks of the United States and deposits in other banks and banking institutions belonging to citizens or subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire resident in this country are not liable to seizure by the Government and will not be taken into possession by the Alien Property Custodian. There is no reason whatever why such persons should be concerned about their property, real or personal, or their funds in bank, or securities, or other investments.
>
> Under the Trading with the Enemy act the test of enemy character is one of residence and not nationality. The Alien Property Custodian will take into his possession only the property in this country held for, or on account of, or for the benefit of, persons who are actually resident within the enemy territory.

One of the most important steps taken by the Government was the issuance of regulations by the Federal Trade Commission under which enemy-owned patents and copyrights are licensed for manufacture or use by citizens of the United States. About 20,000 patented and copyrighted articles were affected by the regulations, including dyestuff formulas and valuable medical cures.

New Zealand's Casualties

NEW ZEALAND, with a population of about one million, had up to the middle of August, 1917, contributed 86,000 men to the British military forces. According to an official statement, there were then 14,681 men, of whom 6,553 were available to go to the front. They were held as reinforcements in case of heavy casualties. Some of the other men were in hospitals and convalescent homes. There were at the front 24,320 men. The reinforcements held in France for immediate use numbered 3,114. So that the available reinforcements in England and France numbered less than 10,000. At the same time there were 3,211 men in Egypt and Palestine. The number of men returned to New Zealand was 10,547; of these 8,573 had been discharged. No fewer than 1,238 of the returned men had re-enlisted. The dead numbered 8,461; missing, 45; prisoners, 97; wounded, 21,521. Troops on the water were between 6,000 and 7,000. The number sent from New Zealand up to that time, including the expeditionary force to Samoa, was 76,943. There were 9,024 men in the training camps, and the grand total of the dominion's contribution under all headings was 86,000. The combined Australian and New Zealand—or "Anzac"—fighting forces have already exceeded 448,000 men out of a total of 6,000,000 inhabitants.

New Zealand casualties have been heavier than those of the Australian contingents, as will be seen by comparing the figures just mentioned with those in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1917, Page 387.

The President's Address to Congress

Text of Speech Defining Aims of United States and Calling for Declaration of War on Austria-Hungary

President Wilson's message to Congress on Dec. 4, 1917, took the form of an address devoted wholly to the war. It was delivered by the President before the houses in joint session, and at the same time was cabled to almost every capital of Europe, where its firm tone had an electrical effect in heartening the other warring nations. The full text is as follows:

GENTLEMEN of the Congress: Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize these events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war, and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a nation we are united in spirit and intention.

I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it, with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut about their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

Purpose of United States

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once and for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face,

this menace of combined intrigue and force, which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

No Vindictive Action Sought

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to the right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray, and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

First Aim Is to Win the War

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it.

We shall regard the war only as won when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan States, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise we did not grudge or oppose, but admired rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manu-

facture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms, by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated.

Peace Must Remedy Wrongs

The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and Northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose nor desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties, and our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind.

Not Threatening German Independence

We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for very life and existence of their empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own, from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of Governments.

It might be impossible also in such untoward circumstances to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself by processes which would assuredly set in.

Rights of Central Powers

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That, of course. But they can not and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and com-

promise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna.

The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all Governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life.

German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with those tides.

Poison of False Statements

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided.

The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

War Against Austria-Hungary

What shall we do, then, to push the great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is in fact the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business.

The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central

Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us, and not heed any others.

Penitentiary for Enemy Offenders

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the Presidential proclamations relating to enemy aliens promulgated under Section 4067 of the Revised Statutes and providing appropriate punishment; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to work as other criminals do.

Further Limiting of Prices

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry, it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequities obtain on all sides.

It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government should be resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of co-operation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any way but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centred, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective

conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous and rapid and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt, were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

Fighting for a Holy Cause

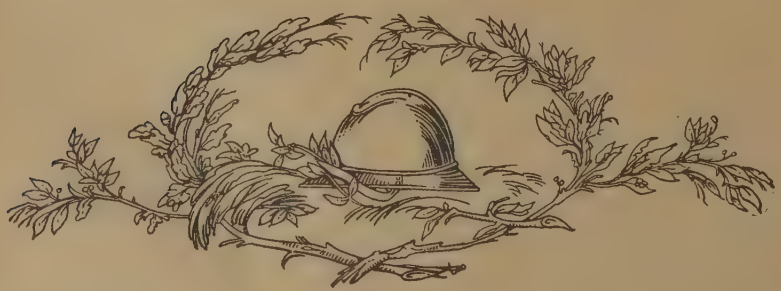
It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends.

The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions.

For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us.

A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.



Declaring War on Austria-Hungary

Text of Joint Resolution of Dec. 7, 1917, and of the President's Formal Proclamation of War

THE United States declared war against Austria-Hungary on Dec. 7, 1917, when President Wilson approved a joint resolution adopted by Congress the same day, declaring "that a state of war exists" between the two countries. The resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 74 yeas, there being no nays; it passed the House by a vote of 363 to 1, the negative vote being cast by a Socialist member from New York City named Meyer London.

The text of the resolution was as follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas, The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore be it,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a state of war is hereby declared to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, 7th December, 1917.

WOODROW WILSON.

Proclamation of War Against Austria

President Wilson issued the war proclamation on Dec. 12, as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, have resolved, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, bearing date of Dec. 7, 1917, as follows:

Whereas, The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a state of war is hereby declared to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Whereas, By Sections Four Thousand and Sixty-seven, Four Thousand and Sixty-eight, Four Thousand and Sixty-nine, and Four Thousand and Seventy of the Revised Statutes, provision is made relative to natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or Government, being males of the age of 14 years and upward who shall be in the United States and not actually naturalized;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and

zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war, and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens, that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecution of the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace;

And, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the aforesaid sections of the Revised Statutes, I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be as follows:

All natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not naturalized, are enjoined to preserve the peace toward the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid, or comfort to the enemies of the United States, and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President; and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States; and toward such of said persons as conduct themselves in accordance with law all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States.

And all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of the ages of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, who fail to conduct themselves as so enjoined, in addition to all other penalties prescribed by law, shall be liable to restraint, or to give security, or to remove and depart from the United States in the manner prescribed by Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes, and as prescribed in regulations duly promulgated by the President;

And pursuant to the authority vested in me I hereby declare and establish the following regulations, which I find necessary in the premises and for the public safety:

1. No native, citizen, denizen, or subject of Austria-Hungary, being a male of the age of 14 years and upward, and not actually naturalized, shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, Judge, or Justice, under Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes;

2. No such person shall land in or enter the United States, except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

3. Every such person of whom there may be reasonable cause to believe that he is aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or attempts to violate or of whom there is reasonable ground to believe that he is about to violate any regulation duly promulgated by the President, or any criminal law of the United States or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States Marshal, or his deputy, or such other officers as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.

This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this eleventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second. WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:
ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

Reasons for Our War on the Dual Empire

House Committee's Official Report

The action of Congress in declaring war upon Austria-Hungary was in response to President Wilson's address of Dec. 4 to the Sixty-fifth Congress, which had assembled in its first regular session on Dec. 3. *(The address appears in full on Pages 63-68.)* *A report presented to the House enumerated the reasons why war should be declared and reviewed the conduct of Ambassador Dumba in meddling with domestic affairs. The report follows:*

THE Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 169) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, having had the same under consideration, reports it back with some amendment, and recommends that the resolution as amended do pass.

In his address delivered at the joint session of the two houses of Congress, on Dec. 4, the President uses this language:

> One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

The accompanying resolution carries out this recommendation of the President. The enactment of this declaration involves very little readjustment of the affairs between the United States and Austria-Hungary, because a state of war, which this declaration declares to exist, actually has been a fact for many months. The depredation on American lives and rights by Austrian naval forces has been small compared with that of Germany, but they have been indulged in to an extent to constitute war upon this country, and this fact, taken in connection with other acts of Austria-Hungary, has more and more brought that Government into a position where the American people have realized that she must be included with Germany as an enemy.

Ambassador Dumba Arraigned

In September, 1915, it was discovered that Ambassador Dumba and Austrian Consuls in St. Louis and elsewhere were implicated in instigating strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. An American citizen named Archibald, traveling under an American passport, had been intrusted with dispatches in regard to this matter from Dumba and Bernstorff to their Governments. These facts were admitted by Dumba. By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Dumba to conspire to cripple business industries in the United States and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of an enemy of Austria-Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Government was requested to recall Dumba.

The Austrian Consuls at St. Louis and New York were implicated with Dumba in these transactions, particularly in the circulation of strike propaganda. They were implicated in procuring forged passports from the United States for the use of their countrymen going home. Long before the above activities were made public our Government had evidence that the Austrian Diplomatic and Consular Service was being used in this country for Germany's warlike purposes.

While Austria's submarine warfare has been of a very limited character, it has adopted and adhered to the policy of the ruthless submarine warfare of the Imperial German Government.

Ancona and Other Sinkings

After diplomatic relations with Germany had been broken, the State Department on Feb. 14, 1917, dispatched the following telegram to the American Embassy at Vienna, surveying briefly the position of the Austrian Government on submarine warfare:

In the American note of Dec. 6, 1915, to the Austro-Hungarian Government in the Ancona case, this Government called attention to the views of the Government of the United States on the operations of submarines in naval warfare, which had been expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary and of which full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government was presumed. In its reply of Dec. 15, 1915, the Imperial and Royal Government stated that it was not possessed with authentic knowledge of all the pertinent correspondence of the United States, nor was it of the opinion that such knowledge would be sufficient to cover the Ancona case, which was of essentially a different character from those under discussion with the Berlin Government. Nevertheless, in replying to the American note of Dec. 19, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Government in its note of Dec. 29 states:

"As concerns the principle expressed in "the very esteemed note that hostile pri-"vate ships, in so far as they do not flee "or offer resistance, may not be de-"stroyed without the persons on board "having been placed in safety, the Im-"perial and Royal Government is able "substantially to assent to this view of "the Washington Cabinet."

Moreover, in the case of the Persia, the Austro-Hungarian Government, in January, 1916, stated in effect that, while it had received no information with regard to the sinking of the Persia, yet, in case its responsibilities were involved, the Government would be guided by the principles agreed to in the Ancona case.

Within one month thereafter the Imperial and Royal Government, coincidentally with the German declaration of Feb. 10, 1916, on the treatment of armed merchantmen, announced that "all merchant ves-"sels armed with cannon, for whatever "purpose, by this very fact lose the char-"acter of peaceful vessels," and that, "under these conditions, orders have been "given to Austro-Hungarian naval forces "to treat such ships as belligerent ves-"sels."

In accordance with this declaration, several vessels with Americans on board have been sunk in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austrian submarines, some of which were torpedoed without warning by submarines flying the Austrian flag, as in the case of the British steamers Secondo and Welsh Prince. Inquiries made through the American Ambassador at Vienna as to these cases have so far elicited no information and no reply.

Again, on Jan. 31, 1917, coincidentally with the German declaration of submarine danger zones in waters washing the coasts of the Entente countries, the Imperial and Royal Government announced to the United States Government that Austria-Hungary and its allies would from Feb. 1 prevent by every means any navigation whatsoever within a definite closed area.

From the foregoing it seems fair to conclude that the pledge given in the Ancona case and confirmed in the Persia case is essentially the same as that given in the note of the Imperial German Government dated May 4, 1896, viz.:

"In accordance with the general prin-"ciples of visit and search and destruc-"tion of merchant vessels recognized by "international law, such vessels, both "within and without the area declared "as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk "without warning and without saving hu-"man lives, unless these ships attempt to "escape or offer resistance," and that this pledge has been modified to a greater or less extent by the declaration of the Imperial and Royal Government of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917.

In view, therefore, of the uncertainty as to the interpretation to be placed upon these declarations, and particularly this latter declaration, it is important that the United States Government be advised definitely and clearly of the attitude of the Imperial and Royal Government in regard to the prosecution of submarine warfare in these circumstances.

Please bring this matter orally to the attention of the Austro-Hungarian Government and request to be advised as to whether the pledge given in the Ancona case and the Persia case is to be interpreted as modified or withdrawn by the declarations of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917. If, after your conversation, it seems advisable, you may hand to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a paraphrase of this instruction, leaving the quoted text verbatim.

Avoided a Direct Answer

In reply, the Austrian Government, in an aide memoire of March 2, 1917, after reviewing the illegal blockade measures of the Allies, stated that "it now, as "hertofore, firmly adheres to the assur-"ances given by it" in the Ancona case.

The Austro-Hungarian Government also stated that Austro-Hungarian submarines had taken no part in the sinking of the British steamers Secondo and Welsh Prince, and that "the assurance "which it gave the Washington Cabinet "in the Ancona case and renewed in the "Persia case has neither been withdrawn "nor restricted by its declarations of "Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917."

The Austro-Hungarian note endeavors,

through a legal argument, to show consistency between these assurances and its declarations. In this way the Austro-Hungarian Government evades a direct answer to the American inquiry, but in its argument it substantially adheres to the declaration of Jan. 31, 1917, for it states that "the entire declaration is essentially nothing else than a warning "to the effect that no merchant ship "may navigate the sea zones accurately "defined in the declaration," and that "the Imperial and Royal Government is, "however, unable to accept a responsibility for the loss of human lives which "nevertheless may result from the destruction of armed ships or ships encountered in the closed zones."

In view of the explicit acceptance and avowal by the Austro-Hungarian Government of the policy which led to a breach of relations between the United States and Germany, the Government of the United States found it impossible to receive Dumba's successor, Count Tarnowski. The Government felt that it could not receive a new Ambassador from a country which joined Germany in her submarine policy, even though its participation was by verbal and not physical co-operation. This was communicated to the Austro-Hungarian Goverment in a telegram from the State Department dated March 28, 1917.

President's Earlier Forbearance

In his message to Congress of April 2, 1917, the President said in respect to the attitude of Austria-Hungary:

> I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our rights and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against the citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only when we are clearly forced into it, because there are no other means of defending our rights.

The Austrian note of Jan. 31, 1917, proclaimed the same submarine policy as that of Germany, and officially announced her intention, if she saw fit, to pursue the same ruthless submarine policy that Germany had inaugurated.

Many vessels have been sunk in the Mediterranean—the area in which Austrian submarines operate—by submarines which carried no flag or mark and the nationality of which was unknown. A great many of these undersea craft are believed to have been Austrian submarines or submarines commanded by Austrian officers or supplied from Austrian bases or by Austrian means.

On April 4, 1917, the American four-masted schooner Marguerite was sunk by a submarine thirty-five miles from the coast of Sardinia, while en route to Spain. The submarine carried no flag or marks to indicate its nationality. It is known, however, that Austrian (sic) was the language spoken by the officer of the submarine who came aboard the vessel with the boarding party, and it is believed that the submarine was Austrian.

Note From Count Czernin

Before war was declared to exist between the United States and the Imperial German Government, it was intimated to the United States Government that if war should be declared by the United States upon Germany, Austria-Hungary would be under obligation to break off diplomatic relations with the United States. Consequently, after the declaration of war of April 6, 1917, the Austro-Hungarian Government informed the American Chargé at Vienna on April 8 that diplomatic relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary were broken, and handed him passports for himself and members of the embassy. The following is the translation of the note handed to the American Chargé by the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

> Vienna, April 8, 1917.
>
> Since the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between it and the Imperial German Government,

Austria-Hungary, an ally of the German Empire, has decided to break off diplomatic relations with the United States, and the Imperial and Royal Embassy in Washington has been instructed to inform the Department of State to that effect.

While regretting under these circumstances to see a termination of the personal relations which he has had the honor to hold with the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, the undersigned does not fail to place at the former's disposal herewith the passports for the departure from Austria-Hungary of himself and other members of the embassy.

At the same time the undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to the Chargé d'Affaires the expression of his most perfect consideration. CZERNIN.

The Italian Situation

Until the present Austro-German drive in Northern Italy the Austrian forces were gradually being driven back by the forces of the Italian Army. With the assistance of German troops drawn from the Russian front a very serious catastrophe was inflicted upon the Italian arms, which, if it had not been stemmed, might have resulted in the collapse of Italy. Such a result would have been a great blow to those with whom we are associated in this war, and as much to the United States as to any of her co-belligerents.

As a result of this situation the Allies have rushed aid to Italy, and the United States is sending ships, money, and supplies, and will probably soon send troops, who will be facing and making war on Austrian soldiers.

The Italian situation is one of the utmost importance in the present conduct of the war. A declaration of war by the United States against Austria-Hungary will hearten the people of Italy, who have been misled by the mischievous and diluting propaganda engineered by Germans. It will strengthen, from a military point of view, the whole allied cause. These are strong considerations for a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

These considerations, and the fact that Austria-Hungary is adhering to the illegal and inhumane policy of ruthless submarine warfare, and is, as the committee believes, making war upon American vessels and American citizens on the high seas, and other reasons which are not deemed necessary to recapitulate here, induced the committee to report unanimously the accompanying resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same. The action of the committee is unanimous, and it trusts that the resolution will soon become a law.

Why Turkey and Bulgaria Were Omitted

Government spokesmen explained that Turkey was omitted from the war declaration for the following reasons: There were no Turkish representatives remaining in the United States; the number of Turkish subjects in this country was negligible, only 12,054 having come to this country between 1899 and 1910; Turkish interests in the United States were insignificant, while American missionaries alone had expended over $20,000,000 in Turkey, which, with other property, was subject to confiscation if war were declared; Americans in Turkey were numerous and could not leave the country; moreover, Turkey was apparently restive under German control, and there were hopes of a separate peace. In the case of Bulgaria, it was explained that Bulgarians were fighting only in what they regarded as Bulgarian territory; that Bulgaria's interest in the war was purely local, and that she had refused to accede to the German demand that she break with the United States.

Discussion in the Senate and House

IN offering the war resolution to the Senate, Senator Stone, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, spoke of the break in relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary and said the Dual Monarchy had virtually, although not actually, aligned itself as a belligerent against the United States.

"In this great world struggle all men know the intimate and apparently indissoluble relation existing between the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary," said Senator Stone. "It has become palpable and clear that an actual state of war exists between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Governments.

"The Supreme War Council at Paris has defined battle fronts in Europe, one of which has been defined to embrace France, Belgium, and Italy. This reach is laid out as one continuous battle front under one general command. I am told that American troops are up to this date massed in France, but if they are operating on one of the long-defined battle front which embraces Belgium and Italy, I cannot see that it would make any difference where American, British, French, or Italian troops might for the moment be located.

"The state of war already exists between Austria and the United States. It is better for us and for the world that this great fact should be recognized and acted upon affirmatively and authoritatively. The United States cannot afford to play a fast and loose game with the nations of the world. National honor and national interest alike demand that this Government should assume an attitude of dignity, sincerity, and commanding firmness in its international relations."

Senator Lodge and Others

Senator Lodge urged that, although he was willing to follow the advice of the President against a declaration of war on Turkey and Bulgaria, at this time, he regarded it as essential, sooner or later, to include them. He contended that Turkey, as an outlaw nation, must be overthrown. He said that an anomalous situation existed as to Bulgaria, which had a representative legation in Washington, and that, while assuming to be friendly with the United States, Bulgaria was the ally of Germany.

Senator Knox dwelt on the status of subjects of Austria-Hungary in the United States, saying fear had been expressed that if the United States went to war with the Dual Monarchy, they would be treated as enemy aliens and deprived of their liberty. The Senator adverted to President Wilson's proclamation with respect to nationals of Germany when the United States went to war with the Prussian autocracy, in which the Executive enjoined citizens of the United States to treat all such subjects "with all such friendliness and loyalty as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States."

Senator Knox ventured the opinion that President Wilson would issue a proclamation as to Austrian subjects, as he had done with Germany's nationals, and that the "tens of thousands of subjects of Austria-Hungary" employed in coal mines and other industries throughout the country would not be molested if they remained loyal to America in the war.

Senator La Follette's Attitude

Senator La Follette, who had at all previous times bitterly opposed the war declaration against Germany, was not present when the vote was taken; after the vote he entered the Chamber and spoke as follows:

"Had I been here I would have put in an amendment, which I offer now, to make sure that the United States bound itself not to participate in any territorial aggression that any of our allies might have against Austria-Hungary. If that amendment had been accepted, I would have voted for the resolution; otherwise I would have voted against it."

Senator La Follette's amendment was as follows:

That the United States asserts its determination not to be bound by, or be-

come a party to, the enforcement of any agreement or agreements heretofore entered into between the allied powers, to deprive the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary of title to, or the control of, any territory which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or possessions, Aug. 1, 1914.

Senate leaders said the La Follette amendment unquestionably would have been discarded as embracing an issue to be considered entirely apart from the declaration of war.

Discussion in the House

Chairman Flood of the Foreign Affairs Committee opened the debate with a comparison of Austria-Hungary and Germany in the ruthless submarine and other campaigns. He closed with an explanation of the military necessities in the case requiring that war be recognized as existing with the Dual Monarchy to defeat German autocracy more quickly. As serious as a resolution of war is, he said, "it is less so in this instance than would ordinarily be the case, because Austria has been making war upon this country for many months, and we have already declared war against her chief ally and the Government which dominates and directs her actions and policies in this crisis of the world's history." Mr. Flood said a declaration of war was not only wise but "essential to the welfare of the armies of this country and of the allied nations."

"Austria," he continued, "has declared in favor of an unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare, has ordered us off of certain portions of the high seas, and when we did not obey this order, has sunk our ships and murdered our citizens. This has been done in violation of the agreement reached between Austria and this country with reference to the methods of submarine warfare."

Mr. Flood said that when the war began no principle of international law was more securely established than "that war should be so conducted that injury and death should be spared to noncombatants so far as was humanly possible." The principle, he said, was as old as civilization. It was old in the time of Grotius, who held that in the calamities of war children were exempted and spared on the score of their age, and women from respect to their sex. Even Germany recognized this principle until the war had been going on for six months, and while her armies committed outrages of the most atrocious kind in Belgium and in Northern France, and in other parts of the battle front, the German Government denied most of these outrages and atrocities, and, where they were admitted, attempted to justify them as being within the limits of this rule.

Mr. Flood on Grievances

He reviewed the acts of Austria as set forth in the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee, (printed in preceding pages,) and added:

"The assault upon these ships and the murder of these American citizens was as much an act of war against this country as if Austria had landed an army upon our shores and marched it to this city, burning our homes and murdering our citizens as it came.

"No more aggressive act of war can be committed by one nation against another, and we should not submit to such outrages from any nation, great or small. Our flag has been insulted, the integrity of our territory has been invaded, the lives of our citizens have been taken, and to submit would bring irreparable injury, loss, and suffering to our people."

Mr. Flood said America's prosperity and welfare were "inseparably connected with our right of free intercourse with other nations." To order vessels of the United States off any parts of the seas would mean disaster to our commerce. Our total exports to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy, he pointed out, were this year $3,000,000,000 and more. These represented the products of farms, mines, and factories, and for them to stop would mean stagnation of industry and suffering and want in the land.

"A nation which will not fight against these outrages, which will not defend its flag, the integrity of its territory, the lives and prosperity of its citizens," declared Mr. Flood, "will not long retain the love of its own people, or the respect

of other people, and it could not long endure, because it is unworthy to endure.

"Let us pass this resolution speedily," concluded Mr. Flood. "Let us link together for overwhelming defeat the two mediaeval Governments which plunged the world into war and still stand as the worst obstacles to a just peace among the nations. Let us pass it unanimously and hearten and cheer the great President of this country, who is bending every energy of mind and body, night and day, to the accomplishment of the complete and speedy triumph of the allied and American armies, upon terms of surrender from the Central Powers that will satisfy the hope and aspirations of the American people and bring an enduring peace to a stricken world."

The Socialist Attitude

In a fifteen-minute speech Representative London attempted to justify his announced position on the ground that the tenets of Socialism were opposed to war, and that its responsible leaders were pursuing such a course in accordance with this fundamental policy.

"As a Socialist I am pledged to vote against a declaration of war," said Mr. London. "In matters of war I am a teetotaler. I refuse to take the first intoxicating drink. The Socialists of the world oppose a declaration of war and oppose war until the last moment. Had there been a majority of Socialists in the countries of Europe in 1914 there would have been no war. If there were majorities of Socialists in the Parliaments of the contending nations today the war would be over tomorrow. It is my obligation to give expression to that sentiment, to represent that body of thought and that international code of ethics providing against a declaration of war, against a spreading of the horrors of it."

This was violently attacked by Representative Chandler, who asserted that the Socialists of Germany, Russia, France, and England each in turn had favored war. Mr. Chandler said:

"One hundred and forty years ago we were bled white and stood at death's door. France, the beautiful among the nations, sent Rochambeau and Lafayette as ambassadors of freedom to our shores, sent us money and men, and enabled us to live. Today France is bled white and stands at death's door, attacked by Austria and Germany, and in self-respect it is our duty to send men and money to enable her to live against Austria and Germany.

"I say, knowing the full meaning of my words, that with this history with respect to France, with this debt of national gratitude hanging over us, if we, a modern republic, fabulously rich in men and money, should stand by and see the Imperial German Government and the Austrian Government give a deathblow to that brave and beautiful republic, our friend and benefactor, through all the ages yet to come we should not only deserve but would receive the scorn and contempt and the hatred and the execration of mankind."

The Feminine Member

Toward the close of the debate Miss Rankin tripped down the aisle while the galleries listened attentively, expecting another anti-war outburst from "the lady from Montana." Instead, she declared that the acceptance of the resolution was a mere technicality, and, in a voice clear and determined, said that she was prepared to vote for it.

"I still believe that war is a stupid and futile way of attempting to settle international difficulties," she said. "I believe that war can be avoided and will be avoided when the people, the men and women in America, as well as in Germany, have the controlling voice in their Governments. Today the special privileged interests are controlling the world.

"When the United States declared war on Germany it virtually declared war on Germany's allies. The vote that we are now to cast is not on the declaration of war. If it were I should vote against it. This is merely a vote on a technicality in the prosecution of the war already declared. I shall vote for this, as I voted for money and men."

Grappling With the Submarine Peril

Address by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Sir Eric Geddes signalized his entrance into the duties of First Lord of the Admiralty by delivering in Parliament on Nov. 1, 1917, a noteworthy speech on the recent progress made by the British Navy against the enemy's U-boat warfare. A brief cabled summary of this address appeared in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, *but the whole speech is so important a statement of historic facts that all the essential portions are now presented in full.*

SINCE the beginning of the war—and these are entirely new figures which I think will be interesting to the House—between 40 and 50 per cent. of the German submarines commissioned and operating in the North Sea, Atlantic and Arctic Oceans have been sunk. During the last quarter the enemy have lost as many submarines as they lost during the whole of last year, 1916. That is a later figure than the one given by the Prime Minister at the Albert Hall. He told the country that in this year—he was speaking a few weeks ago—we had already sunk twice as many as in the whole of 1916. The figure I am able to give is important because it shows that we are really making progress. The figure I give is that in one quarter, that is, roughly, a third of the time, we have sunk the equivalent of the whole of 1916.

As to the sinkings of British merchant tonnage by submarines the German official figures for August are 808,000 tons. But that figure represents all nationalities. The German figures are usually given for all nationalities, and then they turn round to ask, How can the British mercantile marine stand this? They actually sank very little more than a third of that amount of British tonnage and a little more than half of all nationalities. For September their official figures are 672,000 tons, that is they have gone down from 808,000 to 672,000, and I will tell the House later on how they explain that. They sank far less than a third of that amount of British tonnage and less than half that amount of all nationalities.

The Germans claim—and this is how they account for the decrease in their mythical sinkings—that our tonnage is falling so low that there are not enough ships at sea to enable their submarine commanders to maintain their bag. They say the game is getting very scarce. That is the explanation given by two semi-official organs, the Cologne Gazette and the Frankfort Gazette, on the same day, Oct. 23, so obviously it was communicated to them. I would like to give the House the facts on that. In April last, which was absolutely the heaviest month of sinkings since the war began, we must assume, just because it was their best month, that our trade flowed in satisfactory volume for their submarines. They had no complaint that month. They did very well; they got a good bag. In September last, which is the month they explain away as unsatisfactory because there is not enough tonnage to sink, the overseas sailings of all ships, 1,600 tons and over, were 20 per cent. in numbers and 30 per cent. in tonnage higher than in April.

Long Arm of the Navy

So he has to find another and better explanation for his lack of success. I can supply that. The reason is that the long arm of the British Navy has reached down into the depths, and the harvest reaped by the submarines is poorer and the number of German submarines that do not return is increasing. Since April, the big month for British losses, they have steadily decreased, and latterly very markedly decreased. It has been an absolutely steady curve down to September. September was a most satisfactory month,

MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS

A New Portrait of the Surgeon General of the United States Army.
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THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL'S STAFF

Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder (Fourth from the Left in the Front Row) and His Executive Staff, Who Are in Charge of the Selection of America's National Army.

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the best we have had since we began the intensive submarine warfare, and October is very slightly worse than September, very slightly, and is far better than any other month since the unrestricted submarine warfare began. I am not juggling with the figures—I mean far better. It is 30 per cent. lower than any other month, except September, and September was the best month. I have dwelt on the interchangeability of effort, showing how it is sometimes possible to achieve the same net result by greater efforts in other directions, such as the production of anti-submarine craft and appliances, instead of the production of merchant tonnage. The net reduction in tonnage in the last four months is today 30 per cent. less than was anticipated in an estimate prepared by me for the Cabinet early in July.

The total net reduction since the beginning of the war from all causes in British tonnage on the official register and applying it only to ships that are oceangoing, 1,600 tons and over, is 2,500,000 tons. That is the tonnage which we have lost—net—and that is 14 per cent. of the ships on the register in that class. That reduction has taken place during the period while our armies with their magnificent equipment were receiving absolute priority, and the great growth of our navy was simultaneously achieved, and achieved to the detriment of mercantile shipbuilding. Now that the submarine is, for the present at any rate—and I should like to lay emphasis on these words—doing less damage and the resources of the country are again being devoted to a far greater and increasing extent to the upbuilding of the mercantile marine, I hope and I look forward to the net results being still more favorable.

I have tried to really give a consecutive idea of how I read the submarine situation. I have given all the figures that I feel can safely be made public, because, although I am talking in this House, I am really talking in Germany as well. To summarize the submarine warfare as clearly as I can, therefore, I would put it thus: In spite of an increased number of ships passing through the danger zone, our defensive measures have, during the past seven months, proved so efficacious that there has been a steady and very great reduction in the damage done by the enemy under-water craft. Meantime we are sinking enemy submarines to an increasing extent. Our offensive measures are improving and becoming more effective, and will still more considerably improve and multiply.

Germans Building U-Boats Faster

On the other hand, on the best information before us, I believe that the Germans are building submarines faster than they have hitherto been able to do, and that they have not yet attained their maximum strength. It appears to me, therefore, that in this submarine warfare, as elsewhere, it is becoming a test of determination, grit, and ingenuity between the two contending forces. * * * At present we are justified in feeling—I think so—that his attack on our trade is being held, and is being mastered, and we are justified in looking to the future with courage and determination, confident that he will fail.

There is one point that I would like to make which will, I think, interest the House, and I wish to give publicity to it. We, of course, analyze in every possible way submarine sinkings, and, although we may do, and are doing, a great deal by the use of science, by various kinds of weapons and appliances to defeat the submarine, there is one thing which is almost the most potent protection against submarines that exists. It is not an appliance; it is a gift of God given to men on the ships. It is their eyesight. It is the good lookout that is kept.

I will give figures which I think will interest the House, and will tell those outside how they can help the navy against the submarine. A good lookout kept by an experienced man covering a great many attacks by submarines has given us the following facts: That if a submarine is sighted by the lookout on a vessel, whether the vessel is armed or not, it is seven to three on the ship in favor of getting away; out of every ten attacks when the submarine is sighted by the ship seven of them fail, but of every ten attacks when the submarine is

not sighted eight ships go down. It is seven to three on the ship if the submarine is sighted and four to one against it if it is not.

The Enemy's Shipping Losses

At the outbreak of war Germany had about 5,000,000 tons of shipping. Today nearly half of it is sunk or in the hands of our allies and of ourselves. She has got a 50 per cent. reduction, and none of her merchant ships go to sea. We have got a 14 per cent. reduction. It is well, however, that the British public should be told what they are up against. We must not consider ourselves alone. We must consider the alliance as a whole. We must not be optimistic and say we can do all we like because submarine warfare is for the present, at any rate, going well with us. Some of our allies may be better or may be worse off in some particulars than we are. For example, while we have plenty of coal to be had for the mining, Italy and France have not, and it is essential that the greatest economy in food and in all our imports should be exercised in order that tonnage saved may be diverted to the vital needs of the Allies.

* * * It is only by the strictest economy at home with the maximum comfort for the workers that the submarine will be finally defeated. Further, there are great, and ever greater, calls upon the shipping of the world. The huge armies that our ally the United States is preparing have to be transported and maintained, and our French, Italian, Russian, and other allies require sea-borne help, and that help can only be given to the full extent which this country would wish if the nation is prepared strictly and rigorously to curtail its needs and preserve and develop its home resources and maintain its present and potential maritime strength.

Merchant Shipping Construction

Our present position in merchant shipping is an interesting phenomenon of the war. The fact shows how quickly our surplus resources can be wasted, and we can take courage in remembering that at the same time we have grown strong where we were weak. Some never thought it was possible in the early months of the war to help the great host of our allies in France and the other theatres of war, but they are now equipped on a scale never dreamed of before. This effort was achieved in part at the cost of our mercantile marine, and also in part at the cost of our navy. If we had continued during the war with our merchant shipbuilding on its pre-war level we should have been between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 tons to the good, but expenditure of effort in one direction calls for restriction in another, and we were fortunate that we started well supplied.

The House will recollect that even so we are less than two and a half million tons down on the register of big ships. Might the country not justly take courage from the fact that in 1917, with our mercantile and munitions effort at the maximum, and with a call upon our manpower which reduced our available resources to the minimum, we shall have produced naval and mercantile tonnage to an extent almost equal to the best year ever recorded in our history, and in 1918 it will certainly be very much greater?

Output of Merchant Tonnage

The output of merchant tonnage for the first nine months of 1917 is 120 per cent. higher than in the corresponding period of last year, and is very considerably higher than the total output for the whole of 1915. Standard vessels have now been ordered, representing very nearly 1,000,000 gross tons of shipping. More than half of those are already under construction, and the remainder will be taken in hand as soon as vessels now on the stocks have been launched. A limited number of standard vessels completed are now in commission, but the whole of the yards suitable for building standard ships cannot yet be entirely devoted to this work, because the stocks are already occupied with other craft. But merchant shipbuilding must not be considered apart from merchant ship repairing. The same men and the same material are required for repairing ships as for building ships, and if we have a run of badly damaged ships brought into port it would, indeed,

be false economy to devote our resources to building a ship which might be available in five, six, or eight months' time, when, by devoting men and material to damaged vessels, we can have that tonnage afloat in a matter of weeks or months.

The Controller has been fortunate in obtaining the services and the heartiest co-operation and good-will of those who are at the head of our great ship-repairing and drydocking industry. There are today 235 drydocks of considerable size in the British Isles which can be devoted to merchant ship repairs. I exclude drydocks allotted to the Royal Navy. We have throughout made a revision of the docks both for building and repairs, so that each department has its own accommodation, and then, if one can help the other, we adjust it that way. These docks, now centrally controlled, have attained a remarkable figure of user—90 per cent. of their possible maximum of time. This is, indeed, a strikingly satisfactory figure, and, I am authoritatively informed, far better than peace-time commercial experience. Our monthly repairs of merchant ships is 1,100 completed—drydocked and afloat—and I am glad to say that there are practically no arrears of repairs. The need for these repairs is, of course, by no means caused by enemy action alone.

Naval Shipbuilding

In addition to merchant shipbuilding and merchant ship repairing, we have the building and repair of warships. It would not be wise to give any details of warship construction, except to say that the program of warship and auxiliary ship construction now in hand is infinitely larger than has ever been undertaken in the pre-war history of the country. I am sure it will be a source of satisfaction to the House to learn that, during the last 12 months, the output of royal naval and auxiliary vessels, measured in displacement, was between three and four times as much as the average annual output for the few years preceding the war. I would like in this connection to say that, in the dockyards, as in every branch of war activity, women are bearing their part, and are being, to a considerable and an increasing extent, employed with great satisfaction to the management.

The growth of the fleet has put a considerable strain upon the resources of the royal dockyards and of the outside repairing establishments which throughout have given of their best in the maintenance of our forces. Three large and one small new dockyards have been opened since the beginning of the war, and the increase of work done in all dockyards has been most marked. During one month the number of war vessels completing repairs was nearly 1,000—that is in addition to the 1,100 merchant ships—and that was by no means an abnormal month. Since the beginning of the war 31,000 war vessels, including patrol craft and mine sweepers, have been docked or slipped, and these figures do not include repair work done for the vessels of our allies.

The arming of merchant vessels is proceeding, and it is hoped that before long all merchant craft will be effectively armed. But here again this House and the public will, I feel sure, wish to realize that we cannot judge one item by itself. We can only judge with a knowledge of all the factors of the case. Our available resources in all directions do not meet all the demands made upon them. The arming of merchant ships and patrol craft could have been completed earlier had there not been so great a demand for anti-aircraft guns. The armament could have been heavier had it not been necessary to devote a portion of the output of guns to other purposes. The adjustment of resources is a matter of great difficulty and can only be done with the utmost care by those who have a comprehensive and full knowledge of the facts. The difficulty exists today with all belligerents, but we have reason to believe that our enemies have a much greater need for these adjustments than have we and our allies.

Activities of British Navy

I will now proceed, as far as possible and as far as time may permit, to a broad general statement of the rôle and activities of the navy. The question is often asked whether the Admiralty is

not contenting itself with a concentration on the defensive rôle instead of adopting bold offensive measures. Of course, it takes two sides to make a battle, and the problem of coaxing an unwilling enemy to come out into the open and fight has always confronted the stronger naval power. What was true in the great naval wars of the past is still more true under modern conditions. Mine, submarine, and powerful shore artillery have all contributed to make the task of the offensive extremely difficult. The rôle of the British Navy today is, as it must be, both offensive and defensive. We defend our trade routes, and the figures which have recently been given by the Prime Minister, but which I venture to give again, show what the navy has done. The navy has transported across the sea to allied armies 13,000,000 men, 2,000,000 horses, 25,000,000 tons of explosives, 51,000,000 tons of fuel, 130,000,000 tons of food. Of the 30,000,000 men who have crossed and recrossed the sea only 2,700 have been lost by the action of the enemy. The navy has also maintained without serious interruption and with the co-operation and inestimable gallantry of the mercantile marine the sea-borne and munition supplies not only of these islands but of our allies.

Apart from the convoy of our trades and military and munitions traffic, however, I have sought for some clear way of demonstrating to the House and through the House to the country, that the rôle of the navy is in other ways an offensive one. The enemy, as the House knows, is based and remains behind powerful land defenses of which Heligoland is merely an outpost. I will give one comparative fact to show how the Grand Fleet differs in its rôle from the defensive part played by the High Seas Fleet.

Patrolling a Million Miles

I disclose no secret—or if it is a secret I disclose a fact which I should be glad to tell the enemy—when I say that the British fleet in its northern base lies behind no shore defenses, but relies on its own strength alone. There are those in this country, and possibly in this House, who do not appreciate the activities of his Majesty's navy in home waters, who think that it lies in its bases like the High Seas Fleet with the North Sea in between. I speak from the intimate knowledge I have of the day-to-day situation in the North Sea, and I can state with the fullest confidence to the House that the North Sea—140,000 square nautical miles—is swept day and night from north to south and east to west by the British Navy.

During a recent month the mileage steamed by his Majesty's battleships, cruisers, and destroyers amounted to 1,000,000 ship miles in home waters. In addition to this there is the ceaseless patrol of the naval auxiliary forces, amounting to well over 6,000,000 ship miles in home waters in the same month. Over and above this, we have the untiring vigilance by warships and all craft of his Majesty's navy in every ocean of the world. Time will not permit of my making more detailed reference to the work of the royal navy and auxiliary craft in the seven seas, on the Tigris, and elsewhere. Their arduous duties have been carried out with great gallantry and in a manner beyond reproach, and, as is the pride of his Majesty's navy, without a stain upon their honor chivalry, and humanity. As one example only of how thorough that work is I can state that during a recent month the blockading squadron performed in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans the almost incredible feat of intercepting and examining every single merchant ship trading with neutral countries. They missed not one. The nation's demands made upon the royal navy have been great, and have been met with such thoroughness and with so little fuss that the country has, I feel sure, hardly realized what the navy has accomplished.

Naval Airmen

The personnel of the fleet before the outbreak of war was 146,000; today it is 390,000. In this is included the Royal Naval Air Service, which has alone increased from 700 to 41,000. The duties of the Royal Naval Air Service are varied, of great value, and of absorbing interest. Its great efficiency and gallantry in France are occasionally brought

to public notice by reports of bombing expeditions and otherwise. But any statement on the navy would be incomplete without a tribute to the Royal Naval Air Service in operations over the sea. They are the terror of the submarine. During one month the aircraft patrol round the British coast alone is more than five times the circumference of the earth. I think it may interest the House and instruct the public if I give some indication of what the Royal Naval Air Service alone has done in bombing behind the enemy lines in France. During September alone 64 raids were carried out on dockyards, naval dépôts, enemy aerodromes, and other objects of naval and military importance in Flanders behind the enemy lines. No fewer than 2,736 bombs were dropped by the Royal Naval Air Service alone, totaling 85 tons of explosives. The figures for October are not yet completely tabulated, but are still greater. There is no doubt that these raids result in great material and moral damage, and on many occasions their effect is shown in the aerial photographs to be such as to hamper and restrict seriously the enemy naval, aerial, and military undertakings.

The submarine service of the royal navy would call for more time than I can at present ask the House to give me. Their intricate patrol of the far waters of the North Sea is invaluable. The romance of one submarine hunting another is enthralling, were it permissible to give details of those exploits. We hear little of their doings, but their ceaseless work contributes largely to the practical immunity of our shores.

Before closing this statement of naval activities I would wish to mention the work of the mine sweepers and mine layers and of their gallant crews, largely recruited from our hardy fishermen. Both these duties may be offensive as well as defensive. Is it not an offensive measure to lay mines at night in the tortuous channels of the enemy mine fields, with the possibility of attack from his patrol craft or discovery and bombardment from his land guns? Similarly, is it not an offensive measure for the mine sweepers to go into the enemy mine fields, which are protected, to sweep a passage, as they have done, to enable their comrades of the submarine or light surface craft to follow in the next night? The late Prime Minister once said in a speech which he made to the fleet that naval operations are of necessity conducted in "the twilight." It is that very twilight which keeps the public, and, I regret to say, this House, in partial ignorance of their work.

U-Boat Sinkings—And U-Boats Sunk

OFFICIAL figures show that the number of British ships sunk by submarines increased somewhat in the last month. The following are the losses announced by the British Admiralty:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Nov. 18.....	10	7	..
Week ended Nov. 25.....	14	7	0
Week ended Dec. 2.....	16	1	4
Week ended Dec. 9.....	14	7	..
Total for four weeks..	54	22	4
Total previous four weeks.	40	21	1

To these figures should be added French, Italian, American, and neutral vessels sunk. But there are no complete returns as in the case of British ships, and apparently these losses are somewhere about the average. Up to Oct. 1, 1917, the number of Norwegian ships sunk was 660, representing 1,020,000 tons. With them were lost 713 men and seventeen more missing. One-third of Norway's merchant tonnage has thus been destroyed.

An interesting question was raised in the House of Lords on Nov. 22, when Lord Beresford called attention to the number of ships "missing without trace," and to the disclosure in the communication of Count von Luxburg, formerly German Minister to Argentina, of Germany's plans for the sinking of vessels in this manner. Lord Lytton,

Civil Lord of the Admiralty, in reply to Lord Beresford, said that in the three years ending with last October 122 vessels had been lost "without trace." The normal average in peace times was fifteen vessels yearly.

A new German barred zone was established on Nov. 22 around the Azores, "which have become in economic and military respects important hostile bases of Atlantic navigation." The extension of the German zone was announced from Berlin in an official memorandum, which said:

> The hostile Governments are endeavoring by the intensification of the hunger blockade against neutral countries to force out to sea neutral cargo space, which is keeping in port, and to press it into their service. As hostile shipping and shipping sailing in hostile interest are being supplemented by violent measures, the German Government in its struggle against Great Britain's domination of violence, which tramples under foot all rights, especially those of smaller nations, finds itself obliged to extend the field of operation of its submarines.

The memorandum added that the extension principally consisted of the establishment of a barred zone around the Azores and "in closing a channel to Greece hitherto left open in the Mediterranean, as it has been utilized by the Venizelos Government, not so much for the supply of the Greek population with foodstuffs as for the transport of arms and ammunition."

Various indications have been given of the success of the Allies in sinking German submarines. Thomas B. Hohler, a member of the British Embassy staff at Washington, speaking in New York City on Nov. 27, said: "It may interest "you to learn that I have been informed "that between Nov. 1 and Nov. 15, this "year, thirty-nine submarines have been "sunk." No explanation of the methods which brought about an average destruction of better than two U-boats a day accompanied the announcement. Premier Lloyd George had previously stated that five enemy submarines had been sunk on one day, while reports received by the United States Government showed that on another day three submarines had been destroyed by the allied naval forces.

A report was received on Dec. 3 at Newport, R. I., from a seaport in France that one of the newest type of German submarines, armed with two 6-inch guns and many torpedoes, had been taken by an American warship. The submarine had been sent out for a cruise of two months. Instead, it was kept out a month longer. Then, according to report, provisions gave out and the crew mutinied and hoisted a white flag. It was seen by a British warship, but ignored as a ruse. An American warship which saw the signal ran alongside. All the submarine's officers were found lashed to the deck, having been killed by the mutinied crew. The submarine was taken to a French port.

The capture of the crew of another German U-boat sunk by depth charges was told in an Associated Press dispatch, dated Nov. 26. The explosives had disabled the U-boat and forced it down, bumping along the bottom of the sea, when the commander, in order to lighten her, emptied the tanks. The U-boat responded and rose to the surface with such a rush that some of the Germans were thrown about and injured. The U-boat appeared on the surface within several hundred feet of an American destroyer. The submarine's hatch flew open, and the Germans scrambled out of the conning tower. They lined up along the deck with hands in the air, shouting "Kamerad!" The destroyer moved close up and heaved a line, which the Germans made fast. This was no sooner done than it became apparent that the crew had succeeded in opening the seacocks, for the submarine began to settle, at first slowly, then more rapidly. As she did so the Germans leaped into the water and swam toward the destroyer. Some of the American bluejackets jumped into the sea to rescue the injured. As the last German was lifted aboard the destroyer the hawser attached to the U-boat parted under the strain and the U-boat disappeared. When the destroyer reached her base the prisoners were almost wholly clad in American bluejacket outfits.

The Monstrous Submarine Piracy

By Hall Caine

[By Arrangement with The London Chronicle]

FOR thousands of years, in frail craft and strong, the sailors of the world have fought the sea and beaten it. But they have paid the price of their victory. The great deep holds the unknelled and uncoffined remains of millions of the vanquished. Through all the ages they have been the soldiers of the sea, and for the good of the world, its material and spiritual necessities, they have fallen in battle against the deadliest enemy of mankind.

That is according to the law of nature, and we bow our heads to it. "There is sorrow on the sea; it is never quiet." But when the wrecks of the ocean are not those of the elements in their blindness, but of man himself in his barbarity, the heart of humanity has to be surrounded by something more than oak and threefold brass to bear it. The first sea battle between ship and ship must have seemed to be a sufficiently unnatural thing to those who reflected that the common foe of both was round about them. But there was at least a certain fierce grandeur about it, such as we now feel to belong to a battle in the air. And just as aerial fighting seems to sound the last note of chivalry in the clamorous discord of modern warfare, so does sea fighting seem to be a human struggle of brave man against brave man, with Nature, the great Neutral, standing by to swallow up the fallen. Drake and Hawkins and the rest of our wild sea rovers may have been pirates, but they fought like men. Not blood for blood's sake, not lust of mere destruction, not merciless massacre of vanquished enemies, but the glory of conquest, a certain pride in overcoming courageous adversaries, and showing them the honors due to brave if beaten foes—that was the spirit of the great seamen of the old days.

It is the spirit of all true sailors still, thank God, but our enemies in the present war have done their utmost to wipe out the first and highest and noblest traditions of the sea. They have condescended not merely to the morality of pirates, (which has a bold daring to it,) but to the ethics of sharks and sea garroters, which requires no courage and no strength. The last thing they wish to meet is an adversary that can hold his own with them. Because the submarine is necessarily a frail vessel that cannot bear an answering shot, they fall on their unwary foe from the cover of the waters as the footpad falls on the pedestrian from the shelter of a wall or tree. As a consequence, they sink without the danger of being sunk, and fight where they cannot be fought. One wonders what our mighty Drake, pirate as he may have been, would have said to seamen who took after this style the hazard of their lives at sea!

It would be useless to discuss the arguments on which our enemies justify their unrestricted submarine campaign, except to say that they are shallow, stupid, and illogical, and such as the most ruthless of their own statesmen—Bismarck himself—must have disclaimed. The only matter worth thinking of is the measure of the offense of it, and the first thing one sees is that it is a crime against nature. That ordinance of the Almighty whereby the earth, through all the workings of seed time and harvest, gives forth its fruits, is openly defied and outraged by a nation which orders the sinking of ships laden with food. To say that for reasons of revenge, to compel the withdrawal of a blockade, or for any other ends whatsoever, the sun shall shine and the rain shall rain in vain, and the products of the soil shall be utterly wasted, is blasphemy against nature and the God of nature.

The next thing one sees is that the submarine policy of our enemies is a crime against human necessity. At a time when, by reason of the war, the whole world is suffering from the want of food, to destroy food is a double in-

iquity, and to attempt to starve one large part of the human family in order that another and smaller part of it may not be starved, without renouncing its military purposes, is to claim the right of the minority to control the majority, the right of Germany to rule the world.

Next, we see that the submarine policy of our enemies is a crime against human life. Willfully to kill, without the necessity to kill, or the immediate danger of being killed, is murder. The fragility of the submarine does not excuse her sinking without warning. The laws of humanity are not subject to variation at the whim of mechanical infirmity. They are immutable.

Above all we see that the submarine policy of our enemies is a crime against civilization. If it could succeed it would undo all the work the sailor has done throughout the ages in binding race to race, nation to nation, in furthering man's material progress and developing his spiritual brotherhood. Every ship is a hand-clasp between land and land. Therefore every ship destroyed leaves a link the less in the chain that unites man to man. Already America is thrice as far away from Europe as it was a year ago. If the ocean could be swept of ships at the will of any empire whatever, the world would henceforth be at the empire's mercy, dependent upon it for every form of sustenance, whether for the body or for the soul.

The Shipping Problem

THAT the shipping problem of the nations arrayed against the Teutonic Powers had been solved was the important statement made by Bainbridge Colby, the representative of the United States Shipping Board at the Paris Interallied Conference. "The stupendous building program of America," he said, "is the answer to the submarine." (The decisions in regard to shipping adopted at the conference are recorded elsewhere in this magazine.)

According to Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, German submarines in the first ten months of unrestricted warfare sank over 900 British vessels of more than 3,000,000 tons dead weight. The greatest shipbuilding feat any nation has ever accomplished is that of Great Britain, in 1913, when 688 vessels, of 2,989,299 tons, were completed. Japan in 1914 built forty-three ships, of 192,993 tons. This was the biggest tonnage finished by any nation except Great Britain.

The United States, says Mr. Hurley, now has available for transatlantic service 582 ships, of a total of 3,721,806 tons, including former German and Austrian vessels and oil tankers. German and Austrian ships now operated by the Shipping Board number 105, and are of 688,960 tons. American citizens hold eleven more of these ships, totaling 63,915 tons. Mr. Hurley showed that between Jan. 1 and June 1, 1917, American shipyards had built and launched eighty-seven ships, of a total tonnage of 503,922. Of this total, fifty-five vessels were of steel, 430,994 tons, while thirty-two were of wood, 72,928 tons.

The first official analysis, issued on Nov. 25, of the program which is being carried out by the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board, shows that contracts have been let for 884 new vessels, aggregating 4,724,300 deadweight tons; 426 vessels, of 3,029,508 tons, building on the ways have been requisitioned to hasten construction, and contracts for ninety-nine other vessels, of 610,000 tons, were pending. This program presents a grand total of 1,409 vessels of all types, aggregating 8,363,808 deadweight tons. Of the requisitioned vessels included in this schedule thirty-three, of 257,575 tons, have been completed and released. The total deadweight tonnage given represents approximately 6,000,000 gross. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, with the co-operation of the shipbuilders and of organized labor, expects to place all these vessels on the seas before the end of 1918.

The figures show that there are under contract no less than 278 vessels of 7,500

tons or more, classified as cargo steamers, of which seventy are designed especially for transports. Of the cargo vessels requisitioned 176 also are of 7,500 tons or over. Most of the vessels of 5,000 and 7,500 tons which have been contracted for are being built in new yards, and it is estimated that it will take five months to complete a vessel after the yards are in operation.

The construction of a great fleet of vessels, each of 8,800 tons or over, was one of the first steps advocated by Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board and Rear Admiral Capps. The theory was that these vessels could attain higher speed and be more effective against the submarines. Vessels for use as transports are being constructed with a new system of bulkheads which, it is believed, will make them "unsinkable." It has been stated that at least three hits would have to be made by torpedoes to cause a disaster, and under the present system of convoy such a feat by a submarine is looked upon as impossible.

Rear Admiral W. L. Capps resigned his position as General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation on Nov. 23 on the ground of failing health. It was stated, however, that there had been serious differences of opinion between Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, and Admiral Capps, the latter holding that under the methods being pursued the 6,000,000 tons of vessels demanded by the Allies for 1918 could not be produced. As recorded, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1917, Pages 427-8,) Charles A. Piez had already taken over a good deal of the work done by Admiral Capps.

The protracted discussion of the question of merchant-ship operation by the Navy Department and the Shipping Board was ended by the decision announced on Nov. 28 that all Government vessels on the transatlantic routes were to be officered and manned by Naval Reservists. This meant that all officers and crews in the European service would be under the Navy Department. Under the new plan of merchant-ship operation students in the Shipping Board navigation schools must enter the Naval Reserve before beginning active service. Merchant shipmasters, and seamen also, must enter the Naval Reserve. While the officers and crews of merchant ships are subject to navy orders and discipline, they receive pay equivalent to that paid by private shipowners. The agreement with the Seamen's Union in regard to wages is being observed.

More than 100,000 officers and men, it is estimated, are needed to man the fleet of merchant vessels America will turn out by the end of 1918. It is estimated that 15,000 merchant-ship officers and seamen will be taken into the Naval Reserve Service. The navy has about 100,000 men in training available for manning the merchant vessels.

Imports Under Government Control

By a proclamation issued on Nov. 28, 1917, placing under license the import of many articles, President Wilson put into the hands of the War Trade Board a powerful weapon to be used against firms controlled by German capital.

Notable in the South American countries named in the proclamation was Venezuela, where German capital is in full command, and from which pro-German propaganda radiates in great volume. German-controlled firms in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and other countries also are made to feel the full force of America's power to control its commercial relations.

The proclamation takes in European as well as South American countries, thus making it possible for the Government to cut off commercial relations with firms in the northern neutral countries of Europe and in Spain if it sees fit. The weapon thus supplied adds greatly to the commercial power of the United States, putting it in the position during the war almost to direct the trade of the world.

One of the chief advantages of import control is that it gives the Government a larger measure of supervision over shipping. If tonnage vitally needed for war purposes is being used to transport to this country commodities regarded as nonessential the Government can decline to issue import licenses and thus divert the tonnage to essential trades.

America's First Blacklist

The War Trade Board published on Dec. 4 its first blacklist of German-controlled banks and industries in South America, Cuba, and Mexico. The list contained the names of more than 1,600 concerns with which American banks and industries are forbidden to deal except under license. Where imports are for firms that are controlled by German money they are to be seized by the Alien Property Custodian, sold, and the receipts used for the purchase of Liberty bonds, or in some other direction to aid in the war against Germany.

In the blacklist are included the great banks, manufactories, and public utilities of Argentina, representing the most powerful combination of German capital in Latin America. All shipments to the public utilities of Buenos Aires have been held up. The great German-controlled corporations which have been entirely dependent upon American coal have been forced to the extreme of burning oil and wood to keep power stations for electric railways and electric lighting systems in operation. A rough estimate of the capital involved in the industries and banks on the American blacklist place the total at $3,000,000,000.

Alcohol and the War

AMONG the material benefits coming from the world war, a prominent place must be given to the large restriction of the use of alcoholic liquors by practically all the belligerents. A notable beginning was made by Nicholas II. in Russia. Two months before the war the Emperor had directed General Sukhomlinoff, then War Minister, to prohibit the use of alcohol by the soldiers, in the interest of the "strength, health, and psychic vigor of the army." Early in August, 1914, Nicholas II. sent an order to his Ministers practically prohibiting the use of vodka throughout the whole Russian Empire. "It is not meet," he said, "that "the welfare of the Exchequer should be "dependent upon the ruin of the spiritual "and productive energies of numbers of "my loyal subjects." The production and consumption of vodka instantly stopped almost completely. In September, 1914, the first month of full prohibition, only 102,714 kegs of vodka were consumed throughout Russia, as against 9,232,921 kegs in September, 1913. Since the revolution the ban on alcohol has not been as strictly enforced as before, but the masses of Russia still support the reform.

In England, King George, Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George, and the Archbishop of Canterbury set the example of total abstinence, though there has, up to the present, been no general measure of prohibition in England. Measures have been taken, however, to restrict both distilling and brewing, while the proportion of alcohol in the liquor produced has been diminished. Nova Scotia appears to be the only part of the British Empire which followed Russia in a measure of complete prohibition.

In France, especially since the measures passed during the Summer of 1917, there has been a large degree of restriction, liquors testing over 18 degrees of alcohol being forbidden, though light wines are still largely used, a ration of wine being served to the French soldiers.

In the United States, both the ban on liquor for soldiers and the prohibition of distilling for the duration of the war are strong influences in the same direction. Under an order approved by President Wilson on Nov. 26, 1917, beer must not contain more than 3 per cent. of alcohol.

In the Central Empires Dr. Richard Froehlich of Vienna testifies that with the first mobilization throughout the whole German Empire the sale of all spirituous liquors in all railroad stations was absolutely prohibited, while the sending of spirits as "love-gifts" to soldiers was strictly forbidden. The same measures seem to have been taken in Austria-Hungary also. Turkey, as a Moslem country, always abstained from spirituous liquors, though many of the "Young Turks" treat this law of the Prophet as a dead letter.

Interallied Conference at Paris

Momentous War Council of Sixteen Nations and Official Report of Its Work Made Public at Its Adjournment

THE first plenary session of the Interallied Conference in Paris opened at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Nov. 29, 1917. The French Premier, M. Clemenceau, presided. It was the most important conference that the Allies had held, and was regarded by many as the most momentous council of nations thus far in history. Sixteen nations were represented by their Premiers or High Commissioners. The list of representatives was as follows:

France

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Premier and Minister of War.

STEPHEN PICHON, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LOUIS KLOTZ, Minister of Finance.

GEORGES LEYGUES, Minister of Marine.

ETIENNE CLEMENTEL, Minister of Commerce.

LOUIS LOUCHEUR, Minister of Munitions.

VICTOR BORET, Minister of Provisions.

M. LEBRUN, Minister of Blockade and Invaded Region.

ANDRE TARDIEU, High Commissioner to the United States.

JULES CAMBON, General Secretary to the Foreign Office.

M. DE MARGERIE, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Great Britain

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, Premier.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Sir FRANCIS BERTIE, Ambassador to France.

Sir ERIC CAMPBELL GEDDES, First Lord of the Admiralty.

General Sir WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Chief of the Imperial Staff at Army Headquarters.

Admiral Sir JOHN JELLICOE, Chief of the Naval Staff.

Sir MAURICE HANKEY, Secretary to the Committee on Imperial Defense.

United States

WILLIAM GRAVES SHARP, Ambassador.

Colonel E. M. HOUSE, Chairman.

Admiral WILLIAM S. BENSON, Chief of Naval Operations.

General TASKER H. BLISS, Chief of Staff.

OSCAR T. CROSBY, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

VANCE McCORMICK, Chairman of the War Trade Board.

THOMAS NELSON PERKINS of the Priority Board.

Italy

VITTORIO E. ORLANDO, Premier and Minister of the Interior.

Baron SONNINO, Foreign Minister.

FRANCESCO S. NITTI, Minister of the Treasury.

Count BONIN-LONGARE, Ambassador.

Signor BIANCHI, Minister of Transports.

General ALFREDO DALLOLIO, Minister of Munitions.

Japan

Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador to Great Britain.

Belgium

Baron CHARLES DE BROQUEVILLE, Foreign Minister.

Baron DE GAIFFIER D'HESTROY, Minister to France.

General RUCQUOY, Chief of the General Staff.

Serbia

NIKOLA P. PACHITCH, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. M. R. VESNITCH.

Rumania

V. ANTONESCO, Minister.

General ILIESOU, Chief of the General Staff.

Greece

ELEUTHERIOS CONSTANTINE VENIZELOS, Premier and Minister of War.

ATHOS ROMANOS, Minister to France.

ALEXANDRE DIOMEDE, former Minister of Finance.

M. AGYROPOULOS, Governor of Macedonia.

Colonel FRANTZIS.

M. ROTTASSIS, Naval Attaché.

Portugal

Dr. AFFONSO COSTA, Premier and Minister of Finance.

AUGUSTO SOARES, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Montenegro

EUGENE POPOVITCH, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Brazil

ANTONIO OLYNTHE DE MAGALHAES, Minister at Paris.

Cuba

General CARLOS GARCIA Y VELEZ, Minister at London.

Russia

MATHIEU SEVASTOPOULO, Councilor of the embassy at Paris.

M. MAKLAKOFF, Ambassador to France, (by special invitation and unofficially, as he has not yet presented his letters.)

Siam

M. CHAROON, Minister at Paris.

China

HU WEI-TEH, Minister at Paris.

General TAMPT TSAI-LIEH, Vice Secretary of the General Staff of China.

Premier Clemenceau's Exhortation

In his opening address Premier Clemenceau indicated that the council had assembled for work, not words, by making his speech exceedingly brief. He said:

> Gentlemen: In the name of the French Republic the honor of welcoming you falls upon me. In this greatest of wars it is the feeling of the supreme solidarity of peoples which unites us in this moment to win on the field of battle the right to a peace which shall be a true peace of humanity. It is for this we are here in this admirable reunion of hope and duty, well prepared to make every sacrifice demanded by an alliance which no intrigue and no weakening can ever impair. Our task is to translate into acts those lofty feelings whereby we are animated. Our order of the day is work. Let us work.

M. Pichon, the Foreign Minister, then outlined the questions to be examined and the method of work to be followed. The resolutions by the French representatives having been adopted without discussion, the conference divided into sections in which the various allied delegations were represented. These sections were Finances, Imports and Transportation, Armament, Munitions, Aviation, Food and Blockade. Each of these commissions was presided over by the French Minister whose department corresponded to the subject under consideration.

The conference divided into separate committees to consider the various phases named. The results of these conferences were officially announced on Dec. 6 as follows:

> The various committees constituted by the Interallied Conference dealt as a whole with the technical question of the conduct of the war, the details of which cannot be published. However, at the conclusion of their deliberations, the committees decided to publish the following resolutions:
>
> *Financial.*—The Financial Section, meeting under the Presidency of Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, held numerous sittings, in the course of which the various financial questions interesting to the Allies were successively examined. At the end of its labors this section unanimously adopted the following resolutions:
>
> "The delegates of the allied powers in "the financial section consider it desira- "ble, with a view to co-ordinating their "efforts, to meet regularly in order to "draw plans for the payment of liabilities "and the settlement of loans and rates of "exchange, and thus assure concerted "action."
>
> Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and M. Klotz told the section that, in their opinion, this regular meeting ought to be a permanent organization. Other resolutions were adopted to the effect that, although the dispositions manifested by all the delegates evidenced sentiments of the financial solidarity of the Allies, this solidarity ought to be affirmed in practice by the methodical co-ordination of efforts, which alone should determine the judicious utilization of the resources of the Allies and the best distribution of their strength.
>
> *Armament and Aviation Section.*—The representatives of the allied nations examined the condition of their various war manufactures and considered practical means of avoiding all duplication and directing the effort of each nation to the production of the things for which it was best fitted. In matters of first importance, an interallied committee was formed for carrying out the common programs, and decisions were arrived at.
>
> *Sections of Imports, Maritime Transports, and Supplies.*—The Allies, considering that the means of maritime transport at their disposal as well as the supplies at their command ought to be utilized in common for the conduct of the war, decided to create an interallied organization with a view to co-ordinating action in this direction to establishing the common program, constantly kept in mind, and enabling them, while utilizing their resources to the full, to restrict their imports in order to release as much ton-

nage as possible for the transport of American troops.

Blockade Section.—The Blockade Section examined, in the first place, the convention of the Allies with Switzerland regarding the questions of blockade. The draft of an arrangement between the United States and Switzerland was approved, and the United States will nominate delegates to participate in the deliberations of the interallied commission at Berne.

The section decided to make the dispositions necessary to enable the commission in regard to the food supply in Belgium and Northern France to accomplish its program as to provisions and transport. The section submitted to the conference a declaration to the effect that, the prolongation of the war having led to the consumption of products of all sorts out of proportion to production, it was evident that the available resources, whether in allied or neutral countries, were unequal to actual needs, and that it would be necessary to extend the general principles laid down by the American Government.

Work of Naval Council

Naval Section.—A conference was held at the Ministry of Marine in Paris Nov. 19. M. Leygues, Minister of Marine, presided. The conference comprised representatives of the naval powers. It was decided to create an interallied council in order to assure close contact and more complete co-operation between the navies of the Allies.

The mission of the council will be to watch over the general conduct of the war and assure co-ordination of effort on the sea. The council will make all suggestions necessary to assist the decisions of the Governments, and will hold itself cognizant of their execution. The members of the council will address to their respective Governments all reports they deem necessary on the subject.

The individual responsibility of the Headquarters Staff and the commanders at sea to their Governments concerning immediate operations, as well as the employment of strategical and tactical forces placed under their command, will remain without change. The council will be composed of the Ministers of Marine of the nations represented and the Admiralty chiefs. As the meetings of the council will be held in Europe, the United States and Japan will be represented by officers appointed by their respective Governments.

The Interallied Naval Council will be provided with a special Secretariat, which will take charge of all documents, &c., and will meet as often as desirable under the Presidency of the Ministry of Marine of the country where the meetings take place. The different Ministers of Marine will be willing to furnish the council with every information of a nature that would require to be submitted to and examined by the Financial Section.

The Supreme War Council

The Supreme War Council of the Allies held its first session at Versailles on Dec. 1. It was attended by Premier Lloyd George and General Wilson for Great Britain, Colonel House and General Bliss for the United States, Premier Clemenceau and General Foch for France, and Premier Orlando and General Cadorna for Italy. The hotel in which the meeting was held was closely guarded by military, and even the official photographers of France and the United States were not allowed to enter the grounds. No statement of the proceedings was given out other than that they were harmonious and entirely satisfactory. On Dec. 6 it was announced that General Foch had been recalled to become personal adviser to Premier Clemenceau, and that Lieut. Gen. Maxime Weygand, recently promoted to General of Division, would serve in his place; he became a Major General in 1916 and a Lieutenant General in November, 1917; he had been closely associated with General Foch throughout the war.

The Taking of Jerusalem

Story of the Long Campaign of the British Egyptian Column Which Resulted in the Capture of the Holy City

JERUSALEM, the Holy City, was taken by the British forces under General Sir Edmund Allenby on Dec. 10, 1917, and the victorious commander entered officially at noon on Dec. 11. The capture was announced in the House of Commons on Dec. 10 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The news was received with deep satisfaction throughout the allied nations; solemn Te Deum masses were held in celebration at cathedrals in London, Paris, and other centres, and profound pleasure was expressed at the Vatican. Throughout the world the Zionist Jews celebrated the taking of the city as a final step toward fulfillment of the promise of the British Government—announced some weeks previously—that Palestine should be granted autonomy as a national Jewish State.

The official cabled announcement of the taking of the city was made Dec. 10 by General Allenby. The final attacks near the city were made Dec. 8, at the south and west. Welsh and home county troops, advancing from the direction of Bethlehem, drove back the enemy, and, passing Jerusalem on the east, established themselves on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. At the same time London infantry and dismounted yeomanry attacked the strong enemy positions west and northwest of Jerusalem, and placed themselves astride the Jerusalem-Shechem road. The city, being thus isolated, surrendered.

General Allenby's official report follows:

I entered the city officially at noon Dec. 11 with a few of my staff, the commanders of the French and Italian detachments, the heads of the political missions, and the Military Attachés of France, Italy, and America.

The procession was all afoot, and at Jaffa gate I was received by the guards representing England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, India, France, and Italy. The population received me well.

Guards have been placed over the holy places. My Military Governor is in contact with the acting custodians and the Latin and Greek representatives. The Governor has detailed an officer to supervise the holy places. The Mosque of Omar and the area around it have been placed under Moslem control, and a military cordon of Mohammedan officers and soldiers has been established around the mosque. Orders have been issued that no non-Moslem is to pass within the cordon without permission of the Military Governor and the Moslem in charge.

The telegram also stated that a proclamation in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian had been posted in the citadel and on all the walls, proclaiming martial law and intimating that all the holy places would be maintained and protected according to the customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they were sacred. The proclamation reads:

Proclamation

To the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the People Dwelling in Its Vicinity:

The defeat inflicted upon the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces. I, therefore, here now proclaim it to be under martial law, under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make necessary.

However, lest any of you be alarmed by reason of your experience at the hands of the enemy who has retired, I hereby inform you that it is my desire that every person should pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption.

Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore, do I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment,

MAP OF BRITISH CAMPAIGN WHICH BEGAN IN EGYPT AND CULMINATED IN THE CAPTURE OF JAFFA AND JERUSALEM

pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred.

Guardians have been established at Bethlehem and on Rachel's Tomb. The tomb at Hebron has been placed under exclusive Moslem control.

The hereditary custodians at the gates of the Holy Sepulchre have been requested to take up their accustomed duties in remembrance of the magnanimous act of the Caliph Omar, who protected that church.

Story of the Campaign

The Palestine campaign was laid out by General Sir Archibald Murray, who in January, 1916, succeeded Sir John G. Maxwell as commander of the British forces in Egypt. The execution of his plans was intrusted to General Sir Edmund Allenby, who was transferred from the western front in France. When he reached Egypt the Turks had already been severely jolted by a series of blows received in the Sinai campaign. The attempt to seize the Suez Canal had proved a disastrous experience to a number of Turkish Generals and to at least one German commander, Colonel Kress von Kressenstein.

This officer had planned the advance of Djemel Pasha in the Spring of 1915 by three routes across the desert of the Sinai Peninsula. The objective of the main Turkish force was the Suez Canal at a point fifteen miles south of Ismailia. There a battle was fought in which British and French war vessels took part. The British troops included East Indians, Australians, New Zealanders, and British territorials and yeomanry. Their losses were insignificant, 115 killed and wounded, whereas the Turkish casualties were 900 killed or drowned in the canal and 2,000 wounded. Six hundred and fifty Turks were captured. The northern Ottoman army—its base was El Arish, on the Mediterranean—was put to flight in the neighborhood of Kantara, which is on the canal and thirty miles south of Port Said.

The southern Turkish army, operating by way of Nakhl, was never dangerous. The British lost an opportunity to pursue and completely rout Djemel Pasha's well-equipped army, as that portion of the Sinai Peninsula (between Egypt proper and Syria) is a most difficult and dangerous country for a foreign army, being waterless in many parts and entirely barren of food.

General Murray's Work

When Sir Archibald Murray took over the Egyptian command he decided to follow Kitchener's tactics in the Sudan and build a railway along the Mediterranean coast route from Kantara, through Katia and El Arish, to Rafa. When he began to lay rails and water mains the Turks had garrisons at Katia, twenty miles from Kantara, and at El Arish, which was well on the way to Beersheba, the Turkish base. In Colonel Kress von Kressenstein, who assumed command of the Turkish forces, Murray had a much more formidable antagonist than Djemel Pasha. The Turco-German airplane reconnoissance was excellent. In raids and minor engagements the British suffered severely at first, but in a battle at Romani, between Katia and the coast, von Kressenstein's army of 18,000 men was decisively beaten, with casualties of 9,000, including 4,000 prisoners. Thus ended the "second invasion" of Egypt. The El Arish base was abandoned by the German commander, and he left in his motor car for Beersheba.

The fighting in this region was all practically in the open, and in this respect was entirely different from the battles in Europe.

General Allenby's Success

The new campaign of General Allenby began early in October, 1917, when he advanced on Beersheba. The story of the capture of that city and of Gaza and Jaffa is told elsewhere by W. T. Massey. The occupation of Jerusalem was a foregone conclusion, when Jaffa, its Mediterranean port, thirty-one miles westward, fell on Nov. 17.

The capture of Gaza, on the coast and fifty miles southwest of Jerusalem, was made after a nine-mile "drive." Gaza had a strong system of defenses and so had Beersheba, the base for the Turkish

GENERAL VIEW OF THE KREMLIN OF MOSCOW

The Famous Kremlin (or Citadel) of Moscow as It Appears from the Sofuskaya Quay. The Kremlin Was One of the Buildings Attacked During the Bolshevist Revolution.

CANADIAN ARTILLERYMEN AT WORK

A Gun Crew Loading One of the 15-inch Guns on the Canadian Front in France.

(Canadian Official Photograph from Western Newspaper Union.)

expedition against the Suez Canal in the Sinai Peninsula campaign, in which General Murray turned the tables on the Turks. Askalon was taken on Nov. 9. At that time General Allenby reckoned the Turkish casualties at 10,000, exclusive of "missing" or prisoners. Six days later the British seized the junction of the Beersheba-Damascus railway, from which ran a line to Jerusalem. The end of November saw Allenby closing in on that city from the north and west.

Already the British flag was flying over Ekron, Gederah, Wadi-el-Chanin, and other Zionist colonies. Jerusalem was supposed to have been strongly fortified by the Germans, but it has yielded, almost without a blow. In fact, the Turks made no very determined stand after losing Gaza. Left to their own devices, they failed to keep up their supply system.

Pushing on Toward Damascus

The British after taking Jerusalem showed clearly that they would take full advantage of the cool, dry weather which prevails in Palestine in the late Fall to push their campaign before the Winter rains set in. On Dec. 12, two days after the surrender of Jerusalem, it was announced that the British line had been advanced northwest of that city and of the line between it and Jaffa, positions having been carried as far as the mouth of the Midieh. The next objective of the British appeared to be Damascus, about 140 miles to the north.

The British, under Lieut. Gen. W. R. Marshall, who succeeded General Maude in Mesopotamia, were reported early in December 150 miles northeast of Bagdad, almost within striking distance of Mosul, an important city on the line of the proposed Bagdad Railway. The Russians, on Oct. 5, were at Nereman, 50 miles north of Mosul, but rested there on account of the state of affairs in Russia. The occupation of Jerusalem and the Mediterranean ports near by, with the control of the Tigris, gives the British a great advantage in supply bases in Syria and Mesopotamia, at the same time threatening the dominion of the Turks and the influence of the Germans in all Asia Minor.

British Sovereigns at the Front

THE King and Queen of England visited the battle lines in France in the Summer of 1917, spending two weeks on the journey and traversing nearly all districts where warfare was in progress. Herbert Maxwell calls attention to the fact that no King and Queen of England had previously visited the seat of a war since 1304.

Queen Margaret accompanied King Edward I. to the siege of Stirling Castle. The King caused an oriel window to be built in his house in the town, whence the Queen and her ladies might witness the play of fourteen mighty siege engines upon the castle. Gunpowder was not employed in the war with Scotland till the campaign of Weardale in 1327, but these great machines, the latest masterpieces of military science for throwing stone balls and wildfire, had been brought around by sea to the Firth of Forth, and King Edward took as keen personal interest in their performance as his Majesty King George V. shows in modern armament. The engines were all named as scrupulously as battleships—to wit, the Lincoln and the Seagrave, the Robinet and the Kingston, the Vicar and the Parson, the Berefrey, the Linlithgow, the Bothwell, the Prince's, the Gloucester, the Dovedale, the Tout-le-monde, and, newest and mightiest of all, the Loup-de-guerre, which did not arrive in time to be placed in position before Oliphant hoisted the white flag of surrender.

King Edward, however, being impatient to try the new engine, bade the garrison take cover while a shot was fired from it into the castle, (*tauntge il eit ferru ove le lup de guerre.*) So says Sir Thomas Gray (direct ancestor of the late Foreign Secretary) in his "Scalacronica."

The British Conquest of Palestine

Described by W. T. Massey

The British resumed active operations in Palestine in October, 1917, under General Sir Edmund Allenby, and made rapid progress. Beersheba, at the southern end, was taken on Oct. 31, Gaza on Nov. 7, Jaffa on Nov. 19, and on Dec. 10 it was officially announced that the British troops had taken Jerusalem. The subjoined descriptions of the capture of important strongholds in Palestine were written by W. T. Massey, the British war correspondent:

Beersheba, Oct. 31, 1917.

BY a rapid and well-delivered surprise blow, General Allenby's army has smashed the western end of the Turks' intrenched line in Southern Palestine and wrested one of the most ancient Biblical towns from the enemy. In the early moonlight hours of Oct. 31 Beersheba was occupied by Australian mounted troops and British infantry after a stern day-long fight, in which our troops displayed great endurance and courage, doing everything planned for them, and working out the Staff scheme as if by the clock. Although meeting with a strong resistance from the enemy in extremely strong positions, nothing went wrong, and the story of the day will add to the military glory of soldiers from English cities and shires and from Australia and New Zealand. The splendid British infantry made long night marches and attacked with such determination that they tore down wire entanglements with their hands, and just as the moon rose over the Judaea hills the Australian Horse charged mounted against strongly held trenches with bayonets on rifles, overwhelming the Turks, and galloping cheering into the town.

Our movements were all done by night. At dawn yesterday the cavalry were south of the town, and the infantry were facing the northern, western, and southwestern defenses, which were cut in the range of hills hiding Beersheba from view. These intrenchments were elaborate and skillfully chosen, and generally were heavily protected by wire, while guns covered all approaches. The country we had to march over was in a bad condition. In the Spring it consists of fertile rolling downs; now the sun has parched the desert, the slightest movement raising enormous clouds of dust. Only a few trees and cactus hedges between the sea and the gaunt Judaea hills relieve the picture of a land laid bare by war. Yet with these surroundings against us General Allenby was able to effect a surprise which the Turks considered impossible. The prisoners declare that all thought Beersheba could never be taken in a day, and that many believed the place to be impregnable.

Preliminary Cavalry Work

On Oct. 27 before our movement began there was a little affair in which British mounted troops acquitted themselves magnificently. A cavalry screen occupied the high ground five miles west of Abu Irgeig station, on the Jerusalem-Beersheba railway. Three thousand Turks, with twelve guns, moved against this position, with the intention of shelling the construction parties. Infantry were about to replace the cavalry, but before they could do so the Turks descended from Kauwakah and attacked the cavalry west of the Wadi Hanafish, a rough watercourse with many twisting tributaries in the torrent-torn country parallel to the Beersheba-Gaza road. One of our squadrons at Girheir held out all day with both flanks enveloped. Another, south of the line, faced by troops on three sides, put up a splendid fight, beating off two determined cavalry charges supported by gunfire, and only retiring after a third charge, keeping the enemy at bay for six hours. At least 200 Turks were accounted for; the enemy had the heart so taken out of him by this resistance that when the infantry arrived

the line was secured without difficulty, and we did not have to make a night attack, which might have cost many casualties.

This gallant fight was a fitting prelude for the operations against Beersheba. The troops had been well trained. Indeed, this force was never in such efficient condition. The infantry marched by night and remained as well hidden as possible in the daytime in the folds of the ground or in the river beds. The cavalry got well round to the southwest, and their position was doubtless seen by enemy airmen. On the night of Oct. 30-31, under a beautiful moon, our horsemen made a wide, rapid sweep round from the south to southeast, ready at dawn to rush up and cover the town from the east and get astride the Hebron road to prevent a retirement in that direction. The infantry were to attack the trenches on the southeast, but before that could be done Hill 1,070, about three miles to the south, had to be taken. This hill had been made into a very strong redoubt, commanding a wide stretch, but an extremely heavy fire was brought to bear against it, and the gallant infantry carried it with an irresistible rush within half an hour of the attack. There was a German machine-gun section on the hill, but prisoners admitted that every machine gun was knocked out by our fire. Our casualties in taking the hill were very small. We took eight officers and eighty men prisoners on this hill, while there were many killed and wounded.

Enemy Taken by Surprise

When this important outpost had been secured the infantry prepared to attack the system of trenches southwest of the Wadi Saba, from the Khalassa road to the Beersheba-Sheria railway, camel corps and other infantry making a holding attack north of the Wadi. There had been some rifle firing and shelling by the enemy just before dawn, and thereafter the guns north of the Wadi fired heavily on the troops moving across the open ground to the south until one of our batteries located them and silenced them for the remainder of the day. The advance against the southwestern trench system was a great achievement. The Turks held on desperately, and time would not permit more than an hour's bombardment to cut the wire. The advance, too, was over exposed ground, and but for an extremely clever scheme the infantry must have sustained serious loss.

The day was remarkably still. Usually a strongish breeze blows for hours in the middle of the day, but a sluggish, oppressive air overhung the downs. During the morning the shells were tearing up so much earth that a dense sand pall hid the line of entanglements they were cutting. Our infantry made rushes across the open, heeding neither the enfilade fire of the guns nor the spasmodic machine-gun fire. In a few places the shells had broken down the wire, and into these the bombers dashed, while others tore down the wire from the iron supports with their hands and were in upon the Turks before they realized that resistance was futile.

This grand work was done by soldiers from English counties, many of them men who had prepared themselves for Great Britain's defense before the war burst upon the world. They showed inspiring courage and resource. This onslaught on the southwestern trenches only served to whet their appetite. Resting awhile, they crossed the rough, pebbly bed of the Wadi Saba to reduce the chain of holes and trenches on the western sides of Beersheba, which, strongly held, were even more formidable. Fighting for more than twelve hours had not lessened their determination, and, moving steadily and methodically on the same well-thought-out plan which had been so successful throughout the day, they proceeded to capture one length of defenses after another, until at 9:30 all the Beersheba stronghold was ours.

Australian Cavalry's Exploits

The cavalry work was equally meritorious. Many horsemen rode thirty miles before getting into action. They had two very difficult places to reduce during the day. The Australians in their widest sweep had to capture Sakaty, a high hill six miles northeast of Beersheba, dominating a wide district. With their usual élan these big Australians

stopped at nothing, and rounded up every Turk on the hill by 1 o'clock. Thereafter they proceeded across the Hebron road and the Wadi Itmy, and closed that exit from Beersheba.

Even more difficult was the taking of Tel-el-Saba, of 1,000 feet, three miles east of the town, which had been converted into a redoubt of great strength, and made almost unapproachable by the steep banks of the Wadi running alongside it on the south. But the New Zealanders and Australians carried it by half-past 3, and then turned their attention to the group of houses between the hill and the Hebron road held by a German machine-gun company. This felt the full weight of the colonial arm. It was getting dark, and anxiety was felt about water for the horses. Another Australian force settled the difficulty. They formed up against the eastern trenches, fixed their bayonets, and, charging line after line, went for the enemy. Wave followed wave, until long before the last line reached the trenches the machine-gun and rifle fire had withered away and told the tale of enemy dead. Dismounting at the first-line trenches, the Australians went on foot, overpowering all the Turks, and then, bringing forward again their brave chargers they remounted and galloped cheering into the town.

I was in Beersheba in the early hours of today. There was everywhere evidence of the Turks being taken completely by surprise. They had blown up the railway engine and burned the engine house, but the train was standing in the station and the warehouses, full of corn, were almost intact, though attempts had been made to fire them. A direct hit by a heavy gun on the bridge over the Wadi, north of the town, prevented the removal of rolling stock. The long stone bridge south of the town was intact, as are the new buildings in the high part of the town, which bear evidence of German construction. They are of stone, with red tiled roofs. The natives had left Beersheba several months ago, their quarters being poor.

The Capture of Gaza

Gaza, Nov. 7, 1917.

This Philistine stronghold has been captured, and the British Army is a long step nearer Jerusalem. This ancient city has been the scene of many desperate conflicts, but during the last week there have been more violent shocks here than there were in all the battles which have raged about its walls for 4,000 years. General Allenby's strategy made the fall of Gaza inevitable, though it is puzzling why the city was not the last part of the line to fall.

When Beersheba had been taken and the victories on the enemy's shrunken left made the capture of Gaza a certainty, the Turks hurriedly departed just when General Allenby began to launch the attack. The Turks had had enough of the artillery preparation; they had experienced nothing like it at Gallipoli.

To troops from the western counties and Indians was given the task of attacking along the ridge southeast of Gaza, terminating at Alimuntar or Samson's Hill, East Anglian and Home Counties men operating along the seashore where a few days ago, using bombs and bayonets, they cleared the enemy out of the first line trenches.

The opposition was weak, and only a few men remained in the trenches, the whole place becoming ours at daylight. The Scottish Territorials pushed on through the town for a considerable distance, and the North Indian Cavalry pursued the Turks nearly as far as the Wadi Hesi. At sunset the Turks, who had been holding Beit Hanun, four miles northeast of Gaza railway terminus—which has been damaged by fire from the warships—with three infantry divisions, were retiring rapidly, many crossing the Wadi Hesi, harassed continually by us.

Further east there are two enemy divisions at Mejadil opposed to the men from "Gallant Little Wales" and Home Counties troops, whose stubborn guarding of the right flank against big odds yesterday kept Khuweilfeh for us, and enabled the rapid advance to be made against Kauwukah and Tel-el-Sharia. These Welshmen magnificently avenged their losses in the second battle of Gaza. Abu Hareira was carried at daybreak by Irish troops, who went forward with

the bayonet into the trenches, though raked by machine-gun fire, and captured 100 prisoners and several guns.

Elaborate Turkish Defenses

General Allenby's strategy has saved many lives. Gaza, framed in a deep margin of field fortifications, was taken at a cost of few casualties; yet, if it had been defended with the tenacity which the Turks usually show, and we had had to assault it, the cost of victory would have been heavy. Rolling up the Turks on the left step by step with a large toll of prisoners and guns, gave us Gaza at a small expenditure of men.

The prisoners taken all thought Gaza to have been impregnable. One officer prisoner ridiculed the idea of capture. An immense amount of labor had been expended on the defenses. I saw many dugouts with a head cover of nine thick palm logs beneath sandbag tops, and winding stairs leading to a shelter a dozen feet below the ground. The shell craters all around the enemy lines show how wonderfully accurate our fire was, but if the Turks had held out the artillery preparation for a direct assault would have been much prolonged. Nothing which cunning suggested was omitted in the considerable efforts to make the dugouts comfortable, and the Turkish soldier must have regarded them as luxurious. The guns had played havoc with the thick cactus hedges which formed natural defenses around the south end of the town; still, these were in many places untouched, and a few machine guns would have held up battalions. With all these advantages remaining to him, the Turk had to go. He left some snipers behind, but they have all been rounded up now.

Gaza at close quarters is a disappointment. The picturesqueness of the red-topped roofs and colored walls as seen over the olive groves vanishes. Most of the houses had their roofs blown in; huge rents in the walls show the passage of the shells; the blackened carcasses of the dwellings tell how the Turks destroyed what they could not appropriate. The city has once more been a victim of war's devastation, this time by the hand of the defender.

The Taking of Jaffa

Jaffa, Nov. 19.

As we press forward, notwithstanding the resistance of the enemy, the indications grow that the Turks are continuing their preparations for a northeast march, not only on the front immediately facing Jaffa and Lydda, but further to the east, where our troops have made their weight felt. We are well over the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. North of the junction station the yeomanry got into the foothills and mountains of Judaea—ground very different from the plains over which they had charged to put so many Turks to the sword. We are now in a roadless country, with hills as rocky, bare, and inhospitable as those of County Clare. Welcome rains, which were much overdue, are now falling, and if they do nothing more than keep down the dust and lessen the fly pest they will be a grateful relief to the troops.

A number of the inhabitants of Jaffa left the town last March, but many remain. The Turks did not attempt to destroy the town, which is in good order. A few Europeans were in Jaffa when tht Anzac troops entered. The harbor between the reef and the shore is capable of sheltering small craft, and affords a fair landing place. The convents and hospitals are undamaged. The German colony of Sarona, which is intact, is well within our lines, and I hear that its inhabitants are remaining.

The magnificent orchards to the east of the town have been somewhat thinned by the cutting down of orange trees for fuel. Further south whole plantations have been uprooted. On the road to Ramleh excellent buildings at Rishonle-zion, a Jewish agricultural colony, have been left unharmed by the retreating enemy.

General Allenby's Official Report

The official report of General Allenby on the operations in Palestine resulting in the capture of Beersheba and Gaza, up to Nov. 8, 1917, is as follows:

> The attack on Beersheba was fixed for Oct. 31. Seven days before this date the railway was begun from our railhead at Shellal, [fourteen miles south of Gaza, on the Wadi Ghuzze,] toward Karm, [six miles southeast of Shellal, on the road to

Beersheba,] and a light line from Gamli [three and one-half miles south of Shellal] to El Buggar, [eight miles east of Gamli, on the Beersheba Road.] Detachments were developing water at Asluj, [sixteen miles south of Beersheba.]

On Oct. 27 the Turks made a strong reconnoissance from the direction of Kawukah [three miles southwest of Tell el Sheria] against Karm, employing two regiments of cavalry and 2,000 or 3,000 infantry. A London yeomanry brigade holding the outpost line covering railhead made a gallant fight against greatly superior numbers, enabling our infantry to get up in time, the Turkish attack being repulsed with great loss.

On the same day the bombardment of the Gaza defenses commenced, and on Oct. 30 British and French naval forces commenced to co-operate by firing on the Gaza defenses, and on the road and railway bridges and the railway junction at Dir Sineid, [eight miles north of Gaza.] The shooting was very accurate.

On the night of Oct. 30-31 General Allenby's forces were disposed as follows: Mounted troops at Asluj, Khalasa, and about Shellal. Infantry at Esani and on the Far-Beersheba road, the extreme left forming a defensive flank toward Abu Irgeig, [six miles from Beersheba, on the Beersheba-Gaza road.]

To the troops immediately before Gaza was attached a composite force, consisting of West Indian and Indian troops, with detachments from the French and Italian contingents.

On the night of Oct. 30 the mounted troops made a night march, and at daybreak on Oct. 31 had reached the northeast of Beersheba. Meanwhile the infantry, who had also made a night march, arrived at dawn on the 31st opposite the southwest defenses of Beersheba, between the Kalasa-Beersheba road and the Wadi Saba. At an early hour London troops and dismounted yeomanry, attacking with great dash, had gained the whole of the first-line defenses, while our mounted yeomanry on their right kept touch with the Australian and New Zealand mounted forces east and northeast of Beersheba.

Fighting lasted all day. In the evening the Turks still held trenches a mile east of the town. The 4th Australian Light Horse Regiment charged these trenches, which were 8 feet deep and 4 feet wide, and galloped over them. This ended all resistance.

On Nov. 1 infantry moved forward to Ain Kohle, (nine miles north of Beersheba,) and mounted troops pushed up the Hebron road to within four miles of Dhaheriye. While the water supply at Beersheba was being organized the remainder of our infantry moved into a position northwest of the town facing Kawukah on a northeast-southwest line about Abu Irgeig.

On the morning of Nov. 2 Scottish and East Anglian troops captured Umbrella Hill, [some 500 yards due west of the Dir-el Belah-Gaza road,] and the whole of the Gaza first-line defenses thence to the sea, including Sheik Hassan. In this attack tanks co-operated with success.

There was no further important action until Nov. 6, the intervening time being occupied in bombardment and raids, and in the redistribution of troops.

On the morning of Nov. 6 our infantry, already mentioned as being at Ain Kohle, captured Khuwelifeh, [some two miles further to the north,] and in conjuction with mounted troops were heavily engaged in beating off repeated counterattacks made by at least two hostile divisions with the object of cutting us off from our water supply at Beersheba and thereby stopping our turning movement. Our troops, which included Welsh and English county regiments, behaved splendidly, and the Turkish casualties were enormous. Meanwhile, dismounted yeomanry and Irish and London infantry had advanced from their positions about Abu Irgeig, and before nightfall had taken the whole of the Kawukah and Rushdi systems of defense up to Abu Hareira. Tell el Sheria was also captured, and our right in this zone connected by mounted troops with our forces at Khuwelifeh. At nightfall the Turks were beaten and retreating, and mounted troops, supported by infantry, were sent north via Sheria to pursue them toward Jemmameh and Huj, [eleven and nine miles, respectively, east of Gaza.]

At midnight an attack was launched against the very strong works covering Gaza, which was captured with very little opposition, and infantry was pushed forward on the morning of the 7th toward the mouth of the Wadi Hesi, [nine miles north of Gaza.] Some Turks still held on in the Atawina position, [six to seven miles from Gaza, on the Beersheba road,] but by the morning of Nov. 8 these works were also in our possession. On this day (7th) Scottish infantry, after an exhausting march through the sand dunes, reached the mouth of the Wadi Hesi. Australian and New Zealand mounted troops, supported by Londoners, pushed forward from Sheria, meeting with opposition from strong rearguards, which was finally overcome by a gallant charge made by the Warwick and Worcester yeomanry. On our extreme right the troops were still opposed by 4,000 to 5,000 Turks.

At nightfall the general position was as follows: Our mounted troops held the Hebron road with infantry at Tell Khuwelifeh and mounted troops connecting up with our forces at Sheria. Other mounted

troops were on the line Jemmameh-Huj, while mounted troops from Gaza were in contact with strong bodies of the enemy about Beit Hanun, and our infantry had reached the mouth of the Wadi Hesi.

During the night and the morning of Nov. 8 good progress was made, and by 6 P. M. on this day our mounted troops had reached the upper course of the Wadi Hesi, north of Tel el Hesi, [five miles north of Jemmameh,] and had possession of Huj, where stores of all sorts were on fire. A smart action was fought near Beit Hanun, where Indian Imperial Service Cavalry captured prisoners and a heavy howitzer, while the Scottish troops, now on the right bank of the Wadi Hesi, had captured Herbieh, [eight and one-half miles from Gaza,] and commanded the coastal railway.

Up to Nov. 11 the number of prisoners had reached 5,894, including 286 officers.

Jerusalem in 4,000 Years of War

By Charles Johnston

PERHAPS it is because of the parable of the New Jerusalem, the City of Everlasting Peace, that we think of the Holy City as framed in perpetual quietude, the shrine of many nations. But in reality Jerusalem is a fortress, more often contested, perhaps, than any city in the world, owing its very existence to the military strength of its situation. In the world war the Turks have sought to defend it and the British have taken it, not as a shrine, but as an outpost of Egypt, a strategical keystone in the fight for Asia Minor and the backlands from the Nile to the Euphrates.

A very ancient tradition, which Flavius Josephus accepts, tells that the hill fort was first chosen and strengthened by Melchizedek, the splendid priest-King to whom Abraham paid a share of his spoils in "the battle of the Kings," in the year which, by a striking coincidence of tradition, is held to be 1917 before our era, within a few generations of 4,000 years ago. But Jerusalem comes for the first time definitely into history nearly 500 years later, when the descendants of Abraham had grown to be a numerous and warlike nation, advancing from the southern desert to conquer the whole region on either side of the tremendous cleft of the River Jordan.

Throughout nearly the whole of the squared 400-mile coast of the Eastern Mediterranean, two mountain chains run parallel with the shore, the one some thirty miles from the sea, the other twenty miles nearer to the eastern desert. The valley between the ridges, throughout its southern half, is cleft by a cañon, tremendously sheer and deep, through which the Jordan runs, for the most part hidden by the steepness of its inclosing cliffs, to the deep-set caldron of the Dead Sea, which the Arabs call "the Sea of Lot"; for the major part of the history and tradition of this region, like the sacredness of the Holy City itself, is common property for three religions.

A Natural Hill Fortress

The western ridge, whose summit is some thirty miles from the Mediterranean, is for the most part of porous limestone which, under the Spring rains, turns to vivid green embroidered with brilliant flowers; then, as the parched rock drinks up the moisture, turns to withered drab and the brown velvet aridity of Summer. Some fifteen miles due west of the chasm where the Jordan enters the Sea of Lot there is a jutting hill, flat-topped, with a sheer horseshoe ravine falling away from it to the east, the south, and the west, the east end of the horseshoe threaded by a clear streamlet flowing from the north, and later finding its way among brown hills to the Dead Sea. The hill, thus steeply guarded on three sides, was a natural fortress; a wall across the fourth side, the north, would make it secure; further walls, on the three sides already protected by the ravines, would make it almost impregnable. And so we find it the central fortress of the Canaanites, when the

hosts of Joshua began to invade the country from the east by way of the fords of the Jordan and "the city of palm trees"; a fort so strong that it maintained its independence among the conquering invaders for five long centuries; "as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day."

The hill fortress, therefore, of the Canaanites, strong in its guarding ravines and walls, held its own under its martial chieftains through the whole period of the Judges and throughout the long reign of Saul. And after Saul had fallen on Mount Gilboa, and David, son of Jesse, was King in his stead, the royal city of Judah was Hebron, a score of miles to the south, half way to the desert frontier at Beersheba.

Captured by David

During the seven years of his stay at Hebron, David had been at war with the family of Saul in an undecided contest for the kingship. He overthrew and slew the last of Saul's sons, putting an end to the feud and opening the way for a union of the two armed forces. This made possible a concerted attack on the strong Canaanite fortress. The hill within the horseshoe ravine was, at that time, split by a ravine running southward, which has since been filled up. It seems that the spur on the east side of this lesser ravine, between it and the far deeper ravine of the streamlet of Kidron, was the site of the Canaanite fort. It had a perennial water supply, drawn from a "gusher," or intermittent spring, and there was a conduit or tunnel leading this water within the fortress to a rock cistern, later called "the Pool of Siloam." Across the neck of the spur, on the north, was a dike: parallel walls filled in with earth, called the Millo, from an Assyrian root, meaning "to fill in"; this block across the neck of the spur, with the sheer ravine on the three other sides (east, south, and west) falling at some points nearly 500 feet, made the strength of the fort of Zion, and the Canaanites boasted that it was so strong that the lame and the halt could defend it. But David's Captain, Joab, leading a small band of chosen arriors up through the conduit or tunnel of the water supply to the Pool of Siloam, in the heart of the fortress, succeeded in capturing it; David transferred his capital to the fortress of Zion, and reigned there for thirty-three years.

David, aided by his friend and ally, Hiram, King of Tyre, then built a tabernacle on the Rock of Zion, largely of cedar wood from Lebanon; he built also a royal house for himself, with a foundation of limestone and with great beams of cedar, and he greatly strengthened both the rim wall of the spur and the Millo, the filled-in barricade across its neck. He planned a much larger Temple, gathering stone blocks and marble to build it and gold for its adornment.

Strengthened by Solomon

This, the first Temple, was carried out by his still more famous son, who chose as its site a level space of rock somewhat further north along the spur which was called Mount Moriah. Probably Solomon built a level platform round this central rock with retaining walls. He further extended the walls, adding a new barrier wall on the north at the vulnerable point of this otherwise impregnable fortress. The Temple, if, as is almost certain, it had the same outlines as the two later editions on the same site, was an oblong building with the main entrance facing the sunrise, the Holy of Holies being at the western end, the great altar near the middle.

The interior of the Temple was decorated with Oriental splendor: "he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house he ceiled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm trees and chains. And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim. * * * And in the most holy house he made two cherubim of image work, and overlaid them with gold. * * * And he made ten candlesticks of gold. * * * And he made an hundred basins of gold. * * * And the flowers, and the lamps, and the

"tongs made he of gold, and that per-
"fect gold. * * *"

This enormous treasure was a very alluring booty. And, when the old feud between the northern and the southern tribes, which had been closed by David's decisive victory, broke out again between Rehoboam, Solomon's son, and his rival Jeroboam, the Egyptian King, called Shishak in the Hebrew Chronicles, and identified with Seschonchis I. of the twenty-second dynasty, took advantage of the national strife and weakness to raid the hill fortress; he "took away the "treasures of the House of the Lord, and "the treasures of the King's house; he "took all: he carried away also the "shields of gold which Solomon had "made, instead of which King Rehoboam "made shields of brass."

Close of First Epoch

This closes the first epoch of the mountain stronghold above the horseshoe valley. The Temple and palace, diminished in splendor, with the city gradually extending northward and westward over the almost level hilltop, remained the capital of the descendants of David for four centuries. They reigned and died and were gathered to their fathers, buried in rock-hewn tombs in the steep side of the ravine.

These four centuries were not a time of unbroken peace. There was the long feud between the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah centred about the strong hill fortress; and, some 150 years after Solomon's death, the King of Israel "came to "Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of "Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim "unto the corner gate, four hundred "cubits," that is, 200 yards, "and he took "all the gold and silver that were found "in the House of the Lord, and in the "treasures of the King's house, and re-"turned to Samaria."

If, as seems likely, the Gate of Ephraim was in the north wall of the city, then Jehoash of Samaria, like nearly all the later assailants of the Holy City, avoided the defenses of the horseshoe ravine and struck at the vulnerable northern side, breaching the wall with battering rams.

The Babylonian Captivity

This was about the year 825 B. C. There was further fighting, but the great disaster came in 588: "in the fifth "month, on the seventh day of the "month, which is the nineteenth year of "King Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, "came Nebuzar-adan, Captain of the "Guard, a servant of the King of "Babylon, unto Jerusalem: and he burnt "the House of the Lord, and the King's "house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, "and every great man's house burnt he "with fire. And all the army of the "Chaldees, that were with the Captain "of the Guard, brake down the walls of "Jerusalem round about * * * the "remnant of the multitude did Nebuzar-"adan the Captain carry away. But the "Captain of the Guard left of the poor "of the land to be vinedressers and hus-"bandmen. * * *"

This is the great Captivity, which has given birth to so much tragic poetry, like the immortal lament:

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we "sat down, yea, we wept, when we re-"membered Zion. We hanged our harps "upon the willows. * * *"

To that Babylonian Captivity of fifty years belong parts of the prophecies of Jeremiah and the events of the Book of Daniel, culminating in "the handwriting on the wall," announcing the destruction of Belshazzar, the delivery of the kingdom to the Medes and Persians.

Restoration Under Cyrus

With the reign of Cyrus the Persian came the restoration of Jerusalem, two elements of which stand out: the restoration of the Temple and the rebuilding of the broken wall. The Book of Ezra relates the rising of the Temple from its ashes, the memories of old men who had seen Solomon's Temple furnishing the details for this new edition of the Temple under Zerubbabel.

Similarly, the Book of Nehemiah, in a stirring personal narrative, tells of the rebuilding of the wall. This was about the year 445 B. C., bringing us to the threshold of the epoch in which the assailants of Jerusalem are no longer Egypt and Assyria, but Greece and Rome.

We have, so far, spoken of assaults

against the fortress of Jerusalem. A word now as to its defenses. As early as the year 810 B. C. "Uzziah built towers "in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at "the valley gate, and at the turning of "the wall, and fortified them. * * * "And he made in Jerusalem engines, in- "vented by cunning men, to be on the "towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot "arrows and great stones withal." It is a noteworthy fact that, throughout the three millenniums of its military history, practically the same weapons were used both to attack and to defend Jerusalem. The Holy City has never been attacked by firearms; the only artillery used against it was of the character described in the eighth century before our era. We come, therefore, to the period when the fate of Jerusalem turns from the east and the south to the north and west.

Conquered by Alexander

In the year 334 B. C., Alexander of Macedon led his army across the Hellespont into Asia, won the battles of Granicus and Issus and marched southward toward Jerusalem. A dramatic story is told of his coming. As Alexander stood on the heights to the north of the city he saw, with wonder, the North Gate flung open and the High Priest, clad in purple and scarlet, with a mitre on his head and bearing the name of Jehovah on his breast, came forth to meet the conqueror. Behind him followed priests in fine linen robes, and a multitude of people dressed in white, and they all moved slowly up the hill toward him. Alexander went down to meet them, and saluted the High Priest with great reverence, taking him by the hand and entering peacefully with him into the Temple. Thus did Alexander of Macedon, like King Cyrus before him, become protector of the Holy City

But what the King had spared, one of his Generals destroyed after Alexander's death. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, occupied Judaea in the year 323 and, seizing Jerusalem by strategy on the Sabbath day, garrisoned the city with Egyptian troops and annexed it to Egypt in 320.

A century and a quarter later the star of the Ptolemys paled before the house of another of Alexander's Generals. Antiochus the Great defeated Ptolemy IV.; Jerusalem sided with the victor and helped him to drive the Egyptian garrison out. Antiochus did much to restore and maintain the Temple. This was in 198 B. C.; but in the year 170 Antiochus Epiphanes, aided by a Hellenizing faction within the city, seized Jerusalem, broke down the walls, and erected an altar in the Temple, on which he sacrificed swine as a deliberate act of desecration. The day of this impious act, the 25th of the month Kislev, has been remembered as a day of mourning.

Under Judas Maccabaeus

Antiochus, though he broke down the outer walls, strengthened the inner fortress called the Akra, or citadel, and left a strong garrison in it; so that when the splendid national revival began, under Judas Maccabaeus, in 165 B. C., though the city was recaptured, the Akra held out. The great court of the Temple was grass-grown and desolate. It was now restored, a new altar was built, and the sacred lamps were relighted, thus establishing the Festival of Lights. Judas Maccabaeus also repaired the walls.

The garrison in the Akra sent an appeal for help, and Antiochus Eupator came to relieve them, having thirty-two elephants in his army. Eleazer, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, was crushed to death by one of them. On the death of Judas Maccabaeus, his brothers, Jonathan and Simon, built a wall completely shutting in the Akra, which Simon finally captured and destroyed, cutting off the hilltop, so that the site of the Temple remained the highest point on the eastern ridge over the Kidron ravine. The Akra was a short distance south of the Temple, on a boss of rock which Simon cut away. John Hyrcanus, Simon's son, built the strong tower named Baris on the north of the Temple to protect the vulnerable northern side of the city.

Captured by the Romans

The Romans were now to cast their shadow over Jerusalem, a shadow which grew darker until the great destruction. In the year 63 B. C., Pompey, command-

ing the Roman armies in the East, marched from Damascus to Jericho and, coming up from the deep cañon of the Jordan, attacked the more modern part of Jerusalem on the western ridge. The eastern city, containing the Temple, and defended by the great tower Baris, held out. Pompey then began the construction of siege works with huge catapults and battering rams, and filled in the moat before Baris, finally capturing both the tower and the Temple. But, having established the Roman power over Jerusalem, Pompey behaved magnanimously; he took none of the treasures of the Temple, but encouraged the Jews to purify it and continue the sacrifices; he recognized Hyrcanus as High Priest.

When Julius Caesar marched through Syria on his way to Egypt, Antipater joined him at Askalon with a force of men, won his favor, and gained permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. What is called the Second Wall was built, to take in a new suburb on the north, the only direction in which the city could expand, because of the sheer ravines on the three other sides. From Cassius, Antipater obtained the post of Governor of Galilee for his second son, afterward Herod the Great. Marc Antony gave his support to Herod, but the Parthians aided his rival, Antigonus, in the capture of Jerusalem, which was once more plundered. But Augustus restored Herod to power; Herod attacked and recaptured Jerusalem by making a breach in the fort which guarded the Temple. He rebuilt the fortifications, adding the strong tower Antonia as a citadel, and restored the Temple on the same site and with much the same form as the great Temple of Solomon. In Herod's reign Jerusalem reached the zenith of wealth and magnificence.

Jerusalem Destroyed by Titus

His great-grandson, Herod Agrippa, coming to power in 53 A. D., built the Third Wall, taking in a further extension of the city to the north. Flavius Josephus has described the Holy City in great detail, as it was at this time, on the eve of its destruction. Josephus also fully describes the fatal siege, begun by Titus, Vespasian's son, who, in the Spring of the year 70, brought an army of 40,000 Romans and 20,000 auxiliaries to reassert the power of the Caesars over Jerusalem. Josephus says:

> The City of Jerusalem could not possibly have been taken if the Third Wall had been finished in the same manner as it was begun; as it was constructed with stones 30 feet long and 15 feet broad, which could not have been easily undermined by any iron tools or shaken by any engines. * * * And now the earthworks were finished, and the Romans brought up their engines; and some of the seditious, already despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall; others hid themselves in the underground passages, though many stood their ground and defended themselves against those that brought up the battering rams. But the Romans overcome them by their numbers and strength, and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were already quite dejected and worn out. Now, as soon as part of the wall was battered down and some of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that manned the wall fled. * * * Thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have got by their engines; for three of the towers were too strong for any siege engines whatever. * * *
>
> The Romans, being now masters of the walls, placed their standards upon the towers, and made joyful acclamation for the victory they had gained. * * * Rushing into the streets of the city with swords drawn, they slew those whom they met without mercy, and set fire to the houses into which the Jews had fled and burnt every soul in them. They ran every one through whom they met, and blocked up the streets with dead bodies, and made the whole city run with blood, to such a degree, indeed, that the fire of many of the burning houses was quenched with these men's blood. They left off slaying at evening, but the fire greatly prevailed in the night. And the day, when it dawned, found all Jerusalem burning.

This calamity overtook the Holy City on Aug. 12, in the year 70 A. D. Under Hadrian, the walls were rebuilt, but the unsuccessful revolt of Bar-cochebas in the year 132, brought destruction again upon Jerusalem, which was transformed into a Roman city with the title Aelia Capitolina; a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus was on the site of Solomon's Temple.

When, under Constantine the Great,

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Christianity became the religion of the empire, a new day of prosperity dawned for Jerusalem. The Empress Eudocia rebuilt the walls in the year 460 and, in the following century, Justinian built a beautifully adorned church, no trace of which now remains. But the time was at hand when the destiny of Jerusalem was to turn once more from West to East, from Greece and Rome to Persia and Egypt.

Sacked by the Persians

The capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes, King of Persia, in the year 614, is described by Antiochus Strategos, whose narrative has been preserved only in a Georgian version. We shall briefly quote the English translation:

> The Persians beleaguered the entire city, and surrounded it for the combat. * * * When the Greeks (of the Eastern Empire) saw the numbers of the Persian host which was encamped around Jerusalem they fled with one accord, put to flight by the Persians. * * *
>
> The beginning of the struggle of the Persians with the Christians of Jerusalem was on April 15, in the fourth year of the Emperor Heraclius. They spent twenty days in the struggle. And they shot from their ballistas with such violence that on the twenty-first day they made a breach in the city wall. Thereupon the evil foemen entered the city in great fury, like infuriated wild beasts and angry serpents. The men who defended the city wall fled and hid themselves in caverns, fosses, and cisterns in order to save themselves, and the people in crowds fled to the churches and the altars, and there they destroyed them. * * * The Persians respected none, neither male nor female, neither young nor old, neither child nor infant, neither priest nor monk, neither virgin now widow. * * *

Jerusalem Under the Moslems

In the year 637, close on thirteen centuries ago, the Caliph Omar brought Jerusalem under the power of the Moslems, capturing the city after a four months' siege. He showed himself tolerant and generous toward the inhabitants. Omar built a wooden mosque on the site of Solomon's Temple. Its place was taken, in the year 688, by the lovely mosque—"the Blue Mosque," as Pierre Loti calls it, "half of pale turquoise and half of vivid lapis lazuli"—which stands there today. It was built by Abd al Malik; its true title is "The Dome of the Rock," though it is generally spoken of as the Mosque of Omar.

In 1076 the Turks captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, and forbade the Christian pilgrimages which had hitherto been allowed. This led to the great armed pilgrimage, called the First Crusade, when Godfrey and Tancred captured Jerusalem in July 1099. William of Malmesbury thus tells the story:

> It was now the seventh day of June, nor were the besiegers apprehensive of wanting food or drink for themselves, as the harvest was on the ground and the grapes were ripe on the vines. * * * The fortress defending the city on the west and strengthened nearly half way up by courses of squared stones soldered with lead, repels every fear of invaders when guarded by a small party within. As they saw, therefore, that the city was difficult to carry, on account of the steep precipices, the strength of the walls, and the fierceness of the enemy, (Turks,) they ordered engines to be constructed.

Taken by Crusaders

These engines were of two sorts: "Sows," as they were called, which rooted under the walls, seeking to undermine them; and skeleton towers of timber, equal in height to the walls, which served the purpose of scaling ladders. The Crusaders had also slings, bows, and crossbows, an armament not greatly differing from that of the eighth century before our era.

> The Franks (Crusaders) threw faggots flaming with oil on a tower adjoining the wall, which, blazing by the action of the wind, first seized the timber and then the stones, and drove off the garrison. Moreover, the beams which the Turks had left hanging down from the walls in order that, being forcibly drawn back, they might, by their recoil, batter the (attacking) tower in pieces, in case it should advance too near, were by the Franks dragged to them by cutting away the ropes, and being placed from the engine (wooden tower) to the wall, and covered with hurdles, they formed a bridge of communication from the ramparts to the (wooden) tower. Thus, what the infidels had contrived for their defense became the means of their destruction; for the enemy, dismayed by the smoking masses of flame and by the courage of our soldiers, began to give way. These, advancing on the wall, and thence into the city, manifested the excess of their joy by the strenuousness of their exertions. * * * There was no place of

refuge for the Turks, so indiscriminately did the insatiable rage of the victors sweep away both the suppliant and the resisting.

As Tasso wrote, about the year 1575, translated by Edward Fairfax some two decades later:

Thus conquer'd Godfrey; and as yet the sun
Div'd not in silver waves his golden wain,
But daylight serv'd him to the fortress won
With his victorious host to turn again:
His bloody coat he put not off, but run
To the high temple with his noble train,
And there hung up his arms, and there he bows
His knees, there pray'd, and there performed his vows.

Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, July 15, 1099. Thus was founded the short-lived Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the first of two breaks in the centuries of Moslem domination.

Retaken by Saladin

The chivalrous Saladin (Salah ed Din, "the Honour of the Faith") retook Jerusalem in the Autumn of 1187. Approaching the Holy City, he made this appeal to the defenders: "I believe that Jerusalem is the House of God, as you also believe, and I will not willingly lay siege to the House of God or put it to the assault." He asked them, therefore, to give up the city and retire. But they prepared to defend Jerusalem. On Sunday, Sept. 20, 1187, Saladin, says the historian of the Saracens, took up a position on the west side of the city. He was amazed to see the battlements packed with countless defenders; the great towers built by Tancred and the tower traditionally, though wrongly, called the Tower of David, commanded his batteries, and frequent sallies of the Christians drove back his engineers. The sun in the eyes of the Saracens hindered their attacks.

After five days the attack was transferred to the west side, where the walls were weaker, and Saladin's standard was raised on the Mount of Olives. Sappers pushed forward under cover, while cavalry prevented sallies; arrows, stones, and Greek fire covered the advance of the sappers. It was impossible for the defenders to maintain themselves on the walls, for, as a Moslem writer quaintly says, "our arrows served as toothpicks to the teeth of the battlements." And the wall was finally breached. On Oct. 2, Jerusalem surrendered; it was, by a historic coincidence, the anniversary of the Prophet's dream of a journey from Jerusalem to heaven which makes Jerusalem a sacred city for Islam. Saladin, victorious, treated the vanquished with splendid generosity; "no ill-usage of the Christians was ever heard of."

Richard Coeur de Lion

Four years later, Richard I. of England, "Coeur de Lion," after capturing Askalon, tried to recover Jerusalem, which he saw afar off, but thought too great a fortress for his small force to capture. Richard fell ill of typhus and reluctantly gave up his expedition against the Holy City. While he lay ill, a Moslem writer says, King Richard "did not cease to send messages to the Sultan (Saladin) to procure fruit and snow, for during the whole course of his illness he had a great longing for pears and peaches. The Sultan never failed to supply them."

Saladin rebuilt the walls. A generation later Frederick II. gained possession of Jerusalem by negotiation, and it remained in his possession—the second interlude in the Moslem tenure—for the next fifteen years, when it once more fell under the sway of Islam, under the Kharizmians, and later under Egypt.

In 1517 Selim I., the Sultan of Turkey, broke the power of Egypt in a great battle close to Cairo, and the sacred trophies of Islam, as well as the possession of the Holy City, were transferred from Egyptian to Turkish lords. Since then, for just four centuries, Jerusalem has been tributary to Constantinople. The walls were once again rebuilt by Selim's son, Suleiman the Magnificent; these are the walls which guard Jerusalem today.

The capture of Jerusalem by the British on Dec. 10, 1917, marked the end, with two brief interludes, of almost thirteen centuries of Mohammedan domination of the city.

Germany's Political Situation

Opening Speeches of Chancellor von Hertling and Foreign Secretary Kühlmann in the Reichstag

The German Reichstag on Nov. 29, 1917, *passed a new war credit of* 15,000,000,000 *marks; it was announced that the German people had subscribed up to the end of November an aggregate of* 73,000,000,000 *marks, which at normal rates is equivalent to* $18,250,000,000. *The occasion was marked by the first public utterance of the new Chancellor, Count Georg F. von Hertling. Through the courtesy of the State Department at Washington,* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *is enabled to present a fuller report of the Chancellor's speech than appeared in the press dispatches.*

COUNT HERTLING adverted briefly to his former Parliamentary activity and stated that he had responded to the call of the Emperor from a purely patriotic spirit, and hoped that he could count on the cooperation and confidence of the Reichstag in the same spirit. He then discussed the favorable military situation on all fronts, stating that the Flanders front was firm as a rock, and that the English and French attacks had been in vain. The great victory in Italy had made it possible to relieve the western front. The English troops operating in Palestine had some initial successes, which, however, were without influence on the general situation. The fleet had given new proof of its efficiency in the Baltic operations and in the successful repulse of the English fleet in the German bight. The submarine war was proceeding systematically with its irresistible effects. It was the only successful weapon in the economic war forced upon Germany by England, for it was delivering a heart blow to the most dangerous enemy. The impressment of neutral tonnage would not help the enemy, as the submarines could always sink more vessels than could possibly be built. The proof was convincing that the submarine war would attain the object set before it.

Concedes Limited Reforms

After words of thanks to the army and to the people at home, the Chancellor said that new credits would be asked, which he hoped the Reichstag would vote without delay. He said that the war had awakened a greater interest in the institutions of the State, and it had been asked whether they were standing the test of war, or whether they should be replaced with new institutions. In this question it was important to make a proper choice and carry out with a firm hand the policy chosen. It was important not to be misguided by phrases or lavishly to imitate foreign institutions, but to do what was responsive to the real needs of German public life, as well as to the German spirit and the German nature. No changes could be made in the fundaments of the Constitution, which had grown with the German people; but the Government would lend a willing ear to any suggestions for changes within the framework of the Constitution. The social policy, in which Germany had taken the lead in the world, would be continued and extended. A bill for chambers of labor would be introduced, and certain restrictions of the right of the association would be removed. The Prussian Reform bills were an instance of broad-minded initiative on the part of the Crown in the greatest of the German States.

Regarding the censorship, the Chancellor said that, while he approved of freedom of speech as long as this did not conflict with the interests of the country, he thought that the censorship in Germany was more liberal than in enemy countries. Abuses had been pointed out, which would be remedied, and any just complaints would be considered; and he hoped that in time, with good-will on both sides, conditions could be improved.

The Chancellor then appealed to the

parties to bury the hatchet, stating that the enemy had placed their hopes in an imminent internal collapse, although they knew nothing of Germany's internal conditions of Parliamentary life or the liberty-loving basis of her associations. The enemy had taken isolated events as symptoms of the beginning of a collapse, and it was the duty of the parties to destroy this legend by co-operating closely with the Government and showing that only one thought prevails in Germany, the thought of patriotic duty, and that only one will pervades the whole people, the will to hold out to the end.

"We are approaching the end of a year that has been full of far-reaching and decisive events in many theatres of the war," he said. "I am proud and thankful to say that the arms of Germany and her allies have been successful on almost every occasion and everywhere."

He said that the Flanders battle had continued almost without interruption since July, that the British Army was superior in numbers, and that several French divisions had taken part in the fight. Notwithstanding the loss of some villages and farms, the German front there remained unshaken, he asserted, and the British were as far as ever from their object of reaching the Flemish coast to destroy German U-boat bases. He continued:

"Recognizing the failure of their attacks in Flanders, the British are now seeking near Cambrai a decisive result. The hope which Great Britain placed upon the wholesale use of tanks has not been fulfilled. They lie destroyed on the battlefield by successful German countermeasures. The initial British success was parried by the entrance of our reserves.

"The French also have had local successes northeast of Soissons and before Verdun, but every strategical exploitation of these has been prevented by the German Army command.

"Every one remembers the events in the east which led to the conquest of Riga and Jacobstadt.

Asserts Italian Booty Is Great

"The glorious advance of the armies of the Central Powers in Italy holds the world in suspense even today. Overwhelmingly difficult tasks have been accomplished there by the fighting strength of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops in their surprisingly rapid attack and penetration of rough mountain territory. Italy's army has lost a considerable part of its forces and at least half of its total war material. It also has lost stretches of land which provided it with rich supplies. It has not yet been possible to collect all the booty, calculated in money value at thousands of millions of marks, which has fallen into our hands.

"Further, the succession of our victories from the Isonzo to the Piave is an effective relief to our own western front. In the same way these victories also make themselves felt in Macedonia, as the enemy now appears to be giving up voluntarily the results of the slight successes which he obtained west of Lake Ochrida.

"From the Sinai Peninsula the British are operating against the Turkish troops in Palestine and have been able to achieve certain initial successes there. These, however, have no influence on the general war situation from a military point of view. In the theatre of war in Asia Minor and in Irak the situation is unchanged."

Puts Hope in the U-Boats

After asserting that the German war fleet had thoroughly fulfilled the hopes and expectations placed in it, the Chancellor continued:

"The high seas fleet, whose constant activity has often been veiled from the public view, deserves the thanks of the country. It has, since its glorious day off the Skagerrak, lately shown anew, after a long interval, in the capture of the islands of Oesel, Dagö, and Moon in typical co-operation with the army, and in its lately successful fight in the German bight in the North Sea against a considerable superiority of forces, its constant readiness for battle. As a support and reserve it stands behind our submarine boats, it protects their places of support and opens out a way for them into the open sea.

"Submarine warfare against merchant ships exercises systematically its powerful and inevitable effect. It was and is

the only thoroughgoing means for carrying on against the superior power of our adversaries the economic war forced upon us. It directs itself against enemy tonnage and those voyaging in the enemy's service.

"If our adversaries have sought for some time to fill the thinned-out ranks of their merchant fleets with neutral ships which they have forcibly impressed into their service by a hunger blockade and other oppressive means, this procedure cannot be continued at will, and will soon reach its limit. Even by the most hurried building of new ships in the yards of our adversaries, the number of ships sunk will continually exceed the tonnage of those newly built.

"All observations give us unmistakable proof that the submarine war against merchant ships will reach the aim intended for it.

Germany's Allies and Russia

"I have taken over from my highly honored predecessors in office a precious heritage, namely, to cherish our friendship with Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Our alliances with these three States were concluded on different dates, but their aim is common—the realization of national ideals, the safeguarding of our territorial possessions, and the warding off of enemy attacks. The pre-eminent nature of this aim has steeled our resolution in the long and bloody struggle, and will sustain us until the end is in sight.

"Our faithful allies, to whom we have been drawn in defense of our most sacred possessions and in combination with whom deeds of incomparable greatness have been performed on the battlefields and at home, have my gratitude and admiration."

Count Hertling referred to the fact that the Russian Government had sent from Tsarskoe Selo a wireless communication, signed by Trotzky and Lenine, addressed to the Governments and peoples of the belligerent countries, proposing that negotiations for a truce and a general peace be opened at an early date, and said:

"I do not hesitate to declare that in the proposals of the Russian Government, so far as is at present known, debatable principles on which the opening of negotiations may be based may be recognized and that I am ready to enter into such so soon as the Russian Government sends representatives having full powers for this purpose. I hope and wish that these efforts may soon take definite shape and bring us peace. We shall follow the further development of affairs of the sorely tried Russian people with sincere concern. May it soon be granted a return to orderly conditions. We desire nothing more than to return to the old neighborly relations, especially in the economic field.

Poland and Lithuania

"As regards the countries of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, which were formerly under the sovereignty of the Czar, we consider that the people living in those countries have the right to determine their own fate. We expect that they will adopt the system of government best suited to their conditions and culture.

"For the rest, matters are too nebulous. The reports disseminated in the press recently to the effect that a definite agreement had been reached on one point were premature. Our attitude toward Italy, France, and England is a different one. Since we took the ground of the Pope's note of Aug. 1 in our reply to the Pope's proposal, the foolish talk of the necessity of the destruction of German military power as a menace to the peace of the world was deprived of all foundation. On the contrary, it became evident where the militarism fatal to peace must really be sought. Sonnino expressly rejected the idea of general disarmament in his speech of Oct. 26. His reason for this is significant. It is that standing armies cannot be dispensed with in view of internal dangers. Clemenceau goes so far in his cynicism as to exclude Germany and Austria-Hungary from the peaceful society of nations where right is to take the place of might. Lloyd George frankly says that destruction of German trade is the object of the war, and that the war must be continued until this object is achieved.

"The publication of secret treaties by

the Russian Government shows the world clearly where the lust of conquest, falsely ascribed to us, is really to be found. From the first day of the war our aim was the defense of the Fatherland, the integrity of its territory, the freedom and independence of its economic life. Thus we were able to greet the Pope's peace proposal, and the spirit in which our reply to the Pope was conceived is still alive today; but our enemies must realize that that reply does not constitute a license for the criminal prolongation of the war. The enemy alone bears the responsibility for the continuation of the terrible slaughter, the devastation of the products of civilization, which cannot be replaced, and will have to bear the consequences. Sonnino in particular must bear this in mind; and the other Italian leaders, also, by not accepting the Pope's hand of peace, are to blame for their terrible catastrophe. The peoples of Italy and France should take this as a warning.

"For us there is but one watchword: Watch and wait, hold out and endure. We trust in God, we trust in the army and its leaders, the very mention of whose names provokes storms of enthusiasm; we trust in our heroic fighters, our heroic colonial troops in East Africa; we trust in the moral strength of our people. If the field and home armies stand together the victory will be ours. I know that you will help to this end, and, therefore, I ask you once more for your confidence."

Address of the German Foreign Secretary

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, delivered an address on Nov. 30 at a sitting of the Reichstag Main Committee, the chief declarations in which are given herewith:

"Our eyes at the present moment are turned toward the east. Russia has set the world ablaze. The gang of bureaucrats and sycophants, rotten to the core, overruling the weak and misguided though probably well-meaning autocrat, surreptitiously brought about the mobilization of that country, which was the actual and immediate cause of the gigantic catastrophe which befell the world.

"Now, however, Russia has swept aside the culprits, and she is laboring to find through an armistice and peace an opportunity for her internal reconstruction. I need not supplement the clear words in which the Chancellor yesterday stated the attitude of the German Government toward these aims. Here again our policy will adhere to the principle of firm but moderate statesmanship based upon facts.

Approves Petrograd Principles

"The principles hitherto announced to the world by the present rulers in Petrograd appear to be entirely acceptable as a basis for reorganization of affairs in the east—a reorganization which, while fully taking into account the right of nations to determine their own destinies, is calculated permanently to safeguard the essential interests of the two great neighboring nations, Germany and Russia.

"I am profoundly satisfied that we shall be able to pursue this course in full agreement with our allies and, I take it, also with the almost unanimous moral support of the representatives of the German people here assembled—a fact which will give our action necessary weight. * * *

"In Germany the great words spoken by the Emperor at the outset of the war have during the war borne fruit, and have developed relations between the people and the Crown which have on the basis of the most sincere and mutual confidence forever more been rendered freer and more active, and, therefore, stronger.

"In Germany the Government is carrying out the program laid down by the Chancellor yesterday, not giving way under party pressure, but rather proceeding with clear perception of historical necessity. The development has been actually opposite that of England and France, where freedom of thought and freedom of speech have been sup-

pressed, partly by violent and brutal measures. In these countries, which had been democracies, things are tending more and more toward absolute dictatorship.

"In France, actuated by the dogged desire to continue the war, which finds its mainstay in President Poincaré, Clemenceau has been called to power as the last card in the game. At the same time that in Germany the Chancellor is making the Government program a matter of detailed discussion with the various parties, in France the newspapers devoted to Premier Clemenceau are praising him for having constituted his Cabinet entirely without consulting Parliament, in an absolutely dictatorial manner, and as one of the first functions of the Government the ruthless suppression of pacifist efforts is announced.

"In England the development which has now occurred in France took place some time ago. The party for war to the end brought Lloyd George to the fore. He was invested with powers under which, disregarding the provisions so dear to the British Constitution, he was made de facto dictator."

"Dictators" Leading the Allies

The Foreign Secretary said Lloyd George probably had not quite come up to the expectations of his friends, but that, inasmuch as there seemed to be no one to surpass him in the determination to carry on the war, unless Lord Northcliffe should be resorted to, "we may probably for some time to come see the western democracies, under the leadership of their dictators, discussing in full harmony questions regarding the command of the allied forces."

Contending that British statesmen were astoundingly ignorant of Germany, Dr. von Kühlmann said by way of illustration that Lord Robert Cecil had pinned down the British Government to the story of utilization by the Germans of the bodies of the dead, and had declared that the reported plan to institute polygamy in Germany was characteristic of German views and institutions.

The Foreign Secretary then told his hearers it had been said Germany had shown great reserve on account of the fact that she had a fraudulent design, and that once German astuteness had succeeded in bringing together her adversaries at the conference table she would come out with impossible claims, reckoning that the people, being tired of war, and prepared for far-reaching sacrifices, would not give their statesmen the support necessary to refute German demands. On this account, it had been said, it would be necessary for Germany's enemies to continue the fight until Germany was forced to make a detailed statement of her terms.

Allied "Policy of Violence"

"If our adversaries are anxious to know what our aims are," he continued, "this matter is very simple indeed. There is a sufficient number of ways at their disposal. History has not furnished a single example of any great diplomatic assembly purporting to settle international affairs ever having been convened without previously having informed itself as to the intentions of the parties concerned."

Germany, said Dr. von Kühlmann, welcomed the clearing of the situation as regards the western powers, "under pressure of our recent successes." He added:

"Those in favor of war to the extreme have come out into the open, demanding victory and nothing but victory. How they intend to use this victory is shown by the secret documents published by the Russian Government. * * * Today it is certain that the Pope's message is receiving no response from the western powers, and that France and England are resolved to rely only on violence. Therefore the German people will stand up and be prepared to beat force with force until the dawn of the better and more humane understanding which is beginning to appear in the eastern sky shall arise in the nations of the west, which are as yet filled with greed for money and power."

Electoral Reform in Prussia

The Electoral Reform bill for Prussia was introduced in the lower house of the Prussian Diet on Dec. 6. In urging the passage of the bill, the Chancellor said:

"The duty is laid upon me to fulfill the royal pledge solemnly and repeatedly given, and I will exert all my strength to carry out my duty, and I do so from full conviction.

"I recognize that the proposals signify a turning point in the history of Prussia. This will evoke in wide circles painful feelings and serious objections, but the task of true statesmanship is to take innovations in hand courageously when the people's need for development requires them.

"It is my deepest conviction that this need has now arisen. The present electoral system is obsolete, and you will do the Fatherland a very great service if you assent to the proposals. The bill regulating the upper house aims at bringing the House in closer touch with the national life of Prussia, which is no longer the agrarian State of the fifties."

The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Dr. Drews, supported the bill.

Ernst von Heydebrand, Conservative leader, said he believed Count von Hertling had been guided by patriotic motives in accepting the Premiership of Prussia. He added:

"We would have preferred to see a Prussian as Premier, although I can understand that Chancellor von Hertling got in touch with political personalities before accepting this office. In the appointment of Count von Hertling the constitutional principle that the Emperor should appoint Ministers in accordance with his own judgment was passed over. Ministers should not be one-sided servants of a majority. Their position is impaired when their appointment is not due solely to the confidence of the Crown.

"The course pursued is on the direct road to a Parliamentary system, which does not mean happiness for Prussia. We cannot co-operate with such developments.

"Peace must not be concluded by weakening our frontiers, but on the basis of military successes and sacrifices, according to German interests."

Rebuilding French Cities

THE City of Noyon, France, has been "adopted" by the citizens of Washington, D. C., who will undertake its reconstruction, and the City of Soissons has similarly been adopted by Detroit. The restoration of other French towns is being taken in charge by generous individuals. Maucourt, near Ham, which suffered to an extreme degree, has been adopted by Countess de Chabannes la Pallice. She has erected temporary barracks in which the inhabitants will live until their homes can be rebuilt. Then she will refurnish the homes with similar furniture and utensils either carried away or destroyed by the Germans.

On one side of the principal street of Noyon Baron de Rothschild has opened a warehouse and stocked it at his own expense with all the articles the war-stricken inhabitants are likely to need. On the opposite side of the same street two American ladies have opened a warehouse and stocked it with pretty much the same lines of necessities.

One of the problems involved in the recultivation of the French soil is that of the unexploded grenades and shells which now lie everywhere beneath the surface. A single hand grenade struck by a plow or harrow is sufficient to kill the horses and farmer as well as to destroy the machinery. One which exploded recently underneath a steam plow in the vicinity of Noyon completely destroyed the machine.

Germany's African Colonies All Lost

Conquest of a Wilderness Empire

A GENERATION ago the most splendid books of adventure were the narratives of exploration and travel in equatorial Africa, books like the works of Speke and Grant, Sir Samuel Baker's "Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," "The Victoria Nyanza," and "Ismailia," and Henry M. Stanley's "How I Found Livingstone" and "In Darkest Africa." The daring of the explorers, the brilliant exotic coloring of the scenes, the hunting of elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, the wars and slave raids of the blacks, made a fascinating chapter of romance.

One may compare it with the group of narratives recording the first gropings of Spanish adventurers through the southern half of the future United States, the perilous journeyings of Ponce de Leon, of Narvaez, of Coronado. And from the comparison one may draw the conclusion that, just as the then untraveled wilderness has become the thickly populated and highly developed region from Florida to California, a region already rich in history, so the jungles and foothills of the Congo and Kilimanjaro may presently become highly civilized and thickly populated States, closely knit with the life of other nations, and writing brilliant pages of history.

Africa is today "the land of a miraculous future," just as 400 years ago, the vast tract between Ponce de Leon's fountain of youth and Coronado's golden strand was a mystery-shrouded wilderness, hiding a magical promise of things to come.

A generation ago Bismarck conceived for Germany, then sated, as he said, with European conquest, a great colonial empire that would give the Germans a world standing comparable to that of England. By a striking coincidence, at just the same time vanquished France entered on a great colonial period, untrumpeted, unadvertised, and both in the extent of her colonies, her humane dealing with native races, and the success of her colonial administration France did far better than Germany.

Besides the safety and well-being of the natives, a reason why Germany should, in his view, be excluded from Africa was stated by General Jan Christian Smuts. "East Africa," he said, "is "enormously valuable and productive. "The Germans spent millions in develop- "ing it, and the mere suggestion that "any part of it should be returned to "Germany is preposterous. The native "population has stood magnificently by "us, and I shudder to think what would "happen if any part of the territory were "given back to Germany. All the Afri- "can colonies would be aghast at the "mere idea."

But General Smuts holds another consideration to be even more vital and decisive. "We are all aware," he said, "of the great German plan before the "war, which no doubt is still in the "background of many minds, of creating "a great Central African Empire, which "would embrace not only the Kameruns "and East Africa, but also Portuguese "territory and the Congo—an enormous "area with a very large population, in "which it would be possible to train "one of the most powerful armies the "world has ever seen. We were not "aware of the military value of the na- "tives until this war opened our eyes. "It will be for statesmen of the future "to ask whether they are going to allow "a state of affairs like that to become "a menace, not only to Africa, but to "Europe itself. I hope one of the results "of this war will be some convention or "arrangement among the nations inter- "ested in Central Africa by which the "military training of the natives in that "area will be absolutely forbidden. If "that is not done, I fear I can see armies "trained, which, if properly led and "equipped by whites, might prove a "danger to civilization itself."

The East African territory, from which the last German forces have now been

driven, is of immense area, nearly equal to the combined extent of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires in Europe, and possesses a coast line of about 620 miles. As compared with the regions which afterward became the United States, this East African area has a fairly dense population of about 8,000,000 natives, mostly of tribes of mixed Bantu race. Near the coast are forests of mangrove, cocoa palm, and tamarind; in the higher regions, cotton tree, sycamore, banyan, and other trees grow. In the coast lands there are plantations of cocoa palms, coffee, vanilla, tobacco, caoutchouc, cocoa, sugar, tea, cotton, cardamon, and cinchona, from which quinine is prepared. Fibre plants are also successfully cultivated, and there are some 1,000,000 head of cattle and 6,000,000 sheep and goats within the territory.

Minerals known to exist are coal, iron, lead, copper, mica, and salt. Agates, topaz, moonstones, and garnets are found in large quantities.

The probable continuation of the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad through this region would add vastly to the potentialities for the rapid development of this very rich region, while this railroad will be supplemented by the excellent steamboats that already ply on the Nile as far south as Gondokoro.

German East Africa Conquered

It was announced officially on Dec. 3, 1917, that East Africa had been completely cleared of Germans. The press dispatch was as follows:

> Telegraphing under date of Dec. 1, General Vandeventer, (commander of the military forces in East Africa,) has reported that reconnoissances have definitely established that German East Africa is completely cleared of the enemy. Thus the whole of the German overseas possessions have passed into our hands and those of our Belgian allies. Only a small German force now remains in being. This has taken refuge in adjoining Portuguese territory, and measures are being taken to deal with it.

The conquest of East Africa deprived Germany of her largest colonial possession. Its area—about 384,170 square miles—is almost double that of Germany. It lies on the East Coast of Africa, and the contiguous States are Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, Portuguese East Africa, and British East Africa. German colonization began with an expedition sent out by the newly organized German Colonization Society in 1884, which secured treaty rights over the territories of Useguha, Nguru, Usagara, and Ukami. Owing to the tremendous British influence in this part of the world, the German movement was at first carried on in secret. The German East Africa Company came into existence in 1885, and in that and the following year extended German dominions along the coast from Somaliland to the mouth of the Rovuma, skipping the British territory around the mouth of the Mombasa. In 1886 an Anglo-German agreement fixed the northern boundary of the German colony; the southern was fixed the next year. In 1888 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded his possessions on the mainland (reduced already to a narrow strip along the coast) for an annual rental. This agreement was frustrated in practice, however, by an outbreak among the Coast Arabs; Germany lacked sufficient forces in the colony to put down the rebels, and they speedily made themselves masters of all but two of the seacoast towns. Early in 1889 the company applied for aid to the Government of Germany, received the assistance of a military force, and put down the rebellion within the year. The Sultan of Zanzibar gave up all claim to his mainland possessions for the sum of $952,000, and on Jan. 1, 1891, the colony came definitely under the control of the German Government. Native uprisings in 1905 were followed by investigation and reform of the treatment of the natives. The forces of Great Britain and Germany have been fighting in German East Africa since immediately after the outbreak of war.

Other Colonies Germany Lost

Germany's other colonies were lost as follows:

Togoland, captured by a Franco-British

MAP SHOWING GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES IN AFRICA

force Aug. 26, 1914; area, 33,700 square miles. In 1914 estimated revenue $875,000 and expenditures $1,045,000. In 1913 imports were valued at 10,600,000 marks and exports at 9,100,000 marks.

German Samoa, captured by a New Zealand expedition Aug. 30, 1914; area, 1,000 square miles, (Savali and Upolu.) In 1914 estimated revenue $2,975,000 and expenditures $3,450,000. In 1913 imports valued at 5,700,000 marks and exports at 5,300,000 marks.

German New Guinea, consisting of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, (70,000 square miles;) Bismarck Archipelago, (20,000 square miles,) captured by an Australian expedition Sept. 11, 1914. Imports 5,872,000 marks and exports 5,041,000.

Caroline, Solomon, Marshall Islands, captured by the Japanese Oct. 7, 1914; area, 10,500 square miles. Revenue estimated at $525,000 and expenditures at $957,500.

Kiao-Chau, surrendered to a Japanese and British force, former taking precedence, Nov. 7, 1914; area, 200 square miles. Revenue for 1914 estimated at 8,060,000 marks and expenditures at 18,410,000. In 1912 imports valued at 121,254,000 marks and exports at 79,640,000.

German Southwest Africa was captured by General Botha with the Union of South Africa troops, July 9, 1915; area, 322,450 square miles. In 1914, estimated revenue, $5,875,000, and expenditure, $10,085,000. In 1913, imports valued at 43,400,000 marks, and exports at 70,300,000 marks.

The Kamerun was completely occupied

by a Franco-British force Feb. 18, 1916; area, 300,000 square miles. In 1914, estimated revenue, $2,827,500, and expenditure, $4,315,000. In 1913, imports valued at 34,000,000 marks, and exports at 29,100,000 marks.

Forces in East Africa

No German foreign dependency, not even German Southwest Africa, has revealed such a thorough preparation for the great war as German East Africa. Although the white force consisted of only three regiments, there had been organized, armed, and drilled a native Arab and negro force of 50,000 under white officers. Over 100 Krupp 77-millimeter fieldpieces had been imported, together with several hundred machine guns and quantities of barbed wire, engineering implements, and munitions of all sorts. Finally, a great wireless station had been erected in the Kilimanjaro, which, via the station at Togoland, on the other side of the continent, could communicate with Berlin.

So elaborate had been the German preparation that the Allies could do little during the first year of the war. With the conquest of German Southwest Africa completed, however, the army of the Union of South Africa was released, and preparations were made to reduce the vast territory by investing its most populous and civilized regions, which resulted in its conquest.

Latest Official Report

The latest official report which preceded the conquest of the territory was issued by the British War Office on Sept. 26, 1917, and was as follows:

As a result of our operations in East Africa the enemy forces remaining in the field were, at the beginning of September, distributed in three principal groups: (1) In and to the north of the Mbemkuru Valley, [which is in the southeast midway between Kilwa and the Portuguese frontier;] (2) in the Lukeledi Valley to the southwest of Lindi, [and about fifty miles south of the Mbemkuru River;] (3) based on Mahenge, [midway between Lake Nyasa and the coast.] In addition, there were more or less important detachments in subsidiary areas. Groups 1 and 2, of about equal strength, comprised rather more than half the total German forces, including detachments.

On Sept. 19 our advance from the direction of Kilwa [which is 140 miles south of Dares-Salaam] was resumed, and on that day the enemy was driven from his advanced positions covering the waterholes at Mihambia, (forty-two miles south by west from Kilwa, and twenty-one miles north of the principal passage over the Mbemkuru River at Nakiku and Natshihu.) Further pressure by our columns at this point resulted in the evacuation of Mihambia by the enemy after a stubborn resistance, and a retreat of seven and one-half miles to Mpingo.

Simultaneously, our other columns moved to the attack of a larger German group strongly established at Ndessa, (fourteen and one-half miles southwest of Mihambia.)

On Sept. 21 the enemy was compelled to evacuate Ndessa by the threat of our enveloping movement. On Sept. 23 the entire enemy force was falling back to the Mbemkuru, pursued by our main columns, when it found its line of retreat barred in the vicinity of Mawereyne (twelve and one-half miles south of Ndessa) by our Nigerian infantry. After severe fighting, the enemy, having lost heavily, dispersed in small parties, which beat a hasty retreat to the river.

In this area, almost waterless at present, and covered with dense bush, our movements have been hampered by the necessity of cutting roads through the tropical vegetation and driving the enemy from the few waterholes.

In the western area our columns from the south and southwest are engaged with enemy detachments at Mponda's, (on the Luwegu River, fifty-three miles south of Mahenge,) and to the northeast of the Ligamba Hills, (thirty-three miles southwest of Mahenge,) while Belgian forces are approaching Mahenge, and the communications from Mahenge toward Mgangira and Liwale, from the north. [These places are, respectively, sixty and 120 miles southeast of Mahenge.]

In each of these quarters the enemy is being pressed, and appreciable losses are being inflicted on his troops.

Treachery of the Greek King and Queen

Astonishing Proofs of the Attempts of Constantine and His Wife to Betray Greece

THE Greek authorities on Dec. 9, 1917, decided to sequestrate the property of two former Greek Premiers, Stephanos Skouloudis and Spyridon Lambros, to be held as a guarantee against any damages they may be ordered to pay when they are tried on a charge of attempting to foment a revolt in favor of former King Constantine.

Early in November a number of telegrams that were exchanged between King Constantine and Queen Sophia and the Kaiser were unearthed. These telegrams were in a cipher code unknown to the Foreign Office, although they were sent under its seal. The key was discovered later, and the telegrams were found to reveal in clearest terms the hostility of King Constantine and his spouse toward the Entente, shedding a sinister light on their secret plottings throughout the years in which they were posing as injured neutrals.

Those sent in 1915 refer chiefly to a loan of 40,000,000 marks ($10,000,000) granted by Germany to Greece at King Constantine's personal request. The main point of interest in connection with this is King Constantine's suggestion that this loan might be effected through some German bank in New York, which suggestion it was found impossible to carry out owing to the vigilance of the American control of gold movements. Early in 1916 the Greek King and Queen began to press their imperial relative to institute an energetic German campaign on the Balkan front.

Then came the Rupel affair, and the German and Bulgarian Ministers hastened to give King Constantine soothing assurances regarding the integrity and territorial sovereignty of Greece. The allied ultimatum of June 21 threw Queen Sophia into the deepest dejection at her brother's failure to interpose his invincible battalions. In August, King Constantine anxiously inquired the reason of the concentration of large Austro-German forces on the Rumanian frontiers. Evidently he was hoping against hope that this might be the prelude to energetic German action against General Sarrail's army, but he was told in reply that this concentration was a mere precaution against possible Rumanian participation in the war.

Occupation of Kavalla

Shortly afterward King Constantine was informed that an advance against General Sarrail's army had been decided upon by the German General Staff under purely German leadership. This took the form of the occupation of Kavalla and the capture of a Greek Army corps, together with huge supplies of Greek arms and munitions, but King Constantine was again quieted by renewed German assurances that they would ultimately be restored. Later the Kaiser urged his brother-in-law to organize guerrilla bands in Western Macedonia to threaten General Sarrail's left flank, and Major Falkenhausen, the late German Military Attaché at Athens, was sent from Berlin to Progradetz, on Lake Ochrida, to co-operate with the movements of these Greek guerrillas and supply them with money and munitions.

Then came the bloody events in Athens on Dec. 1, which Queen Sophia, in a long telegram to the Kaiser, described as a splendid victory over four great powers. At the same time she hastened to ask when the German and Bulgarian forces in Macedonia would be sufficiently reinforced to undertake an offensive against the Allies. The Kaiser replied, urging King Constantine to draw the sword im-

mediately against General Sarrail. But already the Entente's blockade of Greece had made the royal couple realize the impossibility of declaring open war upon the Entente, and the Queen hastened to inform her brother that Greece had neither food nor munitions to enable her to hazard such an adventure, and again implored him to hasten to the assistance of Greece, which had made such immense sacrifices for his cause. To this the Kaiser returned a point-blank refusal.

Nevertheless, his suggestion as to the organization of guerrilla bands was complied with. A number of army officers, including the King's Master of the Horse, were intrusted with the task, and various measures were taken to secure better communication between Athens and Berlin across Macedonia.

The "Infamous Swine" Telegram

Meanwhile the Allies served on the Greek Government their ultimatum of Dec. 31, and on Jan. 10, 1917, demanded its acceptance within forty-eight hours. Queen Sophia vainly spent the ten days' interval in imploring her brother to hasten to the relief of the Greek royalist cause. The Crown Council at Athens was obliged to accept the ultimatum unconditionally, whereupon Queen Sophia vented her rage in a telegram to the Kaiser calling the Allies "infamous swine."

The telegram is on record officially as follows:

Jan. 10, 1917.—M. Zalocostas telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: "I beg you to retransmit the following telegram to the Greek Minister in Berlin. For the Kaiser from Queen Sophia: 'I thank you for your telegram, but we are without sufficient food for the duration of such an undertaking, and the shortage of ammunition and many other things compel us unfortunately to abstain from such offensive action. You can realize my position. How I suffer. Thank you warmly for your very welcome words. May the infamous swine receive the punishment they deserve. I embrace you heartily. Your exiled and unhappy sister, who hopes for better times. (Signed) SOPHIA.'"

Another telegram on the same day gives an illuminating explanation:

Jan. 10, 1917.—M. Zalocostas telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: Please retransmit to our Minister in Berlin: "Please communicate the following dispatch from the Queen to the Kaiser, and also inform M. and G. of its contents: 'I am grateful and happy for having at any rate spoken today on the telephone to von Falkenhausen at Larissa, as well as for having received direct news of you. I was afraid the ultimatum would have to be accepted. We were obliged to accept it, although we desired to enter the war on the side of Germany on account of the political advantages, in order to rid ourselves of our bitter enemies, and to respond to the sympathy already shown by the Greek people for the cause of Germany, but we lacked provisions and sufficient munitions for the duration of the campaign. In particular we lacked heavy artillery necessary to force the fortified positions prepared by the enemy in the passes to the north of Thessaly. Finally, the immediate menace to the capital and to our only means of communication by the British forces reported to be at Malta for the expedition against Greece obliged us to our great regret to abandon this project. * * * (Signed) SOPHIA.'"

Planned to Destroy Guns

Other telegrams of the same period furnish further proofs of the determined pro-German intentions of the Greek rulers:

Jan. 5, 1917.—M. Theotokis telegraphing to F. F. F.: "I inform you that the Entente Powers, in spite of our acceptance of the ultimatum, the whole time count on the surrender of our artillery and war material. As the German General Staff attaches great importance to the non-execution of this demand, I wish to know whether Greece would be prepared to destroy her artillery and material. Should the answer be in the affirmative, the Imperial Government undertakes to compensate us. The General Staff, in the event of our acceptance of the proposition, begs us to forward through your Majesty a detailed inventory of artillery and other material to be destroyed, and consequently to be replaced. It is indispensable that the King should send a short reply regarding the dispatch of an army corps. Do your utmost to see that this telegram arrives as soon as possible.

"THEOTOKIS."

Dec. 26, 1916.—M. Zalocostas to the Minister at Berne, for transmission to the Greek Minister at Berlin: "I beg you to transmit the following telegram, translating it into German, to his Majesty the Emperor, and to inform M. and F. * * *

"The Allies are still supporting and inciting the insurgents to seize those parts of the kingdom which, because of their proximity to the sea, we are unable to defend.

By means of a very strict blockade they have occupied the Cyclades by force, and are endeavoring to incite the people against us. The plan which you recommend would be perhaps possible if General Sarrail, attacked by you, was forced to retreat, in which case his left wing would penetrate the districts occupied by us. At present the distance is too great. The line of our communications would be too exposed, and our means as regards provisions and munitions would be insufficient for a prolonged struggle. If possible a decisive and prompt attack on your part would afford an opportunity for intervention, and would deliver us from a horrible situation.

(Signed) " 'SOPHIA.' "

Constantine to Hindenburg

On Jan. 6, 1917, M. Zalocostas, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: "Please retransmit to the Greek Minister in Berlin: Please inform Hindenburg that the request for information as to the military situation on Dec. 8 was only received by courier on Jan. 4. * * * The close blockade, in spite of the admirable fortitude of the people, has begun to have painful results, since deaths from starvation are already reported to have occurred at certain places. Greece, isolated by this pressure on the part of the Entente, finds herself under the unavoidable necessity of transporting a large part of her army to the Peloponnesus. The forces now in Continental Greece are capable of providing on mobilization four divisions of three regiments each, with an independent brigade in the east and two divisions in Epirus, with a very small force of artillery. Of the four divisions in Eastern Greece, two at least are necessary for the defense of the capital and the eastern coast. Two and a half divisions, with hardly any artillery, may be available for service in Thessaly and Western Macedonia. The transport of the two divisions by way of Epirus to Eastern Greece would be very difficult. On account of the blockade there is a very inadequate supply of provisions, an absolute dearth of petrol, and little coal.

"The present situation must be seriously considered, as it is probable that a declaration of war might come before mobilization could be effected. Probably the Entente desire to involve Greece in immediate war so as to destroy her before the German occupation could be begun. Already Greece is faced with a fresh Entente note demanding her complete disarmament. The transport of the whole of the artillery and war material to the Peloponnesus is being maintained by the pressure of the blockade.

"The Government and the people are resisting with constancy, enduring all sorts of privations, but the situation is growing worse from day to day. It is urgent that we should be informed if a German attack on the Macedonian front is contemplated, and when it is likely to begin. (Signed) CONSTANTINE.

Secret Wireless Station

"A wireless station, initials R. S. P., has been installed near Kalembaka, in Thessaly. Please thank M. Theotokis from Sophie. Where is Falkenhausen? We have not yet received his news."

Jan. 21, 1916.—M. Theotokis telegraphs to King Constantine: "I have the honor to inform your Majesty that General Falkenhausen tells me that action might be taken against the Entente troops on the following conditions: Our troops guarding the frontier will retire on the whole length of the frontier, from the Prespa to the place where the frontier touches Nestos on the northeast. Our (?) army corps will re-form at four points no further from this town than 20 kilometers, (12½ miles.) All our other troops will retire beyond the Ekaterini line as far as south of the Prespa. Greece promises not to permit or suffer landings by Entente troops either in the gulf or in Ekaterini Bay. If need be, she will stop such landing by force. The King of Greece pledges his word to the German Emperor that in no circumstances shall any soldier or native be employed by the Royal Government for hostile action against the German troops or their allies. Greece consents to the use of the Drama-Seres railway by Germany and her allies. The Chief of the General Staff begs your Majesty to be good enough to send a reply as soon as possible."

Treachery of Long Standing

The intrigue began in 1915, as the following proves:

Dec. 2, 1915.—M. Theotokis [the Greek Minister] telegraphs from Berlin: "The German Government is ready as a beginning to advance 40,000,000, but the opening of a credit at the Swiss banks which you ask for is impossible, as the German Government has no accounts in Switzerland, and is afraid of compromising Greece and Switzerland. A credit account has been opened with Messrs. Bleichröder."

On Dec. 10, 1916, M. Theotokis telegraphs: "Let von Falkenhausen await at Berlin the decision which will be taken at Athens. In case it is neutrality he will proceed to Podgradetz; in case of rupture with the Entente he will go by airplane to Larissa. In any case, it is of the greatest importance to develop as quickly as possible the question of Caravitis's bands and matters relative thereto. Pray inform me

with all speed what assistance in the way of munitions, money, and provisions you would want. The object of Caravitis should be to cut the railway from Monastir to Saloniki, and harass Sarrail's rear. One should not lose sight of the fact that even this unofficial action by the bands will powerfully help Greece when the time for negotiations comes to put forward large territorial claims which, naturally, can be larger in case action is taken than in case of mere neutrality. Falkenhausen is awaiting instructions, upon which he will act immediately."

On Dec. 2, 1916, M. Zalocostas, the Greek Foreign Minister, telegraphed to the Greek Minister at Berne: "Please send the following message to the Minister in Berlin for General von Falkenhausen: 'Owing to the continuance of the blockade there is only bread left for a few days longer, and other foodstuffs are also growing scarce. The idea of war against the Entente is now out of the question. Negotiations are proceeding on the note. I consider the game lost. If the attack is not made immediately it will be too late.

(Signed) "'SOPHIA.'"

A Year's Work at Saloniki

Story of Postponed Offensive

LIEUT. GEN. G. F. MILNE, commander of the British Saloniki force, made an official report in the form of a dispatch published Nov. 15, 1917. The dispatch, which is here summarized, covers the period Oct. 9, 1916, to Oct. 1, 1917. General Milne was acting under the supreme direction of General Sarrail, Commander in Chief of the allied forces in Macedonia.

Since Nov. 20, 1916, the British troops have held that part of the front covering Saloniki and extending from the mouth of the Struma by Lake Doiran to the Vardar—a distance of approximately ninety miles. On the Struma sector the line was gradually pushed forward, the Dublin Fusiliers capturing practically the whole garrison of three villages. But at the beginning of last Summer, in view of the unhealthful character of the low-lying area, the British troops were withdrawn to the foothills on the right bank of the river, all the bridgeheads being retained and the evacuated area daily patrolled.

On the Doiran-Vardar sector minor operations were undertaken last Winter with the purpose of harassing the enemy, who are strongly interested in mountainous country. Toward the end of February, 1917, General Milne received instructions from General Sarrail to be ready to begin offensive operations in the first week of April, and in preparation a corps was pushed forward in March on the high ridge between Lake Doiran and the Vardar. By April 8 General Milne's preparations were complete, but General Sarrail found it necessary to postpone the offensive until the 24th, when the British infantry entered the hostile trenches along the whole front attacked. The fighting was of a most stubborn character, the Devonshire, Berkshire, and Manchester Regiments and the Shropshire Light Infantry being specially named for their dash, tenacity, and determination.

Preparations had begun to take advantage of the commanding positions gained on the ridge when General Milne learned that "owing to climatic and other reasons" the operations by the allied troops on the right bank of the Vardar and near Monastir had had to be postponed. General Milne was next told that May 8 had been fixed for the recommencement of the allied advance. Accordingly, an assault was made by the British troops on the enemy positions between Lake Doiran and the "Petit Couronné" Hill. In the face of great opposition the troops made progress, though against repeated counterattacks all the points gained could not be held. By May 20 the new line was consolidated. A further advance was in progress when on May 24 General Milne received definite instructions from General Sarrail that offensive operations were to cease all along the front. Since that date there has been, apparently, no essential change in the situation on the Doiran-Vardar sector.

General Milne draws attention to the

great improvements effected in means of communication, in spite of an exceptionally wet Winter, and states that the supply of the troops has proceeded satisfactorily. The wastage among animals was exceptionally low. General Milne writes:

> With the advent of the cold weather malaria abated rapidly, and the sick rate remained low during the Winter. Preparations for the next Summer in the form of anti-malarial work were, however, steadily pursued, drainage of swamps and canalization of streams were extended, and the personnel for technical work extended; but what proved of almost greater importance was the instruction of all ranks in the value of field sanitation and the prevention of disease in the field. The results have been most satisfactory, and, while giving full credit to the various ranks of the medical services and to the devoted band of nursing sisters, I consider that the great diminution in disease in this army, as compared with last Summer, is due chiefly to the fact that the value of preventive measures is fully realized by all ranks, and that the whole army has profited by the experience of last year.

"Nostra Guerra": Italy's War Aims

By Thomas G. Frothingham

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IN May, 1915, Italy declared war—against Austria-Hungary alone—and frankly began to fight Italy's own war. This attempt to conquer the Trentino and Trieste, "Nostra Guerra," was the result of a popular uprising of the Italian people to seize the opportunity to win Italia Irredenta and to realize Italy's dream of a renewed control of the Mediterranean.

For sixty years there had grown in the Italian mind the idea of "unredeemed Italy." By this is meant the outlying territories with Italian inhabitants, which the newly united Italy has longed to make a part of its country. The strong grasp of this "Irredentist" ideal upon the Italian people is hard to realize unless one considers the unusual conditions which brought into being the present Italian Nation.

Though inhabited largely by persons of Italian descent, these provinces never were a part of the Italian Nation, because until the middle of the nineteenth century there was no such thing as Italy, in the sense of an Italian Nation. The Italian States and cities before their union were small, disrupted communities, which fought fiercely with one another and gave themselves up to be ruled by neighboring powers.

Like the Greeks, the Italians followed their natural trend from living on the shores of the Mediterranean, and they became enterprising colonists and skillful seamen. With the waning of the Greek Empire, Italian shipping actually controlled the trade of the Mediterranean and Italian seamen became the most enterprising navigators in the world. Columbus was only one of a host of such Italian mariners.

The great ocean routes had not been developed, and, outside of their own trade, the Italians became the common carriers of the world. The Italian ports were also the great clearing houses of the other nations. Consequently for many centuries Italy was the world's centre of the arts and sciences. In Italy these reached a height of development never before attained, and Italy became the recognized source of all such knowledge. Besides this the capital and centralized control of the powerful mediaeval Roman Catholic Church was in Italy. Yet in spite of all these advantages the Italians did not unite into a nation.

Era of Warring Cities

Venice and Genoa, with the commerce of the world at their command, fought one another to exhaustion. All Italy was divided into factions of small States and cities, and their history is one of continual wars against one another. The

five great powers of Italy were Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, and the Papal States. To these should be added Piedmont and Savoy, ruled over by the house of Savoy, which eventually became the foundation for a united Italy. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the epoch of Italy's splendor and great opportunity, these conditions of strife continued, and there was the added humiliation of invasion and domination of the disunited Italian communities by the neighboring powers. These States, in contrast to Italy, had been welded into nations. As the great ocean routes of trade were developed the Italian States declined rapidly, with no national unity to face new conditions, and in the eighteenth century the Italians were for the most part ruled by Hapsburg and Bourbon Princes, Austria dominating in the north and having the greatest influence throughout Italy.

The first creating impulse for a free and united Italy came from the French Revolution and the invasion of Napoleon's armies against the Austrians. Savoy was at once made a French province; but Napoleon, as a part of his operations against the Austrians, fostered Italian independence, (Cisalpine Republic, 1797, &c.,) and the seed was planted which was destined to produce the Italian Nation.

The reactionary Congress of Vienna reduced the Italian States to their former dependent condition, but Piedmont and Savoy (this last restored by the treaties of 1815) were left powerful by the addition of Sardinia, (substituted for Sicily in 1817.) The name of this kingdom became Sardinia, and, with the statesmanship of the great Cavour, Sardinia supplied the element of strength necessary to make successful the idealistic movement of "Young Italy" for unity and freedom, which sprang up in the years of revived liberal thought in Europe, leading to 1848.*

The Unification of Italy

The romantic history of the unification of Italy under King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia is well known. This was completed in 1872.† Savoy had again become a French province in 1860, on account of the great assistance given by Napoleon III. against Austria. Venice had been taken from Austria, after the Italian alliance with Prussia in the successful war of 1866, and Italy's boundaries had become those existing at the outbreak of the present war.

It is necessary to review this union of utterly discordant States to understand "Irredentism," which has had such a great influence on the conduct of Italy in the war. Centuries of enmities had been overcome by idealists, whose thoughts had been quickened by the French Revolution and by its revival in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. United Italy as a nation was the concrete result of the idealistic thought of Young Italy. With this great achievement before their eyes, is it strange that there survived in the minds of Italians the idealists' longing to complete the union of all territories with Italian inhabitants?

In the sixties the Irredentists were a secret society. Afterward they remained an important influence in Italian thought. At times this element was stronger than all others, but at all times its propaganda swayed the people to a great degree. Allied with irredentism is another aspiration of the Italians—their desire for Italian colonies, and the revival of Italian control of the Mediterranean.

War Aims of Irredentists

Italy had longed for Tunis as a colony, and it was the occupation of this city by the French (1881) which finally alienated the Italians from France and drove Italy into the Triple Alliance, (1882.) Italy's unfortunate attempts in Abyssinia gave her colonial ambitions a severe setback. But the war with Turkey (1911) gave the Italians occupation of Tripoli and a hold upon some of the islands of the Aegean Sea. Italy's desire for influence in Albania also became an issue, and here again there was friction with Austria-Hungary, which increased the resentment, always dormant in the Italians, against Austria as the possessor of

*Mazzini, Balbo, Gilberti, &c.

†Rome capital of Italy, 1872.

"unredeemed" Italian provinces. All this had greatly increased the influence of the Irredentists in the recent years before the present war.

From the point of view of benefit to Italy it is hard to see any advantage that would have been gained by the acquisition of Trieste and the littoral of the Adriatic. One great economic drawback with which Italy has contended is the condition of too many ports for the hinterland behind them. This will be understood at once, when the peculiar shape of Italy on the map is remembered. The sound basis for the commercial prosperity of a port is a natural situation which makes it a point of entrance and distribution for a large and prosperous territory, and also the egress of the trade of these communities. These conditions cannot exist for the many Italian ports, because they are scattered along the shores of a narrow peninsula. Colonies are a real economic need for Italy, but it is hard to see any benefit from adding other ports and other narrow strips of coastline.

But irredentism was not founded on economics. It was the product of a group of idealists, and it had become the symbol of the unsatisfied longings of the Italians for the revival of their past glories. Consequently, from the breaking out of the war, the Italians watched the contest with the growing conviction that at last had come their opportunity to wrest the Trentino and Trieste from Austrian rule and to accomplish their ambitions on the Mediterranean.

Early in the war Italy had notified her Teutonic allies that the Triple Alliance was defensive only, and that she refused to join them in the war. But military preparations, necessary in her situation, naturally increased the enthusiasm of the Italian people, and finally, in spite of the strongest German influence, the popular demand grew so overpowering that all opposition was swept aside. With great outbursts of popular enthusiasm, Italy declared war, but is was against Austria alone—"nostra guerra," the war of irredentism.

Following the demand of the people, the Italian armies were dedicated to the task of conquering the Trentino and Trieste. There was no attempt to coordinate with the Entente Allies. Italy was not one of the allies against Germany, neither was she at war with Germany. Austria was her enemy, and the Trentino and Trieste her objectives. As is well known, her campaigns in these provinces encountered formidable natural obstacles. Mountains difficult to climb in times of peace had to be surmounted by Italian artillery and supplies. The result was that the effect upon the war of Italy's entrance was very small—only be measured by the number of Austrians employed in keeping the Italian armies in check.

The Italian assaults were not even dangerous enough to relieve the pressure on the Russian armies, which were at this time (May-September, 1915) being smashed to pieces by the fearful Hindenburg drive of the Austro-German armies. It is evident that, hampered by the difficult country, the Italians did not draw away important Austrian forces until after the fall of Warsaw—too late to help the Russian armies, and too late to prevent the downfall of Serbia. On Italy's part her campaign of conquest was practically without result in 1915.

At the opening of the campaigns of 1916 the Russians had been so fearfully cut up in the year 1915 that their armies could not take the field in the early Spring, and this released strong Austrian forces for use against Italy. These Austrian armies were driving back the Italians into Italy when a renewed offensive of the Russians (June, 1916) made necessary the withdrawal of Austrian troops from the Italian campaign to meet the Russian attacks.

In 1916, after the pressure of the Austrians had been withdrawn to cope with the Russians, the Italians won their great victory of the war, the capture of Gorizia. This caused exultation throughout Italy, and all the projects of the Italians revived. A feverish offensive followed in 1917, applauded by the enthusiastic nation, and there is no question of the fact that Italian ambitions leaped far.

An Italian army had been sent into Albania to assure Italian domination of

that country. The Russian revolution had ended Russia's desire for Constantinople, and the possibilities of Italy's triumph seemed endless in the eyes of her people, who had magnified Cadorna's successes into great victories, the precursors of still greater to come.

Cadorna's Sudden Reverse

This castle of dreams was shattered by the same thunderbolt that has been hurled so many times by Hindenburg, always a complete surprise to the victim. The conditions of 1916 were repeated. The Russian armies' refusal to fight had released Teutonic troops for use against the Italians, and these forces were massed in a sudden attack upon the Italian General. There had been no provision against anything of the kind, no "positions previously prepared." The Italians were driven out of their lines, and lost their conquests of two and a half years in as many weeks, with 250,000 prisoners and 2,000 guns. Not only this, but the drive continued far into Venetia.

The first reports of these overwhelming reverses implied demoralization of the Italian armies from socialistic propaganda, but on Nov. 23 there appeared in the French Premier Clemenceau's paper, L'Homme Libre, an article, which may almost be considered official, evidently intended to give the real Italian military situation to the French people.

The following is quoted from this article:

> Let us consider the military aspect of the Italian situation. To begin with, the principal error of the Italian high command—alone sufficient to bring about the catastrophe—was the faulty disposition of its armies. The Second Army, after crossing the Isonzo, was drawn up facing northward on the high mountains of Mzli, Monte Nero, and Vrich, without having reached the crests, which were still in possession of the enemy. The Third Army, on the other hand, had conquered the crests and held Cucco, Monte Santo, and Vodice. It faced eastward and had advanced across the Bainsizza Plateau toward Laibach. But between these two armies the Austrians still held a whole sector which formed from Tolmino to Santa Lucia a kind of outpost separating the Italian forces.
>
> Military critics had already drawn attention to the danger of this situation and pointed out that the strategic arrangements of both Italian armies might be thrown into confusion by the enemy if the latter, holding the intermediate high ground, should decide to attack on both sides with sufficient forces. That is precisely what happened when the Germans were able to transfer part of their troops from Russia to the Italian Alps.

Errors Due to Blind Optimism

> The second error: Behind these armies, drawn up in so perilous a position, there were at least reserves ready in case of a surprise. In May, 1916, in the course of the Austrian offensive in the Trentino, General Gadorna had profited by a moment of respite to constitute the Fifth Army a reserve. It was the intervention of this force at the critical moment that forced the enemy to retreat. For reasons that we are unable to understand, this Fifth Army was dissolved one fine day: Not that man power was wanting; it was and still is plentiful in Italy. The reserves of man power were numerous enough to furnish other armies as well. But the Italian Generalissimo has always seemed unwilling to keep them near the front. So, when need came, they could not intervene, and thus the rout of the Second Army, followed by the beating up and precipitate retreat of the Third, carried everything away.
>
> This error is connected with several others, all of which are to be explained by blind confidence in the solidity of the conquests made. Otherwise, what excuse is there for the mistake of massing all the main supply depots at so short a distance from the front, between Isonzo and the Tagliamento? To take the case of wheat alone: More than 300,000 tons thus fell into the hands of the famished enemy.
>
> How, too, are we to excuse the complete lack of intrenchments, in view of a possible retreat, and the fact that not a single road of retreat was prepared, or a single bridge—beyond five old ones—thrown across the Tagliamento? The congestion produced almost from the outset by the enormous mass of men and material on the river banks, all trying to cross at the same moment, cost the Italian Army almost as dearly as the sudden loss of all its supply sources which had to be left to the enemy.

In this awful reversal of fortune Italy called upon the Entente Allies for help. Great Britain and France responded, and an agreement for "unity of control" was made. In thus joining Great Britain and France, Italy became for the first time one of the Entente Allies. "Nostra Guerra" of Irredentism was ended, and the British, French, and Italian armies are now being operated in co-ordination.

Life in France in Wartime

The Diary of a War Worker

By Anna Milo Upjohn

The accompanying record is a true narrative of facts as developed in Paris by an American woman who was a visiting inspector for the Fraternité Americaine. It covers the wintry days preceding the Spring of 1917, *and vividly portrays the heroic courage with which the women of France must face the Winter of* 1917-18.

WHEN I landed in England, late in February, 1917, I expected to feel a thrill of battle. On the contrary I was conscious of something compelling but altogether different—something which at first baffled analysis. Strange as it may seem, this grew into a realization that the predominant feeling in England is one of peace; perhaps I should say of harmony, for it is a wonderful concert of purpose and activity. And then, by degrees, there came to me another stupendous thing, the feeling of the empire!

It had always been just "dear old England," England and the provinces. Now there are no provinces. It is one mighty whole, the British Empire indissolubly welded in the crucible of the war.

In the canteens the words "Provinces" and "Territorials" were avoided. The men were the "Overseas forces," the noble and equal contingents of the empire. From New Zealand and Australia, from India and Canada and South Africa, the troops came in to take their places beside the dear plain Tommies, the splendid Highlanders and the fiery Irish regiments. And among them all prevailed the same moral unity, the unshakable purpose of victory! And this spirit is not confined to the army. High and low, the nation marches to one tune without friction, without lagging, without doubt. The spirit is like that of a crusade without its fanaticism. A hymn of hate could not strike root in England. It would be hissed down as something too base to live. But no more could a movement for peace without victory obtain.

What if two cranks did bleat feebly of peace in a South Kensington gathering? The audience, disdaining to lay hands on them, rushed the platform, raising the roof with "Britannia Rules the Waves." And so, in spite of much frank criticism and often denunciation of ways and means by the newspapers, the purpose is one and without shadow of turning. A splendid sense of personal responsibility permeates every class of society, and this sympathetic working together cannot but bring about a reciprocal understanding which will endure after the war.

The Spirit of London

And London, steeped in unprecedented fog, with unlighted streets, without martial music or bells or even striking clocks, never seemed so attractive. Life moved on with unwonted activity and with a spirit of cheerful confidence. Tradesmen were doing a rattling business, there were few unemployed, drunkenness and beggary were conspicuously absent from the streets. The commodities in demand, however, are not quite those of normal times—nor is the buying public the same. There, as here, those things which pertain to the bodily comfort or nourishing of the men at the front or of the prisoners in Germany are sold in enormous quantities. "What does it matter about us if he has enough out there?" is an utterance often heard. "Out there" may mean France or Egypt or Mesopotamia, or, alas! Germany.

Among the upper classes it is considered bad form and unpatriotic to dress extravagantly during wartime. But those to whom war has brought unaccustomed money are using it freely. The munition workers, who, perhaps, have never before had the spending of a shilling, are intoxicated with the opportunity which their weekly salaries of three

JAFFA, THE PORT OF JERUSALEM

This Ancient Port of Palestine Is Now in the Hands of the British Army, Which Invaded the Holy Land from Egypt.

(© *International Film Service.*)

THE KING'S POOL AT HEBRON

Hebron, Where David Hanged the Murderers of Saul's Sons, Is One of the Points Taken by the British in Their Advance in Palestine.

(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

or four pounds afford them. On the whole, however, the tone of the people is sober.

Nothing could be finer than the way in which the working-class woman has taken up one by one the tasks of men, thus liberating them for the front. Everywhere one sees them in neat, dark uniforms, as conductors on the omnibuses, as drivers of motor trucks or cabs, as elevator operators and subway officials. In the country they till the soil and drive cattle to market. In the munition and war supply works and canteens titled ladies and factory girls work side by side. All over England these women, with their grave eyes and firm chins, are literally equipping and maintaining the army in the field. And the men are cognizant of their splendid co-operation. With the thousands of overseas forces swarming through London, in addition to the English Tommies, not once did I see a discourteous or familiar act toward a woman serving in any capacity, either with or without a uniform.

Paris in March, 1917

When I came to Paris, early in March, 1917, the coal crisis was at its height. At Rouen the shipments sent from England were frozen fast in the river, and the jutting elbow of St. Mihiel, still held by the Germans, prevented the passage of a thousand laden péniches from the other direction. The cold was intense.

I am visiting for the Fraternité Americaine among the fatherless children of France, the children of the plain soldiers who have already made the supreme sacrifice. They lived in the poorer quarters of Paris, these heroes of France, for they were mostly workingmen and artisans. And their widows and children live where they left them, for during the moratorium the families of the mobilized men are not obliged to pay rent so long as they do not change their domicile.

My part is to find out the health and general condition of the children, whether the mothers have work and of what nature, and to give some account of their surroundings. In the morning I start out with a list of names and addresses and a plan of Paris. From then until 5 or 6 in the evening, when I am not struggling through wind-beaten streets or climbing interminable stairs, I am burrowing underground in the labyrinth of the Metro. And the cold continues, dark, sinister, mordant, with black, low-hanging clouds and stinging winds.

How War Widows Live

My first visit was in the Rue Vercingétorix. I think I chose to begin there because the name was so ancient, and warlike, and Gallic. But at the very outset I met with the rebuff which has proved the most frequent: Mme. A. left home for work at 7 in the morning, not returning until 7 at night; consequently, Sunday was the only day on which she might be seen. The next call was in a narrow street in the same quarter. The house looked clean, the concierge was pleasant, but Mme. B. had just gone to return the work which she had finished and would not be back before noon. The third address was at some distance and difficult to find. There was no concierge to inquire of, the house was dark, evil-smelling, and moribund. In the adjoining shop I learned that Mme. D. lived on the third floor right. Mounting a terrifying staircase I thundered on the specified door. The response was silence and repeated silence.

As I was descending in a mood to demolish the rattletrap building I met Mme. D. on the stairs coming up, a plucky, grimy little woman, with about a quart of charcoal in a paper bag and some scraps of food in a package. I went back with her. Opening the door, she apologized for the disorder, saying that she had been delivering bread in a push-cart since daybreak.

It was partly because of the opportunity which this job offered of earning 14 francs ($2.80 nominally) a week that the three youngest children had been taken by sympathizing friends into the country. But the total lack of coal was also a potent reason for sending them away. Marcel, the oldest of the four, a boy of 9, had stayed with her because he was in school. But he had been seized with grip, and was now under the care of the parochial fathers. Of course, for herself it did not matter. All

she needed was a little charcoal to make a cup of coffee, but with the children it was different. She was the first war widow I had met, but she struck at once that note of indomitable courage which meets me on every threshold.

A Shattered Household

Her gratitude for the adoption of the three youngest children was intense. The kind letters alone without the money would have given her the courage to face life, she declared. And besides the regular quarterly payment of 45 francs, ($9,) there had come a gift of 30 francs, ($6,) at Christmas time. With this she had bought some clothes, and now whenever little Juliette puts on her new dress she dances with delight, singing, "My Godfather sent me this, my nice Godfather in America."

I looked around the cold, forlorn room. It was dirty, of course. The absence of hot water wars against cleanliness. But the ceiling was criss-crossed with lines on which the children's washed-out garments were hung, and the curtains were fresh. Those curtains and the big brass bed, the red and white checked tablecloth and blue glass vases on the chimney-shelf, helped me to mentally rehabilitate the shattered little ménage. It had been poor, but not poverty-stricken, and it had been warm and full of hope and the chatter of children.

Quite shaken by my first interview, I worked my way back through the storm to the home of Mme. B. She had returned and was seated at a sewing machine making cheap aprons for a department store. It was a very different interior from the one I had just left, except that here, too, there was no fire. But it was scrupulously clean, and the carved chairs were ranged primly around the table. At one end of the room hung a mirror, and on one side of it a widow's bonnet; on the other, the blue casque of the French infantry.

Brave Mothers in Want

Mme. B. was a quiet, middle-aged person, with an illuminating expression, which made her plain face beautiful. The little boy of 3, she told me, had been sent to relatives in the Jura, where firewood and milk are abundant. The other child, a girl of 14, was in school. It was her mother's hope that she might be able to take a course in a business school, but with the rising prices of food she feared it would be necessary for her to find work of some kind after the closing of the Spring term. It was more the sad, gentle smile than the eyes dim from weeping which told me the story of a sorrow without words. Suddenly I felt small and humiliated. How fatuous to suppose that there was any comfort which one could offer for a loss like this!

And yet—there was the child's life to equip for the future. That in itself would glorify the mother's broken life. And hard cash would do it. Perhaps a hundred dollars. A hundred dollars and a child's future weighing in the balance—and the world so rich! Could it be possible?

The morning was gone. I had seen two mothers, but so far not a single war orphan! I found my first one that afternoon. He lay on his back in his little crib fast asleep. His cheeks were the color of wild roses. His fair, silky hair stood straight up from his forehead, and his arms were thrown wide, giving an impression of energy, even while he slept. His mother could not resist taking him up to let me see the beauty of his eyes. He at once buried his face in her neck and refused to look at me. But when he was put on his feet to show that he could not only stand, but take a few steps alone, he could not resist a side-long upward glace to see if I were duly impressed with the great achievement. * * *

Women Battling for France

That Paris should have lost its smartness was to be expected, and to a superficial eye the city seems to have suffered little else from the two and a half years of war. People go about doing the ordinary things of life in a matter-of-fact manner, which makes the war zone seem remote. It was when I began to come in contact with individual lives that I found myself face to face with it as I had not been before.

For need, cold, suspense, and agonized effort are war, as surely as the more

obvious drama of the battlefield. And the sequence of each cannon cast, each regiment equipped, each battleship manned, is the closing of this creamery, or that factory, the neglect of a little farm in La Creuse, the cessation of the Breton fisheries.

Everywhere the accustomed occupations and sources of supply are cut off, while the demand remains the same. It is like a fertile tract of country shaken by an earthquake, all its little streams and springs turned from their courses, rendering its meadows and gardens arid.

There is a stoical patience about the Parisian, but do not mistake it for resignation! Under a calm exterior he hides a fierce resolve, an unshakable endurance. There is but one thing to do—fight! But one thing to be—brave! And the women are battling for the life of France as intrepidly as the men at the front. They, too, have gone "up the line," but their line is the queue on the icy sidewalk. Not a day of this terrible month that I have not seen them standing by fifty and a hundred waiting outside a locality of distribution for the ten kilos of coal which each is allowed to buy, and which each must carry home herself, as there is no delivery.

Wrapped in thick woolen shawls, blue with cold, pinched, plucky, but chatting vociferously, she often waits four, six, even eight hours in the storm only to be told that the supply has given out and that there is no more coal to be had that day.

Terrible Need of Coal

Perhaps the most thrilling sight is the passing of deep-bodied carts heaped with coal destined for the munitions or public buildings, drawn by great Normandy horses slipping and straining over the wet cobbles. If they go down the coal may be sold on the spot in small quantities. A rumor of the possibility runs like wildfire through the quarter. A crowd gathers. Mute and tense they watch the shaggy hoofs and steaming flanks as the horses recover themselves and pass on. Or a great lorry manned by soldiers and bringing coal from Rouen comes dashing into view. As by magic the street is filled with panting women and boys struggling to get near the source of distribution. The soldiers clear a space, unload the coal, a line is formed and the dealing out begins. And this is as much the order of the day as when I first came.

The cold is relentless, the Seine still unnavigable.

I know Englishwomen who are voluntarily going without fires in order that we in France may have more coal and that the munitions may not be hampered. And England is sending two million tons a month. But it falls far short of what is needed, and is small compensation for the mines of France, which the Huns hold in the north. Besides, the river failing, it is difficult to transport the coal in quantity to the centres where it is most needed.

The French are good to their poor, and especially so now in wartime. Each necessitous family is given 50 kilos (110 pounds) of coal a month. It is not enough for warmth, but at least it goes far toward the cooking, and in most cases it can be supplemented by the purchase of ten kilos at a time at some local coal-yard.

The Secours National is largely responsible for the organizing of this relief. It buys the coal from the mines, and by arranging for its distribution from the Mayor's office obviates the expense of the middleman.

Endless Struggle for Fuel

I know you are saying at home, "A coal famine in Paris! Poor things! Isn't that the limit!" and you look at the pictures in the Sunday papers and shudder. The sympathy is real, but only half comprehending. In order to understand, it is necessary to live through the pinch of this terrible Winter with them. The struggle to get the coal in the first place is such a bitter one, with its hours of waiting in the intense cold often before daylight. As the supply never meets the demand, it is only the early comer who is sure of getting the precious commodity. And after it has been bought it must be carried home, perhaps a long distance, up many flights of stairs.

If a woman goes out to work by the day she must leave her children in bed and then hurry back to get their break-

fast and make them ready for school or for the crêche if they are under the age of 4. If she works in the munitions from 7 to 7 it is the grandmother who must take her place. And this happens more often than you would suppose.

The other day I was climbing to the top of a tenement house when I saw a heaving, distorted figure above me leaning against the railing.

Alarmed, I hurried up, to find a little old woman with a ten-kilo sack of coal under her shawl. She did not dare put it down, for she had it well balanced on her hip. It was almost noon, and she had been out since before 8. Her grandchildren were waiting at home for their dinner. I carried the coal the rest of the way up, and it was no light load.

The Case of Mme. F.

With Mme. F. it was not so much the coal which failed as the stove. I will tell you about it.

It was a bitter day in a month in which every day had been bitter. I picked my way over the frozen stream of drainage (in storm rubbers) and climbed the rickety stairs with misgivings.

As I was about to knock, the door was opened and a broomful of soot flung out. A black-browed woman stared me stonily in the eye. I was conscious of having arrived at the wrong moment.

In a last effort to vitalize the decrepit stove, Mme. F. had taken down the old pipe and put up a new one. The expense and the experiment had been futile. There was no draft. The room was wretched; cold, damp, with blotched wall paper, the result of a leaking roof. Dabs of soot lay on the floor. The uncooked dinner of potatoes waited for the water which would not boil. Two disheveled children stood mutely by, subdued by the crisis. In the next room a little girl of 3 fretted and tossed with fever.

Something in Mme. F.'s attitude suggested the she-wolf protecting her young. The women of the French Revolution suddenly became a reality to me. I felt that it was a mockery to have my hands in a muff. Hearing that Mme. F. had sent for the doctor provided by the city for that ward, I left, promising to come again.

Impelled by anxiety I hurried back the next morning, fearing that I might find a very sick baby. There was the same sullen fire, the same desperate struggle to cook a little food. Lucie, wrapped in an old cape, lay across her mother's knees in a stupor. The doctor had not come. Mme. F. had just sent for another one whom she would have to pay, but in whom she had confidence.

Unfortunately, it was Sunday, but I promised that a new cook stove should be delivered the next day. Mme. F. gave me a blank stare of incredulity. The price of stoves had more than doubled during the year, she explained.

One Woman's Tragedy

Nevertheless, with absolute assurance, I promised her the stove. She could not know that at that moment the flood of gratitude in my heart for the small fund for special emergencies which had been given me to use was as great as hers. But she softened, and, suddenly, without preliminary, her tragedy was laid before me. Her husband had been mobilized at once and killed early in the war. Judging from his photograph, he was a kindly, honest young fellow. He was a mason by trade, earning good wages. They had put nothing by; that had been impossible with the little growing family, but they had had enough, and had lived happily.

The father adored his children. On holidays he would gather the three into his arms and carry them off for an outing. "Oh, yes, he was a brave garçon and bon!" The tears stood in the mother's eyes, but they did not fall. Instead, she squared her jaw and looked down at the quiet little form in her arms. As she talked I saw that she was younger than I had at first supposed. In reality she is only 28, a peasant woman from La Creuse, with warm temperament and rich coloring, crisp black hair, dark eyes, and a tint of pomegranate in her cheeks. She grew up on a farm, and loves the soil and cattle, and is out of place in her sordid city surroundings.

If during the moratorium the tenant is not obliged to pay rent, neither is the landlord obliged to make repairs; and so the house, which is shockingly old and dirty, has gone steadily down.

Relief That Came in Time

The next morning I had to go back for the measurement of the stovepipe, which I had forgotten. The doctor had been there, had charged 5 francs, and ordered medicines; had also pronounced the baby threatened with pneumonia, and had ordered her to be kept warm!

I set out at once, accompanied by a strong ally in the person of another peasant woman from La Creuse, brown and sparkling. Together we ransacked the hardware stores of Clichy until we found a small stove of a model approved by her. To insure immediate delivery I packed it into a taxi, and the beaming woman rode off triumphant, her arms around it. Toward the end of the week I went back to learn results.

Lucie was sitting up in bed, crowned with paper flowers, the other children romping around her. The outer room was scrubbed almost beyond recognition. A pot of hot water stood on the stove, and the mother was about to wash her children. She even contemplated changing the sheets. I had not expected anything so extreme, and could not disguise my delight.

Mme. F. was incoherent in her happiness, waving her arms over her head and shouting at me in her effort to make clear her meaning to my foreign and therefore somewhat obtuse intelligence.

It was not the stove alone which caused her transport. The lady who had adopted Lucia had left the sum of 50 francs with the Fraternité to be kept for an emergency. On learning her straits at the office, the money had been forwarded to Mme. F., and with it she had bought coal and medicines. And there was something left. Oh, the joy of having something beyond the exigency of the moment!

I wish every tale had the same old-fashioned story-book ending.

A Mother and Baby

There is one mother and her baby whom I dare not think of as night comes on. I have been told not to worry about her—that I am judging her situation by my own standards, not hers. It may be, yet though I know this is not the first season that Mme. P. has slept under a leaking roof, I cannot believe she likes it, or even that it is good for her.

The year before the war she and her husband bought a small wine shop in the Rue des Pyrénées. Into it they put their hopes for the future and—Madame's dot! In spite of that the place was heavily mortgaged. But the husband, a great, rollicking fellow, who made a joke of obstacles, drew customers, and by the end of the first year they had paid for the zinc-topped counter, the glasses and other furnishings.

There were two babies then, instead of one, with but a year between them. The war came.

An atom in the gray-blue wave of infantry, the father marched toward the Marne with the rest. But to the stupefaction of the poor little wife it was her man, the solid backing of her life, who was made the target of the German cannon, while millions of men still lived in France!

Because he had left her in the little room behind the shop, and because there was no rent to pay, that is where she stayed, withdrawing like a small, wary animal into her lair with her young.

She is a little woman with nut-brown face, wide, bewildered eyes, and tiny hands. But the chin and mouth are obstinate, and now she is consciously standing with her back to the wall awaiting the end of the war, when decisions will have to be made. In the meantime the business has come to an abrupt close. The wooden shutters are up, and from the street the place looks abandoned.

It was with great reluctance that Mme. P. admitted me at all. A dull flush of resentment mounted to the roots of her hair, the resentment of the shamed housewife against the untimely intruder. I understood and felt guilty of an indelicacy as I stepped into the twilight of the empty shop with its boarded windows.

The floor was of cement, and the place, without means of heating, was as cold as the street from which I came. Except for the bar and a baby carriage it was devoid of furniture. The room behind, which to Mr. P. meant "home," is no bigger than a large closet. It has one window high up, and through that struggled a murky light bringing into relief

the poor cramped household goods. There, in the unspeakable gloom, was an adorable baby dabbling in a basin of water. He had branded his face with his dirty little hands before beginning to wash them, but nothing could conceal his beauty. Hair in wild light curls, mischievous brown eyes, rounded cheeks touched with color, and a trick of pushing out his upper lip in a soft little pout, a remnant of his recent nursing days. Too shy to respond to advances, he smiled knowingly when the conversation turned on him.

The older of the two children had died at the beginning of the Winter. When I heard it I felt that a morsel of France had been definitely lost to the enemy. For these children are France!

In spite of the odds against him, Raymond is a splendid little fellow, sturdy and full of play, the type of small child I find most frequently among the working people of France. Their vitality is extraordinary and their intelligence marked.

On my second visit Raymond had lost his shyness, was ready to make a hobby horse of my umbrella, and to play hide and seek around the counter. His mother, passionately devoted to him, is tortured by the fear that she may not be able to rescue for him the thousand francs already sunk in the business. It seems to have been a shortsighted venture, for the building is, as Mme. P. expressed it, "caduque." Moreover, across the way there is a rival establishment, also the property of a fallen soldier, but left in the hands of a shrewd father-in-law. There the black-haired, firm-bosomed widow draws the corks to the agonized envy of Mme. P.

It is like a story by Daudet.

How the Channel Ports Were Saved

Crisis of the First Battle of Ypres

The third anniversary of the first battle of Ypres was commemorated on Oct. 31, 1917, by the Paris Daily Mail, which recalled this heroic performance of British troops in the crucial hour of the battle:

IF it is ever permissible to speculate shudderingly on what might have been if certain events had or had not happened, it is clearly justifiable to declare that at 2 o'clock on Oct. 31, 1914, the fate of Europe was decided. It was the crucial hour of that heroic day. It is the hinge upon which the future history of the world turns.

Today we celebrate the triumphal but bloody anniversary of the first battle of Ypres. We have lived through vivid, valorous months and years, we have watched battle after battle, terrible, intense, full-fraught with significance; and we have not even yet, in the vortex of events, realized how supreme was the crisis through which we passed three years ago, and how frightfully our fate trembled in the balance. There should be, in those who understand the peril of that great afternoon, a spirit of profound thanksgiving, incandescent in the glow of mighty memories.

As in all the big moments of history, it was an accident, a providence if you will, that turned the faltering scale. Lord French, Sir Douglas Haig, and General Gough, in earnest, anxious consultation in the château at Ypres, had taken all their dispositions, had done all that the high command could do. They could only trust in the traditional bravery of the British soldier to stay the overwhelming German masses—a mere 150,000 men against a million. They were tired, perturbed, but borne up by unconquerable faith, and their brains were as alert as ever. The Yser was in the rear of the thin British line. Retreat threatened irreparable disaster. If the line broke the Germans would roll up the Allies, would menace Paris more desperately than before, and, above all, the

Channel ports would be laid bare. Messengers followed each other in hot haste, the telephone brought its burden of news from all parts of the field, and the Generals must have felt the icy breath of fear touch their ardent faith.

The Miracle of a Man

For the line did break. The day was lost. Disaster had arrived. Against such odds, what could mortal man do? The gallant General Lomax was wounded at Gheluvelt, and the 1st Division recoiled, shattered. The breach was made. The whole front must give. The reserves? There were no reserves. Every man was fighting, and men were falling everywhere. Gheluvelt was, then, the grave of civilization.

But then a wonderful thing happened. Destiny changed its face. There occurred, as so often in the annals of our empire, at the exact second when the clock of doom was about to strike, the Miracle of a Man. That man was Brig. Gen. Charles FitzClarence, whose name cannot be too highly honored. Alas! that he perished splendily at the head of his men a few days later. He had shown himself many times to be a soldier of mettle. Thrice he had earned the V. C. in beleaguered Mafeking. He was as skillful as he was courageous, a soldier with the true genius of a soldier. In the press and confusion of the moment he saw in a flash the débâcle that was imminent. The 2d Worcesters were there. They were not under his command. But what mattered ceremony in such a moment? He gave his orders to Major Hankey, and the Worcesters flew forward to the rescue. It was not a question of hours. A minute more or less would have made all the difference. The Worcesters came up in time. The 1st Division rallied. Gheluvelt was retaken. The line was repaired. The day was retrieved. The Channel ports were saved. Liberty lived again in a civilized world.

The Dash for the Sea

For consider the problem which had faced Field Marshal French in those latter doubtful days of October. The Germans, foiled in their sweep on Paris, had begun their dash to the sea. Their object was plain; their military strategy was simple, bold, and apparently conclusive. If the Marne had destroyed their first plan, their second was even greater. If they swung down on the northern coast of France—and what could stop them?—they would dominate the Channel and cut off the prospect of further British reinforcements. Think of the course the war would have pursued without the Channel ports in allied hands. How many millions of men and of shells have since passed safely across that narrow strip of sea? With that door to France barred, the task of Britain would have been immeasurably harder. But without looking far into the future, Germany might reasonably expect to outflank the Allies, to deal a decisive blow which would end the war, to possess (in the alternative) a jumping-off place from which to invade England.

The Germans rushed west; the Allies pushed northward to interpose a barrier against this flood of armed barbarians. Joffre thrust out his forces to La Bassée, leaving Lord French and his troops in the centre. But French, with the sure knowledge that the place of the British regiments was on the left flank, nearest the coast, a post of danger, a post of honor, and a post of vital importance to Great Britain since the control of the Channel was essential to the glorious little island with the glorious little army, came to an understanding with the French commander and distributed his men accordingly beyond La Bassée.

The position toward the end of the month was roughly as follows: Sir Horace Smith Dorrien and the 2d Corps were fighting and incurring enormous losses between La Bassée and Aubers; Sir William Pulteney was with the 3d Corps east of Armentières to the Bois Grenier, (French cavalry filling up the gap;) Sir Edmund Allenby and the Cavalry Corps were on the left, on the eastern side of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge; while to the north lay the 4th Corps, (which included the 7th Division and the 3d Cavalry Division,) under Sir Henry Rawlinson, panting after its efforts in covering the retreat of the Belgians from Antwerp and in at-

tempting to take the bridge at Menin, on the Lys.

Haig in the Storm Centre

There remained Sir Douglas Haig and the 1st Corps, who came up from the Aisne on Oct. 19, and were on the Belgian frontier. The question for Lord French was how to employ them. To strengthen his hard-pressed troops, already too extended? Or to fill up the empty sector between General Rawlinson and the Belgian Army, then on the Yser?

The dilemma was dreadful; the risk in either event was huge. The British commander did not shrink from the danger. Coolly, deliberately, he took his desperate decision to defend at all costs the unprotected portion of the line. Haig planted himself from Zonnebeke to St. Julien, and from St. Julien to Bixschoote, and the epic period of the first battle of Ypres began. British battalions "disappeared." Two thousand three hundred men and forty-four officers were left of the 7th Division, which a few days earlier numbered 12,000 men and 400 officers. But if the losses were terrific the performances of the little band against crushing forces were prodigious.

The climax of the furious battle was reached on Oct. 31, and the culminating hour was that between 2 o'clock and 3 o'clock. It was then that the German hordes seemed for a moment to have triumphed, it was then that the stroke of genius of General Fitz Clarence sent the right men to the right point at the right time. The peril passed; the line steadied; and thereafter all the declamation of the Kaiser, all the assaults of the Prussian Guards, could not shake the deathless army that fought its greatest fight on the Flanders battlefield for the keys of France and of England.

The Cannon's Deceptive Voice

By Charles Nordmann

This curious bit of scientific lore relating to the high velocity projectiles of the twentieth century battlefield is by a member of the Paris Matin staff, and has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE formidable battle of Flanders awakens mute and shuddering echoes in our inmost thoughts. But besides these vibrations of the soul it creates other sounds, and these, transmitted through the air and the earth, are heard as far away as 180 miles. This is a new proof that the present war can be heard better than it can be seen, for human deeds cannot be seen at such distances.

But even he who is in the midst of the combat hears it better than he sees it; separated, hidden, masked, the combatants and their engines of war are invisible, while, on the contrary, the thunder of the explosions and shots, the whistling of the shells and bullets, all this encounters no obstacles and penetrates to one's ears even in the deepest underground shelters. * * * The soldier in action, therefore, apparently can trust his ears much more than his eyes. But the ear itself often fails to tell the truth, and among the disconcerting errors which it causes there are several very curious ones, caused by what we call the "crack" of the bullet or shell.

Often one hears a cannon or rifle shot on the right when investigation shows that the weapon was fired on the left or in front. This produces frequent and often fatal errors, against which reconnoissance and scouting parties in the service should take every precaution. The phenomenon is due to the fact that the sound caused by the firing of the gun travels in the air at the rate of 330 meters a second, while the bullet or shell, if it comes out of a long-barreled gun, has a much greater speed as it leaves the muzzle. Just as the prow of a ship creates two straight and diverging furrows in the water, which travel to right

and left as fast as the point travels with the prow of the ship, so these projectiles, in their impact on the air, produce an acoustic furrow that travels at first much faster than 330 meters a second. When this furrow or wave strikes the ear, we hear an intense cracking sound which we mistake for that of the gun. The ear naturally reports the origin of the sound as being in the direction from which the acoustic wave has come, and this is usually not at all the direction of the gun. The illusion is increased by the fact that the "crack" is much louder than the report of the gun itself, and that the latter is often not heard at all. If it is perceived, one hears —without counting the noise made by the projectile when it strikes—two successive sounds—the crack of the passing bullet or shell, then the report of the gun. It follows that when one hears a shot fired one can by no means be sure that the gun is where it seems to be.

These facts have curious and almost incredible consequences. For example, when I was situated in advance of a battery of long artillery pieces in the Wovre district, it happened several times that I heard a cannon shot, and, a barely appreciable time afterward, the word "Fire!" which had been pronounced before. The word had traveled at a speed of 330 meters, while the crack of the shell was going much faster, like the shell itself, so that it overtook and passed the waves of the word "Fire!" and reached my ear ahead of them.

If one places one's self in advance of a "75" that is firing its shells at an initial velocity of 529 meters, the shell travels much faster than the sound of the gun, and one hears two successive sounds—the "crack" and then the firing. The interval that separates them is at the maximum of about one second if the observer stands 2,200 meters in advance of the cannon. Beyond that point the speed of the shell grows less than that of the sound from the gun, and the interval diminishes. At 4,700 meters the sound waves have caught up with the shell, and beyond that point only one sound is heard.

As the crack of the projectile and the sound of the gun are so much alike, one is often deceived, not only in the direction but in the number of shots fired.

German War Losses and the Surplus of Women

The Danish Society for the Study of Social Consequences of the War has issued a monograph in which the loss of population for France and Germany is computed as follows:

	France.	Germany.
Total loss of population	2,200,000	3,700,000

Taking the full three years of war—August, 1914, to August, 1917—the investigators calculate that the aggregate loss of life in Germany amounted, in round figures, to 3,700,000, arrived at as follows:

Increase of mortality with persons older than one year	1,436,000
Decrease of infantile mortality	225,000
Increase of total mortality	1,211,000
Decrease of birth rate	2,482,000
Total loss of population	3,693,000

Thus, while under normal conditions the population of Germany within the last three years should have increased from 67,800,000 to about 70,200,000, owing to the war it will have decreased to about 66,500,000.

Yet these simple figures do not give any real picture of the importance of the loss sustained. Far more important than the decrease of population is the complete confusion in the age-group distribution of the population and the fundamental disarrangement in the numerical proportion of the sexes. According to conditions previous to the war there should be about 32,800,000 males and 33,700,000 females. In reality, however, there will be about 32,100,000 males and 34,400,000 females. After three years of war the proportion of men to women will be about 1,000 to 1,100. As regards the population of marriageable age, the preponderance of women will be much greater, since the calculation takes no account of the number of disabled men. In short, millions of women, after the war, will find no possibility of marrying.

Intense Activities Behind the Lines

A Pen Picture of the Seething Life in France That Supplies the Allied Armies' Needs

By Arthur S. Riggs
Correspondent of The New York Times

AT present three broad bands or zones of communication lead to the fighting fronts: The French, which radiates like a fan to all the fronts from Paris; the American, which sweeps a broad band across country, from the mouth of a great southern river, crosses Paris and passes on to a point on the French front, and the British, which begins on the English coast, darts across the Channel in one double daylight steamship line efficiently guarded by innumerable destroyers and cruisers, trawlers and mine-sweepers, and, on reaching the northwestern coast of France, sweeps north and east through Belgium and France to the bloody swales around Nieuport, Ypres, Arras, and the other focal points of the assailing lines in that region.

Where Britons Rule in France

At present the British hold the line in Belgium at Nieuport, on those dingy sand dunes which rise like a series of natural trench parapets and outworks, on which observation posts do their best to catch sight of the German airplanes and Zeppelins and guard the flanks of the army. From Nieuport the British lines reach Furnes, to the southeast. There the Belgians, who have concentrated their shattered forces, man the trenches to a point below Ramscappelle, almost opposite Dixmude, where the French lines begin, and continue until they join the British not far from Ypres. The British, or rather the imperial forces, as they are known collectively, reach on down from this point to below Arras, and the French hold all the rest of the line.

Thus the British line is divided at Furnes, with the Belgian wedge thrust into it there. From Furnes, back to Calais and south along the lovely coastal hills of France, England is supreme. Sweating Tommies are continually remaking the roads, with all the methodical thoroughness characteristic of British procedure, and leaving behind them a monument worthy of their toil. Along this main road, over which all the ammunition, troops, quartermaster, commissariat, hospital, and other supplies must pass, to say nothing of the guns, big and little, the traffic is incessant and enormous. New York's Fifth Avenue at Forty-second Street at 4 o'clock in the afternoon is the only comparison possible. And, nothwithstanding the rumbling of motor lorries, the flying motor cars, the occasional regimental train of horse-drawn caissons or wagons, the dog-drawn machine guns of the Belgians—both armies have to use this road, which further complicates matters and tempers—the snorting steam road rollers, and the inevitable French and Belgian farm wagons which never get out of the way when they can help it, Tommy Atkins calmly pre-empts one-half the road and proceeds to tear it to pieces and rebuild it.

Staff officers fly by at sixty miles an hour and drench him with showers of mud or choke him with dust. He wipes his eyes clear, swears vigorously, and goes at it again; a regimental train rumbles slowly along and holds up his work for five or perhaps ten minutes, and he leans on his shovel or pick or cornbroom and waits like the philosopher he is.

Wonderful Canal Traffic

In the canal along side dainty-looking little French monitors, with one very persuasive-looking gun, glide noiselessly by under their own steam—craft that float wherever there is a heavy dew, and back up the troops with their havoc-

making bass voices. Great French canalboats, almost awash with coal; timber, food, ammunition, hospital supplies, and all the paraphernalia of modern warfare, trail past at a snail pace in tow of trim tugs. British canalboats, too, much cleaner of line than the French, with curving stems and well-shaped counters and sterns, built of steel every one, and populated by Tommies in khaki, snail past with a Sergeant at the wheel, smoking his pipe and looking vastly comfortable in his unusual surroundings. And here and there a tremendous scow of British build, equipped with a monstrous chain dredge, idles at the bank waiting for a call to deepen or widen the shallow canal; or a flock of Tommies, stripped down for action, repair a wooden barge, build a new hospital boat, or erect something of temporary value on the further bank. Everywhere, on the road and in the canal, activity is ceaseless during the daylight hours.

But when night comes Fritz begins his work, and the constructive work ceases, for along that section of the road and canal closest to the actual front the shells fall with devastating frequency, and always there is the consciousness of that monster gun somewhere behind everything else, which throws a 380-millimeter shell, nearly five feet long and ten or twelve inches thick, a distance of thirty-eight kilometers—a mere trifle of something over twenty-three miles!

Scenes in Dunkirk

Then comes Dunkirk, still full of helpless women and children, plastered over with signs instructing the inhabitants which way to run for shelter in case of bombardment, and bustling with cheery activities, notwithstanding that every night it is almost impossible to sleep because of the heavy firing from both British and German guns. Houses and public buildings alike are pockmarked with shrapnel, partly blown to bits by the explosion of aerial torpedoes and bombs, and racked by the shells that drop in to keep the population and garrison on their toes. Along the shore, half a mile nearer the German lines, the plage, or watering place, of Malo-les-Bains manifests a typical activity, with its bathing and flirtations and idling on the broad, sunny beach. The "movie" Casino lost a door recently, and most of its end, as a result of one high explosive bomb which an aviator aimed at the railroad station; but the crowd files in just the same to see the latest film, with a gay disregard for possible dangers, and never a thought of the sullen British guns close by or the circling airplanes that do "stunts" as if to amuse the crowd with their flying circus.

Behind Dunkirk is Calais, the focus of the activities that have their beginning in London. Here, at least, one can sleep at night; though here, too, the rumble of the guns is always evident, and house and store, public building and hotel, bear the marks of terrific maltreatment. Nobody seems to care.

Hospitals and Cemeteries

Near Calais begin the saddest of all the sights behind the front—the hospital camps and cemeteries. In America we know, in a vague sort of way, that thousands and even millions of men are killed in a war such as this. But the figures are abstract to us as yet; and it is not until one runs unexpectedly into a little British cemetery that the hideous truth strikes home. Packed into a space of about half an acre were hundreds upon hundreds of graves. At the head of each was a small, unpainted, numbered wooden cross. That was all; no mounds, no monuments, no flummery; just dead men buried in a foreign land, with numbers above them; crowded together as close as sailors in their hammocks at sea, each with his legal six feet by two of earth, and nothing more. A simple little fence surrounded this ghastly, hallowed field, and not far distant men were working placidly along the railroad, others were out walking with pretty girls, who laughed and talked as gayly as if that field were not there. On a field within eyeshot some officers with golf sticks were out for an afternoon's sport. Behind all rolled the hazy Channel blue, blobbed here and there with the misty bulk of destroyer or trawler. A group of German prisoners worked leisurely at their appointed task under the guard of half a dozen soldiers. They were sturdy,

healthy, contented-looking villains, patched and ragged though they were, and with a tinge of the insolent clinging about them still, as if, for all their satisfaction at being well out of the fighting, they considered themselves the superiors of their generous captors.

Treatment of German Prisoners

It has been argued again and again in the British press, and repeated in some quarters in France, that the treatment given by both French and British authorities to these prisoners of war is too generous. It is costly, indeed, and the prisoners do not deserve it. Men who have committed the hideous crimes of the Germans deserve nothing but hard labor and sufficient food to keep them healthy, without luxuries or any tenderness. But their deserts and their actual treatment are two vastly different things, and the vilest baby butcher among them is handled with the magnanimity of a foe who is as merciful as he is honest. And that policy is not altogether one of sentiment or pride. It is the expression of true manhood; neither British nor French could do anything else and remain what they are, chivalrous races.

But the treatment of the prisoners is an excellent policy from a purely political point of view. It is an education for these men who from their babyhood have been taught to despise the French as alcohol-sodden braggarts and the British as bloodthirsty pirates trying to ruin the "Vaterland." Prisoners now, these ex-soldiers are learning the true characters of their captors.

Southward from the first-line British trenches run the hospitals, from the mere dressing stations to the big convalescent and permanent camps. They stretch along the coast for miles south from Calais and extend into the interior as far as Etaples. Wooden huts, like the ready-to-set-up houses advertised by the mail-order firms at home, big tents and little ones, regular houses and operating theatres, storerooms and outbuildings of every color and size and shape imaginable. Wounded men lie in beds or in comfortable chairs outside, taking the sun and the sweet salt air; competent-looking nurses and Women's Auxiliary Corps helpers flit here and there in their trim uniforms, and most of the camps wear a very cheery appearance.

Most notable is the expression on the faces of even those men who have been hard hit. Here one is minus a foot or an arm; another is growing a new face, thanks to the skill of the surgeons; beside him is a mere shadow of a man who has suffered the agonies of being badly gassed. All of them wear a look of utter content, of living in the peaceful moment. It is the same look one sees upon the faces of the blind who have been blind from birth; that entire lack of self-consciousness, that placid acceptance of the moment which compensates somewhat for sight.

The Busiest Channel Port

In ———, where the British troops first land in France, one person in every fifty in before-the-war times was an Englishman, and the port did a tremendous business in perishable commodities with the cross-Channel British seaports. Today the ancient city is transformed completely. The best hotel is the headquarters of the British Red Cross, all the other hostelries are chock full of British uniforms; stern-looking military policemen regulate traffic with all the sangfroid of the London "Bobby," and keep a watchful eye on the passing soldiery, and the streets are jammed as they never were before. The long, narrow harbor, hardly more than a slim estuary through which the ebullient tides rush at racehorse speed, is congested beyond belief with what seems at first sight a hopeless tangle of fishing smacks and passenger liners, war craft, troopships, and "cargo boats," all painted a wartime gray, and all disgorging or engulfing unimaginable quantities of men and supplies, cannon and munitions. The wharves are mountains of boxes and crates and barrels, bearing the British broad arrow of his Majesty's services, and day and night the loading and unloading goes on without a break.

Into all this orderly disorder I walked unnoticed and studied what was going on. About me the normal traffic flowed in an uninterrupted stream, whose pace was perhaps heightened a little over

normal times. But beyond, on the wharves and along the high-sided stone quays where I did not care to intrude too far for my own peace of mind, normal traffic had given place entirely to the business of war. Yet where and how was all this vast material transported? It was there, and it was coming in every day in an unceasing stream of gigantic magnitude. The wharves could not hold more than a day's or perhaps two days' cargoes. British efficiency and thoroughness were taking care of it in a silent, methodical, unemotional system that got it out of the way and up to the front without dislocating the usual business of the town to any appreciable degree. I doubt that Fritz at his best could handle such a vast problem with so little friction and so much celerity.

Piles of American Goods

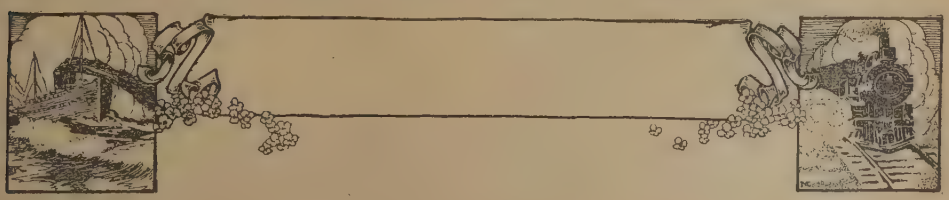
Two other Channel ports also receive tremendous infloodings of men and things, but the principal port is here, and when one considers that Great Britain is maintaining an army of millions, and supplying them with everything from gauze bandages and pots of jam and pickles to 15-inch naval guns and ammunition without stint, all through three small seaports of which this is the chief—British civilians as well as military come into France here, which adds to the difficulties—the wonder is that the work can be done at all, much more that it can and does go on without a hitch.

The narrow, tortuous streets of the city are as crowded as lower Broadway except at night, when all lights are extinguished and the city hides its head under its weary wing, while the flying death hovers noisily overhead, in night-long patrolling, to ward off the enemy planes.

The shops are full of foreign goods. English signs are everywhere, and in many a window one recognizes all sorts of American goods, often marked in bold letters "British made" to deceive careless British purchasers who do not, perhaps, look very closely at the trademarks. Tools from Bridgeport, canned meats and delicacies from Chicago and Kansas City, cheap jewelry from Newark, N. J., shoes and other leather goods from Massachusetts, packets of a famous brand of oatmeal, carefully labeled as being suitable for gruel; photographic supplies, chemicals and cameras from Rochester, pocketknives from Toledo, chewing gum and eyeglasses, whisky, and electric batteries for hand lamps, THE NEW YORK TIMES and other newspapers are jumbled together along the Grande Rue and other streets in a hodge-podge. Three years ago the staid old city of —— would have gasped at such irregularity. Now it piles Pelion upon Ossa and cries for more. * * *

A High Explosive Bomb

One night near the Belgian front while I was at dinner with my Belgian hosts Fritz sent over an aviator who aimed a 275-pound bomb full of H. E. (the abbreviation common for "high explosive") at the railroad station, missed it by a quarter of a mile, and hit a train full of "permissionaires"—soldiers who have received leave and are departing from the active zone for some big city in the rear. In this case it chanced that the men were Belgian infantry and artillery soldiers going to London and Paris on a ten-day leave. The bomb struck in the middle of a car jammed with men, killed twenty-two of them instantly and wounded thirty-seven more, of whom twenty-eight died the next morning. When we reached the spot next day the wrecked car—there was nothing much left of it but the two ends—had been disposed of, the hole in the roadbed almost filled, and the track relaid.



Marvels of the New War Surgery

"Re-educating" the Wounded

WONDERFUL work in the restoration of disabled soldiers continues in all the warring countries. Lieut. Col. Sir Robert Jones, a British surgeon, lecturing before the Royal Institute of Public Health in London, said that it was essential to retain the economic man power of the nation instead of being flooded with helpless cripples after the war. Orthopedic surgeons had been faced with new problems, for in the early days of the war they were without experience of the injuries inflicted by high explosives and the septic influence of the highly manured soil of France. Limbs that looked so hopeless as apparently to be fitted only for amputation had to be reconstructed and caused to perform their functions by new methods. Most gunshot wounds were poisoned, and at the front, where the object of the surgeons was to save life, they were hampered in regard to the functioning of muscles. But the shortened limbs that came from them to the orthopedic centres were not only restored to their proper length, but the incidence of body weight was carefully adjusted in relation to the fracture. The patients were retained until the joints became supple, and in six months they left the hospitals with joints as nearly normal as art could make them.

A piece of shin bone was perhaps removed and placed in the arm, massage and electricity were employed, nerves were reunited, and muscles were transplanted and re-educated. Young surgeons planned new routes for tendons, and all the treatment was directed to the patient's resumption of his ordinary calling, which, in some cases, required the mobility rather than the strength of a limb. A remarkable operation was the removal of a finger from a good hand to replace a thumb on the other, and in due course it had moved just in the same way as the original thumb. Cripples in the old sense would, Sir Robert Jones said, cease to exist. Seventy-five per cent. of the cases at the orthopedic centres had been restored to the army.

Canada's Re-educative Methods

Canada has developed a system of re-educating soldiers which is producing noteworthy results along the same lines as those laid down in England and France. Disabled soldiers are received at Quebec and are classified medically. Those whose military usefulness has been ended are distributed to their home districts and receive at once a furlough of one to two weeks to visit their families. At the end of his furlough the soldier returns to the convalescent centre of his home district. This is a hospital, hotel, recreation house, and school rolled into one. The great feature of the convalescent centre is the shops and the classes. These the men attend voluntarily and eagerly. Some of them take a six months' commercial course, including bookkeeping, shorthand and typewriting, and they may continue this course if they desire beyond the half year. Many men of another group study for civil service examinations that will lead to jobs in the postal and revenue services. They will be preferred in appointments to such places. Woodworking, both carpentry and furniture making; draftsmanship, gardening, poultry raising are some of the other things taught.

Choosing a New Vocation

After a time men are discharged from the convalescent centre and from the army. But those whose disabilities debar them from resuming their former employments may have further training, and this is where re-education really begins. Each man has to choose his new vocation for himself. His further training is without cost to himself and he and his family continue to receive compensation payments from the Government. So far as possible the men are

steered into the study of trades in which wage standards are high, employment steady and the demand for labor constantly increasing. Machine shop practice, gasoline engine operation, (stationary or tractor,) automobile mechanics, (operation and repair,) electric power station practice, railroad or commercial telegraphy, surveying, architectural drafting, some forms of manufacturing, the work of sanitary inspectors, chemistry, motion-picture projection, public school teaching, and farming are some of the trades for which Canadian soldiers are fitted by re-education. They are sent to schools, factories, and fields to get their training.

Plans of General Gorgas

Turning now to America's plans for dealing with wounded soldiers, we find that Major Gen. William C. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the army, has a complete plan to put into operation. From the time the soldier is wounded at the fighting front until his return to civil life the Government intends to stand by his side in an effort to prevent deformity from wounds, to refit the injured man for his place in civil life and to reconstruct him for service to himself and the State.

"The whole conception of Governmental and national responsibility in caring for the wounded," says General Gorgas, "has undergone a radical change during the months of study given the subject by experts serving with the Medical Officers' Reserve Corps and others consulting with them. Instead of the old idea that responsibility ended with the return of the soldier to private life with his wounds healed and such pension as he might be given, it is now considered that it is the duty of the Government to equip and re-educate the wounded man, after healing his wounds, and to return him to civil life ready to be as useful to himself and his country as possible.

"Reconstruction Hospitals"

"To carry out this idea plans are well under way for building 'reconstruction hospitals' in large centres of population. These hospitals will not be the last step in the return of the wounded soldiers to civil life. When the soldiers are able to take up industrial training, further provision will be ready. The injured man may be retrained to his former occupation to conform with his handicapped condition or retrained for a new industry compatible with that condition. Additional education will be given to those fitted for it, and men may in some cases be returned to more valuable work than that from which they were called to war. Workshops will be provided at the hospitals, but arrangements will also be made with outside industries whereby more elaborate methods of training may be carried on. An employment bureau will be established to place men so trained in different parts of the United States.

"This whole matter comes under the Department of Military Orthopedic Surgery, recently organized in the medical department of the army. Arrangements have been made by this department to care for soldiers, so far as orthopedics (the prevention of deformity) is concerned, continuously until they are returned either to active service or civil life. Orthopedic surgeons will be attached to the medical force near the firing line, and to the different hospitals, back to the base orthopedic hospital, which will be established within 100 miles of the firing line. In this hospital, in addition to orthopedic surgical care, there will be equipment for surgical reconstruction and 'curative workshops,' in which men will acquire ability to use injured members while doing work interesting and useful in itself. This method has supplanted the old and tiresome one of prescribing a set of motions for a man to go through with no purpose other than to reacquire use of the injured part."

Surgery and Man Power

The wonderful work of the surgeons has also reduced the military significance of the casualty lists to a considerable degree, because many men listed as wounded are after varying intervals able to return to the fighting lines. One of the most interesting contributions to this phase of the subject is that made by

Professor Rosstovtzeff, a Russian surgeon, assisted by Professor Kolossoff, a mathematician. Professor Rosstovtzeff says that the value of surgeons in war has always been recognized as equivalent to that of a certain number of fighting men, but few have taken the trouble to demonstrate the exact value of surgical organization and mobilization. Dealing with figures of casualties caused in battle and distinct from sickness and disability from other causes, and not including those listed as prisoners or missing, we find that the total losses comprise three classes—the dead, severely wounded, and slightly wounded. These may be said to average somewhat as follows: Dead, 5 per cent.; severely wounded, 5 per cent., and slightly wounded, 15 per cent. for each pitched battle, the total casualties being estimated at 25 per cent. of effectives. It is assumed that all the effectives participate in the battle sooner or later, or, in other words, reserves not engaged in battle are supposed to be nonexistent.

Armies Saved by Surgery

If in a given campaign an entire army participates in five battles—irrespective of results—the continuous subtraction of 25 per cent. of effectives for each battle would reduce the fighting force 75 per cent. for the time being. Casualties which do not incapacitate a man or lay him up for a few days only do not seem to enter into computation. Under ideal conditions of surgery, a not inconsiderable fraction of severely wounded and a very large contingent of slightly wounded can be reclaimed for further fighting. In figures, it is reckoned that such surgery can save almost 44 per cent. of the number injured in the campaign.

In other words, should 300,000 men be injured in such warfare, surgery would save the makings of a reserve army of 130,000! This amount of human salvage, huge as it is, probably falls short of the colored reports of casualties given out to the press, in which the vast majority are listed as "slightly wounded," with the corollary that "75 per cent. of these" will soon return to the ranks. To have any mathematical significance, casualties would have to be sufficient to send men to base hospitals and keep them out of action for the rest of the campaign. Moreover, these men must be in such a state as to benefit directly from surgical organization and science, otherwise even the "slightly wounded" would succumb in large numbers from various forms of infection.

"Sanitation," says Professor Rosstovtzeff, "is an essential part of medical organization, for it is assumed in all such calculations that the troops are to be kept in good physical condition, and that hospitalization in the full sense of the term will ward off all agencies which could interfere with convalescence from wounds. The term 'surgery' should read 'surgery and its auxiliaries,' when we speak of its power to revolutionize the results of warfare. The stretcher bearer and ambulance driver play a major rôle at the front in these activities, just as do those of various other vocations in the rear, and the term surgery alone conveys too much the idea that the salvage is the result exclusively of wound treatment."

German Official Figures

German Army statistics appear to bear out Professor Rosstovtzeff's estimate. Of the total number of officers and men in the German Army who were wounded during the second year of the war, 70 per cent. fully recovered and went back to the trenches. Only 6.4 per cent. of the wounded were completely unfit for military service, and the other men wounded were able to do military duty at home. A noteworthy decrease in epidemic disease in the German armies was also observed during the second year of the war. According to official reports, the number of cases dropped from 51 per 1,000 during the first year of the war to a trifle over 38 per 1,000. The greatest number of patients, 21½ per 1,000, were treated for nervous diseases due to the strain of battle, and particularly of trench warfare under terrific artillery bombardments. Pleurisy was responsible for six cases per 1,000, pneumonia four, tuberculosis one-seventeenth, enteric one-fourteenth, and dysentery one-eighteenth. Another feature was the ab-

United States Troops in One of the Stages of Their Training Under the Direction of French Instructors.

(© 1917, Committee on Public Information, from Kadel & Herbert.)

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER EQUIPPED FOR ACTIVE SERVICE

These Three Views of an American Soldier Show the Full Service Equipment. He Has 100 Cartridges in the Belt, Besides Carrying Part of a Tent, a Water Bottle, and First-Aid Package.

(Central News Photo Service.)

solute disappearance of smallpox and the practical elimination of other scourges like typhus, typhoid, and cholera. This was noted in spite of the fact that the armies operated largely among populations suffering extensively from these maladies and under conditions favorable to their spread. The immunity of the soldiers was attributed to vaccination with preventive serums and other scientific methods of prevention. The number of men on monthly sick reports from all causes decreased from 120 to 100 per 1,000.

The Newest French Field Hospital

Story of the "Auto-Chir" No. X.

Count d'Haussonville of the French Academy recently related how the newest type of field hospital is operated at the front for the saving of the wounded. The following translation was made for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

FIRST of all, what is an "auto-chir"? While this abbreviation is familiar to those at the front, it may need some explaining for the uninitiated back of the lines. An "auto-chir" is an automobile surgical ambulance, the "chir" standing for "chirurgicale," the French word for surgical. Mobile it is in the full sense, for it is not installed in a fixed place, but is meant to be moved about at the order of the Quartermaster General or the Quartermaster of the corps to which it is attached.

The advantage of this arrangement is that the "auto-chir" can move at the first signal to the place where it is most needed, and where it can speedily establish an operating centre. It contains no beds. It is composed of three technical ambulance vehicles, each with its specialty. The first is devoted to sterilization. A great boiler makes the steam necessary for the autoclave and the metal heating room in which the surgical dressings and instruments are sterilized. At the same time, it serves as a central heating plant for the hospital after this is installed. The second, devoted to X-ray work, contains the apparatus necessary for X-ray operations, and can be transformed into a darkroom. It also carries the adjustable panels of very light wood, which are used to divide off the two operating rooms. Finally, the third is the pharmacy vehicle, and contains also the dynamo to furnish electric power and light.

Thus equipped, the "auto-chir" can speed promptly to any designated spot where a great influx of wounded is expected. It establishes itself close to some building, where beds can be set up—a schoolhouse, a private dwelling, wooden barracks erected in advance—it matters not where. In eight hours it unpacks its equipment, installs its two operating rooms, gets its apparatus to working, and, behold! an emergency hospital has been created.

The Surgeons and Nurses

As for the wounded who are severely injured, they are sent as fast as possible from the nearest primary hospital just back of the front—sometimes even directly from the first-aid stations at the trenches. As soon as operated upon they are carried on litters into the building, in which beds have been prepared, and which is called the "nursing ambulance," for henceforth it attends to the wants of these wounded.

Then new orders arrive, and the rest of the wounded are sent to hospitals at the rear. The "auto-chir" loads up its apparatus again and goes elsewhere to set up a new hospital, still further toward the front, if possible, for it must follow the movements of the army.

The personnel of the "auto-chir" consists of four surgeons, four aids, an X-ray operator, a pharmacist, a directing officer, ten medical students, and twenty-five male nurses. To this masculine personnel a recent decision has added eight

feminine nurses, a great honor for them, and one eagerly sought, for it brings them nearer the front and gives them work in an operating room; besides, in order to assist the surgeon, or to administer chloroform in urgent cases, one must have experience, coolness, and well-tried nerves. Two automobiles are devoted to the transporting of all these men and women.

"*Auto-Chir No. X.*"

No. X. was sent about three months ago into a region which need not be designated more definitely than to say that the hospital has several times been bombarded by German airplanes. It is installed on the side of a hill at the edge of a pretty wood. It overlooks a valley through which runs a brook, and the opposite crest also is crowned with forest trees. The "auto-chir" is at the centre of the group of hospital barracks devoted to the wounded, and of other buildings for general service—the kitchen, laundry, wash house, and the like.

On the edge of the forest, with a general view over the hospital which it dominates, a barrack shelters the surgical and medical personnel, which is wholly under the authority of an eminent head physician who was long a professor at the Val de Grace before being called to conduct an "auto-chir" on the Somme, in Artois and at ——.

On the slope of the valley, not far from the entering road, a barrack has been built for the women nurses. This barrack is a long rectangle, divided in the middle by a rather large room. From that room two narrow corridors run to right and left, flanked on either side—I do not know whether to say by the cells or by the "boxes" of the nurses. Not a door. A simple curtain separates each box from the corridor. The furniture is of the simplest: a narrow bedstead, a tiny toilet table, a little chair, and that is all. Each nurse is free to ornament her walls as she pleases with personal souvenirs, photographs of dear ones, or little prints. Against the panels of the middle room are suspended a pointed helmet picked up at the front, and a few war engravings. The room itself, though it has but one occupant, is divided, at least as to its furniture, into two parts. On the left as you enter is a table covered with starched linen, around which are wooden chairs: it is the dining room. On the right are a second table—ornamented with a figured cover—and two little sofas: it is the parlor.

How the Nurses Live

In that barrack seventeen women or girls, some of them quite young, live in common, as in a convent, though the mother superior in this case is called the head nurse. It is in this central room that they assemble at mealtime, and that they rest a few moments in the evening after a hard day's work. They have to be at the hospital at 7:30 in the morning to take temperatures before the surgeon arrives, to help him with difficult dressings, and to dress minor wounds themselves.

Some are even assigned to the operating rooms. In the afternoon they have to entertain the wounded, sometimes stay by the pillow of a dying man, of find words of human tenderness for a wife or mother who is weeping at the deathbed of her husband or son. And I will merely mention the nights of emergency work and the arrivals of wounded in great numbers directly from the front, some of them still wearing the tourniquet that has temporarily stopped the flow of blood.

It is a hard life, but no one complains; and in the rare moments which they pass together after dinner, good humor, even French gayety, comes again to the surface. At the same time they are not ignorant of the evils that threaten. The metal helmet and the gas mask suspended in the room of each would suffice to recall them to mind. The evening that I visited these women there was a bright moon. "Do you think Fritz will come tonight?" asked one. The question puzzled me a little. They explained, laughing, that Fritz was the name given to the German aviator and bomb thrower whose acquaintance two or three of them had already made in another hospital. If—which may God forbid!—Fritz should fly over their ambulance they will not lose their heads, and, when he has gone, they will joke about him.

Sunday at a Hospital

I left "Auto-Chir No. X." one Sunday after attending mass in the barrack which serves as a chapel. Very little is the barrack and very modest the chapel, with its wooden benches, like those of a village school, and its extemporized altar, ornamented with only two candles. The choir consisted of three soldiers, who were priests as well as hospital attendants; the pharmacist played the organ, an old harmonium. It was a soldier, too, who chanted the mass. He was a rather large man, and his white aube, being too short, revealed the lower part of his sky-blue trousers as well as his leggings. The mass had ended and I was about to retire when the choir intoned the "De Profundis." It had not been a mass in black, so that nothing had presaged this psalm, to whose tragic beauty we have become somewhat insensible through familiarity. But this time it stirred me, coming thus unexpectedly to recall the pale phantom of death which hovers so constantly over the heads of all.

Death! It has its domain reserved very close to the chapel. It has been necessary to clear a corner of the forest to make a cemetery; but if they have cut down the underbrush they have respected the old trees, whose branches extend their shadows over the graves. Many already are the rows of little crosses, to each of which is hung a plaque giving the name and military unit to which he belonged, whose body now rests under a little earth. Some of these inscriptions are in Arabic —the men were Mohammedans—a touching emblem of the fraternity in death between Frenchmen by birth and Frenchmen by heart. The cemetery is already too small; soon it will be necessary to clear another corner of the forest, but I hope they will continue to respect the trees.

Knitting

By ELLA MORROW SOLLENBERGER

KNITTING and knitting;
Jacket and helmet,
Mittens and muffler;
Into the mesh of them
Thinking and thinking.

Monarchies crumbling,
Democracies shaking,
The blood of our manhood
Spilling and spilling.
Sorrow and sacrifice,
Fatherless children,
Desolate womanhood
Drudgingly living.

Wanton destruction
That centuries builded;
Nothing is sacred—
Killing and killing.
Passions unbridled,
Lust and despoiling,
What does it matter?
There is no tomorrow.

So little, so futile,
This work of our fingers,
Yet we keep knitting.
Jacket and helmet,
Mittens and muffler,
Into the mesh of them
Thinking and thinking.

[OFFICIAL]

Pan-Germans Forced the War

Utterances of Militarist Leaders Revealing the Deliberate Nature of the Attack

TWO professors of the University of Minnesota, Wallace Notestein and Elmer E. Stoll, have compiled for the United States Government a book entitled "Conquest and Kultur: Aims of the Germans in Their Own Words," which contains much that is new to the American public, and which as a whole forms an illuminating exhibit of the deliberate purpose with which the present war was precipitated by the Imperial German Government. Some of the passages were written several years before the war, others since its beginning. The most significant are here reproduced for the light they throw upon current history. The explanatory lines in small type are by the compilers. The publication was edited by Guy Stanton Ford of the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government; the quotations were derived by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from advance proof sheets, through special courtesy of the Committee on Public Information.

"During the year following the last Moroccan crisis, *the feeling has taken hold of practically the whole of the German Nation that a great European war is the only means by which we could hope to obtain free scope for the pursuit of our world policy.* General Friedrich von Bernhardi's book, 'Germany and the Next War,' has played a prominent part in voicing and, at the same time, in furthering that feeling. The literary qualities of this book as well as the high authority of its author, have attracted the attention of wide circles far beyond the German frontiers."

Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg, 1913, p. 1. In various issues of the Alldeutsche Blätter this anonymous work is attributed to some one standing close to Bethmann Hollweg. Its pacific spirit makes its testimony all the more significant.

"*Let it be the task, then, of our diplomacy so to shuffle the cards that we may be attacked by France,* for then there would be reasonable prospect that Russia for a time would remain neutral. * * * We must not hope to bring about this attack by waiting passively. Neither France nor Russia nor England need to attack in order to further their interests. So long as we shrink from attack, they can force us to submit to their will by diplomacy, as the upshot of the Moroccan negotiation shows.

"If we wish to bring about an attack by our opponents *we must initiate an active policy, which, without attacking France, will so prejudice her interests or those of England that both those States would feel themselves compelled to attack us.* Opportunities for such procedure are offered both in Africa and in Europe."

Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War, (1911,) trans., 1914, pp. 278-279.

Fomenting the War Spirit

The following is the testimony of Otfried Nippold, until recently Professor of Church History at Jena. On his return from a residence of several years in Japan he was shocked to observe the extraordinary growth of jingoism in Germany. He gathered in most careful fashion a collection of statements advocating war and conquest made in the years 1912-1913 by prominent men, by well-known associations, and by leading newspapers. At the end of his book of more than a hundred pages this German scholar made the following judicious statement of the situation:

"The evidence submitted in this book amounts to an irrefutable proof that *a systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on,* based on the one hand on the Pan-German League, and on the other on the agitation of the Defense Association, (Wehrverein.) One cannot but feel deep regret in observing the fact that in Ger-

many, as well as in other countries, ill-feeling against other States and nations is being stirred up so unjustifiably and that people are being so unscrupulously incited to war. * * *

"One of the principal arguments which are at present used in order to hypnotize the masses is the analogy of the year 1813. Attempts are made to manufacture a similarity between 1813 and 1913 which is not in any way warranted by facts. Whereas, a hundred years ago, the German people were compelled to fight for their most sacred possessions, today there is no reason whatever for a war, unless it be the wish of the army to give once more practical proof of its efficiency. But it is, of course, not possible to take that reason seriously. There is no real issue today anywhere between Germany and the powers of the Triple Entente which could be said to make war unavoidable. But that is exactly where the tragedy comes in for those who are inciting the people to war, and here we also find an explanation for the increased agitation in which they are at present engaged—I mean in the fact that they cannot show any real point of conflict based on the actual state of international politics.

"As a matter of fact, *if Germany is in any danger today, it comes from within rather than from without.* The Balkan war, it is true, seemed at last to provide those who are in favor of war with the longed-for opportunity to strike. But now they are all the more disappointed that even this opportunity, which seemed to promise the last great issue in European politics, has apparently passed by in peace. And in the absence of any real causes of war, of any natural sources of political antagonism against the other States of Europe, they now find themselves compelled to create artificial causes. But this can only be done by manufacturing excitement among the population, by stirring up nationalistic feeling, and by the systematic cultivation of a warlike spirit—tasks which are being sedulously attended to by our war-loving Generals in the Pan-German League, the Defense Association, (Wehrverein,) and similar organizations."

Otfried Nippold, Der deutsche Chauvinismus, 1913, p. 113, et seq.

The Kaiser Won for War

"In the end a continual dropping will wear out a stone. It is interesting to observe the gradual change in the Emperor's views during the last three years, from 1911 to 1914. In 1910 the Emperor William could still discuss with the French Minister Pichon the idea of a union of all civilized States and express his approval of the idea. In the previous year, in 1909, speaking at Cuxhaven, he emphasized that peace was needed in equal measure by all civilized nations 'to enable them to discharge undisturbed the great tasks of culture involved in their economic and commercial development.' In 1911 he emphasized, in a speech delivered in Hamburg, that economic competition between nations could not be fought out by one party striking at the other, but only by each nation straining its capacity to the highest point. On New Year's Day, 1911, in an address to the diplomatists, he still eulogized the peaceful understanding existing between the nations, which was more in accordance with their interest than the conduct of dangerous wars. But in his speech at Hamburg on June 18, 1912, a different note is already sounded: 'Not inconsiderately must we raise the standard where we are not sure that we shall be able to defend it.'

"This speech was delivered six months after the Morocco convention, and any one who can read between the lines may already detect the influence which the criticism of the Emperor's peaceful policy had begun to exercise on the thoughts of the Emperor; *he no longer rejects war under all circumstances*, but if war must come, it is to be, according to the saying of Clausewitz, a continuation of policy by other means—that is, of course, on the assumption that the standard can be defended; in other words, that we are stronger than the other side. In the next year, at the boisterous banquets in commemoration of the war of liberation of 1813, this military note more and more suppressed the notes of peace. *An intoxication appeared to have seized the whole of Germany*, a new intoxication of

freedom, from what bondage no one knew. This drunkenness was artificially produced by the fiery beverages which an unscrupulous patriotic press had for many a year and day poured out to the German nation. Even those occupying the highest positions were unable to escape this condition of intoxication. A true epidemic of patriotism broke out, setting high and low, young and old, in a fever of ecstasy."

J'Accuse! by a German, 1915, pp. 136-37.

"The Day" Dawns

"The fateful day draws near. * * * And even if the twilight of the gods be upon us, let it come in furious battle rather than in lingering sickliness."

Graf du Moulin-Eckart, speech at Stuttgart meeting of the Pan-German League, Alldeutsche Blätter, April 25, 1914.

"*We maintain, today more than ever, that Germany and Austria-Hungary, even with the most honorable desire for peace, cannot avoid war with their eastern and western neighbors; that a frightful, decisive struggle will be forced upon them.* * * * Whoever willfully seeks to hide the fateful gravity of a future not far away because he fears the effect on the situation of the moment commits an unspeakable crime against the German Nation and becomes guilty of high treason."

Alldeutsche Blätter, March 14, 1914. These words in large letters were part of the leading editorial.

"*Now, people of Germany, ye shall be masters of Europe.*" (Nun deutsches Volk wirst du Europa's Meister.)

The German poet, Hermann Stehr, in the first number of the Neue Rundschau after the war broke out, 1914, p. 1186.

"It [the prospect of war] is entertained without emotion. *The profits are calculated—the annihilation of France, an indemnity of war amounting to twenty-five milliards because it is remembered that last time you paid up too easily—and then we shall rub our hands.* You smile! That is because you don't know what Germany is today. It is a nation of shopkeepers; love of gain is its ruling passion; to earn money, get rich quickly, is its one ideal."

Herr Kerr, in an interview with Georges Bourdon. The German Enigma, 1914, p. 166. Kerr is a German, editor of the review, Pan. Bourdon, a Frenchman, visited Germany in 1912 to learn from prominent Germans their views of Franco-German relations.

Surbordination of France

"Whatever Providence may hold in reserve for Germany it is on France that will fall the task of paying the costs, but in another measure than forty-four years ago. It will be no paltry five billions they will have to pay to ransom themselves, but perhaps thirty. *The Holy Mother of God at Lourdes will have much to do if she undertakes, even through miracles, the task of healing all the bones that our soldiers will break in the bodies of the unfortunate inhabitants on the other side of the Vosges.* Poor France! There is yet time for her to change her plans, but in a few hours it will be too late. Then France will receive blows that will be remembered for many generations."

National-Zeitung, July 31, 1914. Quoted by Dampierre, L'Allemagne et le droit de gens, 1915, p. 105.

"*For the sake of our own existence we must ruthlessly weaken her* [France] *both politically and economically, and must improve our military and strategical position with regard to her.* For this purpose, in our opinion, it is necessary radically to improve our whole western front, from Belfort to the coast. Part of the North French Channel coast we must acquire, if possible, in order to be strategically safer as regards England and to secure better access to the ocean.

"Special measures must be taken to keep the German Empire from suffering internally in any way owing to this enlargement of its frontier and addition to its territory. In order not to have conditions such as those in Alsace-Lorraine, *the most important business undertakings and estates must be transferred from anti-German ownership to German hands, France taking over and compensating the former owners.* Such portion of the population as is taken over by us must be allowed absolutely no influence in the empire.

"*Furthermore, it is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity*

(*of which more hereafter*) *upon France, and probably on her rather than on any other of our enemies,* however terrible the financial losses she may have already suffered owing to her own folly and British self-seeking. We must also not forget that she has comparatively large colonial possessions, and that, should circumstances arise, England could hold on to these with impunity if we do not help ourselves to them."

Confidential petition of the German Professors and other Intellectuals, (June 20, 1915,) [G., p. 134.] Among the signatories are Friedrich Meinecke, Professor of History, Berlin; Hermann Oncken, Professor of History, Heidelberg; Herr von Reichenau, retired diplomat; Herr von Schwerin, Regierungs-präsident, of Frankfurt-on-Main, and Dietrich Shäfer, Professor of History, Berlin.

The Annexation Propaganda

"*If we win, (as is our hope and trust,) we must utterly destroy the power of England, our most formidable foe; we must take from her her colonies and her fleet. We might take the French fleet, too, and also make France bear the cost of the war. The Belgian King could be removed, and Belgium could be joined to Germany as an integral part of the empire.*"

Dr. Oppenheimer of Düsseldorf in Monistisches Jahrhundert, December, 1914, [G., p. 256.]

"Do not let us forget the civilizing task which the decrees of Providence have assigned to us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the West. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt, we proclaim from henceforth that our Continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. *Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which neighbor on Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally Northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire.* This program we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no utopia. We have ready to hand the means of founding it, and no coalition in the world can stop us."

Bronsart von Schellendorf, quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in The War, Its Causes, and Issues, 1914, p. 16.

"We must also secure ourselves for the future. New sacrifices require new compensations, new demands. A sufficient war indemnity is necessary to guard against the dangers of the future, and also for the resumption of economic competition. *If our enemies are really not able to pay an indemnity, for what purpose, then, have we territory of economic value in our hands conquered with our blood?* Courland and Livonia offer ground for colonization. With them we can also protect the interests of the Baltic population. At Briey and Longwy* we find coal and iron ore. The harbor of Antwerp we cannot do without; if we possess this, the individuality of the Flemish population can also be protected."

Count von Westarp, leader of the Conservative Party, in the Reichstag, Feb. 27, 1917, quoted in the London Times, March 1, 1917.

"The extent of our claims cannot be discussed here, but, in any case, we might well consider the idea that our enemies should pay us annually for a series of years from $1,250,000,000 to $1,500,000,000, and that they should pay it in the first years, while they also will be short of money, in raw materials, which would render us good service in the restoration of our economic system. In the later years they would pay in gold for the redemption of our debt."

Kölnische Zeitung, quoted in The London Times, March 3, 1917.

"It is absolutely necessary that Germany claim the occupation of the Belgian coast as a German naval base. It is equally necessary that it claim the occupation of Baltic provinces inhabited by Germans, and it is equally necessary to obtain a rectification of the French frontiers, in claiming for Germany the occupation of the mining districts."

Speech of Deputy Roesicke (Conservative) in the Reichstag, May 15, 1917.

*Centres of the coal region of Northern France.

quoted by the Journal des Débats, May 17, 1917.

"There lies in my house a memorandum composed by me for myself alone, which deals more precisely and exhaustively with the future of Belgium and arrives at the definite result that, if we do not get Belgium into our sphere of power, and if we do not govern it in German fashion and use it in German fashion, the war is lost."

Von Bissing, Governor General of Belgium, in a letter to Deputy Stresemann, Hamburger Nachrichten, quoted in The London Times, June 3, 1917. This and the following extract, published after von Bissing's death, are part of what has been called his "political testament." See also articles by Vernon Kellogg in the Atlantic Monthly, August and October, 1917.

"Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it must take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And anybody who has traveled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France, will agree with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or of the re-establishment of French industry."

Deputy Beumer in the Prussian Diet, week of Feb. 20-27. London Times, Feb. 27, 1917. Than the above passage there is nothing more cynical and cruel in this compilation. For the utter desolation which the Germans have wrought in the occupied territory there is here revealed a deeper motive.

"The annexationists cry in chorus that the majority of the people is not behind the Reichstag, and impudently affirm that the people are enthusiastic for their aims of conquest. This is laughable, but the German political system prevents the governors from coming in contact with the governed and from learning their real opinion."

Dr. David, in Vorwärts, Sept. 2, 1917. This closing passage strikes a hopeful note. The problem of the German people is to bring their governors into contact with real opinion within and without Germany.

Pan-Germanism and America

"Operations against the United States of North America must be entirely different. With that country, in particular, political friction, manifest in commercial aims, has not been lacking in recent years, and has until now been removed chiefly through acquiescence on our part. However, as this submission has its limit, the question arises as to what means we can develop to carry out our purpose with force in order to combat the encroachments of the United States upon our interests. Our main factor is our fleet. * * * It is evident, then, that a naval war against the United States cannot be carried on with success without at the same time inaugurating action on land. * * * It is almost a certainty, however, that a victorious assault on the Atlantic Coast, tying up the importing and exporting business of the whole country, would bring about such an annoying situation that the Government would be willing to treat for peace.

"If the German invading force were equipped and ready for transporting the moment the battle fleet is dispatched, under average conditions, these corps can begin operations on American soil within at least four weeks. * * * The United States at this time [1901] is not in a position to oppose our troops with any army of equal rank. * * *

"The fact that one or two of her provinces are occupied by the invaders would not alone move the Americans to sue for peace. To accomplish this end the invaders would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country through the successful seizure of many of the Atlantic seaports in which the threads of the entire wealth of the nation meet. It should be so managed that a line of land operations would be in close juncture with the fleet, through which

we would be in a position to seize in a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all Governmental affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and lastly, to *impose heavy indemnities.* * * *

"As a matter of fact, *Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States.*"

Freiherr von Edelsheim, Operations upon the Sea, trans. 1914, pp. 86-92. Edelsheim was a Second Lieutenant in the service of the German General Staff in 1901, when he wrote these words. They are not official, but the opinions of a military man and nobleman.

Kaiser and Monroe Doctrine

"The German Empire has become a world empire. Everywhere in distant quarters of the earth thousands of our countrymen are living. German guardians of the sea, German science, German industry, are going across the sea. The value of what Germany has upon the sea amounts to thousands of millions. It is your earnest duty, gentlemen, to help bind this greater German Empire firmly to our ancestral home. * * * It is my wish that, standing in closest union, you help me to do my duty not only to my countrymen in a narrower sense, but also to the many thousands of countrymen in foreign lands. This means that I may be able to protect them if I must.

Kaiser's speech, June 16, 1896. Gauss, 102. This is one of the Kaiser's most pointed and significant utterances. The protection of German citizens in South America could only mean interference in the affairs of South American nations, and if they refused such interference it was likely to mean such ultimatums as Austria sent Serbia. Such a statement was a threat against the Monroe Doctrine and was likely to involve the United States.

"The Germanization of America has gone ahead too far to be interrupted. Whoever talks of the danger of the Americanization of the Germans now here is not well informed or cherishes a false conception of our relations. * * * *In a hundred years the American people will be conquered by the victorious German spirit, so that it will present an enormous German Empire. Whoever does not believe this lacks confidence in the strength of the German spirit.*"

Letter of a New York German, Robert Thiem, to the Alldeutsche Blätter, Sept. 20, 1902. The Alldeutsche Blätter thinks the author rather optimistic. Germans differ as to the outcome in America, says this Pan-German organ. Some are very pessimistic. The Alldeutsche Blätter thinks that the great hope is for Germans in America to retain their language.

Germanizing America

"It is, therefore, the duty of everyone who loves languages to see that *the future language spoken in America shall be German.* It is of the highest importance to keep up the German language in America, to establish German universities, improve the schools, introduce German newspapers, and to see that at American universities German professors are more capable than their English-speaking colleagues, and make their influence felt unmistakably on thought, science, art, and literature. If Germans bear this in mind, and help accordingly, the goal will eventually be reached. *At the present moment the centre of German intellectual activity is in Germany; in the remote future it will be in America.* The Germans there are the pioneers of a greater German culture, which we may regard as ours in the future. He advises the Germans to compose themselves into an aristocracy of talent, which is the most effective way nowadays to obtain political power. Germans only need to grasp the situation and the future is theirs. Let them show that they mean to maintain Deutschtum, and then emigration may be directed to America with impunity."

Hübbe-Schleiden, in the Pan German Central Organ, January, 1903. [Summarized in P. G. D., pp. 319-321.] Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden is a traveler, student, and writer on German colonization.

"From all this it appears that *the Monroe Doctrine* cannot be justified. * * * So it remains only what we Europeans have described as an aspiration. And so *it remains only what we Europeans almost universally consider it, an impertinence.* With a noisy cry they try to make an impression on the world and succeed, especially with the stupid.

The inviolability of the American soil is invoked without there being at hand the slightest means of warding off the attack of a respectable European power."

Johannes Vollert, Alldeutsche Blätter, Jan. 17, 1903.

The Mission of Kultur

"While Englishmen and Yankees are everywhere disliked on account of their sharp and reserved manner, the French were, until the seventies, the unrivaled leaders and patterns of these peoples—the South Americans—in their progress toward a higher culture; but now, through their want of numbers and through their swift decline into universal corruption, they have forfeited much of their leadership. Would that the Germans might be called through their talents and activities to be the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples. * * *

"The Germans seem marked by their talents and by their achievements to be the teachers and the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples, [the Spanish and Portuguese Americans.]

"If the Germans do not accomplish this mission, then, sooner or later, in consequence of political or financial bankruptcy, the nations of Spanish and Portuguese America will come under the domination and exploitation of the United States. * * *"

J. Unold, Das Deutschtum in Chile, 1899, pp. 62-65. Johannes Unold is professor in the Handelshochschule at Munich and is a zealous Pan-German.

"*Not only North America but the whole of America must become a bulwark of Germanic Kultur, perhaps the strongest fortress of the Germanic races.* That is every one's hope who has freed himself from his own local European pride and who places the race feeling above his love for home. Also South America must and can easily become a habitation for German or Germanoid races!

"The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants being driven into reservations or at best to Africa, [Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt.] * * *

"A free South America for those of Germanic blood, that, too, is a sublime end, which will be attained by war, not, perhaps, by the conquest of the land by North American or by European troops, but through the colonizing efforts and self-assertion of the South American Germans."

Klaus Wagner, Krieg, 1906, pp. 165-166.

Seizure of Brazil

"The German settlements in South Brazil and Uruguay are the only ray of light in this dismal picture of South American civilization. Here dwell 500,000 Germans, and it is to be hoped that in a reorganization of South American conditions after the peoples of Latin and Indian mixture are quite ruined by bad management, the immense plains of the Platte, with the coast in the west, the east, and the south, will fall into the hands of the German people. * * * *It is truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing the country.* Think of half a million Germans in a temperate climate in a country of 10,500,000 square miles; that is to say, nine times the size of Germany. All that is enough of itself. False modesty has no place in a struggle for world empire." [And he proceeds to argue that England would not have been so falsely modest.]

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland; die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, pp. 228-229.

"After this war we shall have to reckon on a loss of influence in the States of Central and South America; first, because of the lessened purchasing power of those countries, and, secondly, because of the increased Pan-American ambitions of the United States; and we shall have a claim by right of victory and by considerations of justice for damages at the expense of England and the United States."

Professor Hermann Schumacher, Meistbegünstigung und Zollunterscheidung, 1915, pp. 43-45. [G., p. 346.]

Planned Long in Advance

"At the close of the Spanish-American war, I was returning on the Santee—I think it was—from Santiago, Cuba, to

Montauk Point. * * * On board there was a Military Attaché from Germany, Count von Goetzen, a personal friend of the Kaiser. There was also an attaché from some South American country, possibly Argentina.

"Apropos of a discussion between Count von Goetzen and myself on the friction between Admiral Dewey and the German Admiral at Manila, von Goetzen said to me: 'I will tell you something which you better make note of. I am not afraid to tell you this because, if you do speak of it, no one would believe you and everybody will laugh at you.

"'*About fifteen years from now my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. Everything will move like clockwork. We will be prepared and others will not be prepared. I speak of this because of the connection which it will have with your own country.*

"'*Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York and probably Washington and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we want to. I have no hostility toward your country. I like it, but we have to go our own way. Don't forget this, and about fifteen years from now remember it and it will interest you.*"

Statement of Major N. A. Bailey to Dr. W. T. Hornaday, given in a letter from Dr. Hornaday in New York Tribune, Aug. 11, 1915.

"The Emperor was standing; so naturally I stood also; and, according to his habit, which is quite Rooseveltian, he stood very close to me, and talked very earnestly. * * * He showed, however, great bitterness against the United States and repeatedly said, '*America had better look out after this war*'; and '*I shall stand no nonsense from America after the war.*' * * * I was so fearful in reporting the dangerous part of this interview, on account of the many spies not only in my own embassy but also in the State Department, that I sent but a very few words in a roundabout way by courier direct to the President."

James W. Gerard, My Four Years in Germany, 1917, pp. 251-253.

Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador to Berlin, is here summarizing an interview with the Kaiser on Oct. 22, 1915.

Development of the Allied Blockade

A Historical Summary

M. Saint-Brice, a French publicist, wrote this pithy historical sketch of the allied blockade for the information of the French armies. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *from the official bulletin of the French Government.*

ENGLAND and France decided on Oct. 18, 1917, to place an embargo on commerce destined for the neutral kingdoms of Northern Europe—in other words, to forbid all exports except those specially authorized. A similar step had been taken by President Wilson on July 9 with regard to all neutrals. That was a decisive date in the evolution of the economic war.

Many persons imagine that the infinitely complex mechanism intended to strangle our enemies was invented at a single stroke and that it remains, with the perfection of a few details, practically the same as it was in the beginning. On the contrary, few instruments of war have been transformed more radically or by a more continuous progression than the affair of wheels within wheels which we call, for lack of a better name, the blockade. The blockade

of 1917 no more resembles that of 1914 than the battle of Flanders resembles the battle of the Marne. In the one realm, as in the other, the Allies have been wise enough to profit from the teachings of half successes and even of reverses.

At first the lists of contraband articles were lengthened. Remember that in the beginning these lists neglected articles as interesting as rubber, lubricating oil, and fodder. I will merely mention cotton, which waited nearly two years for the order forbidding its export—out of consideration for American interests. Direct shipments to Germany were stopped promptly enough. On the other hand, exportations out of Germany, bolstering her credit and increasing her war fund, might have continued freely for a long time if she had not committed the imprudence of tearing international law to shreds and proclaiming ruthless submarine war in British waters, (Feb. 3, 1915.) The Allies replied on March 1, 1915, by interdicting all traffic either going to or coming from the enemy countries.

No More Conditional Contraband

Finally, on July 7, 1916, France and England formally freed themselves from the provisions of the London Convention, which had arranged for lists of absolute and conditional contraband, and had even sought to free a certain number of articles entirely from war risks. Thenceforth, it was admitted that all trade would be held under suspicion, except when proofs of its innocence were forthcoming. Thus the burden of proof was reversed. Until then it was up to the captor to establish the validity of the seizure by proving the enemy destination of the cargo. Since July 7, 1916, it is the seized cargo that has to establish its innocence as to destination.

As to putting a stop to enemy trading by firms in belligerent countries, it was thought at first that a few simple measures would be sufficient, such as prohibiting the departure of goods from port and laying heavy penalties on suspected traffic. Soon it was realized that even this aspect of the problem was not simple. The idea of nationality varies enormously in the laws of different nations. Strange as it may seem, the English law did not permit Germans and Austrians in neutral countries to be treated as enemies. To this was added the incredible confusion of interests in great international enterprises. The Allies found themselves compelled on Feb. 25, 1916, to resort to blacklists formally proscribing houses connected more or less closely with the enemy.

Neutrals a Difficult Problem

It remained to hinder supplies from reaching the enemy through neutrals. That was the stumbling block. It was difficult to stop the transit of shipments often seemingly honest; still more difficult was it to keep non-belligerents from furnishing the products of their soil and industry impartially to both sides.

For indirect commerce the Allies still had one means of action, since they controlled the ways of access. Besides, they possessed a basis of computation in the statistics of before-the-war trade. Thus they could, almost mathematically, fix the necessary allowance of each commodity for each neutral country, as based on production and imports. But all this was purely theoretical. Practically, nothing is more unreliable than figures. It would have been necessary to know the existing stocks of each commodity, and the changes of demand caused by the war. Let us not forget the consideration which the western powers tried to show, as far as possible, toward trusted nations, up to the time when German methods compelled them to push things to extremes.

Very rapidly the principles of the solution took shape. In November, 1914, there was organized in Holland the Netherlands Oversea Trust, a group destined to become a permanent intermediary between Dutch commerce and the blockade authorities. In October, 1915, the Swiss Surveillance Society was established on similar lines. In Norway and Denmark another system was followed, that of private agreements with commercial houses. Sweden alone resisted all arrangements. The basis of the agreement in every case was to fix upon the amount of contingent importations

and to obtain guarantees against re-exportation. On the latter point the results have been most satisfactory. Errors in statistics have been more frequent.

Germany's War Trade Methods

When all is said, the machine would have been very effective if the neutral countries had not disposed freely of their own products. The word freely is, perhaps, out of place when one knows the war methods used by Germany to impose her will upon her smaller neighbors. Her principal argument is not force of arms. Our enemies, who alone are in position to furnish the neutrals with certain essential articles—such as coal and iron—did not have to resort to that method of blackmail. The world knows the methods used by Berlin to compel Switzerland to furnish supplies of cattle and metals in return for bank credits. Holland has found her potatoes and fish in a sense requisitioned; Denmark her farm products. To combat this intensive drain the Allies long were without other resource than that of competition. To buy up all the supplies in neutral markets is expensive. It is a burdensome method and one that cannot always be pushed to its logical end.

There is only one way to stop this enemy traffic, and that is to place the neutrals face to face with a situation in which they will no longer be able to pass along their own products—to kill speculation with want. All the small neutral States are dependent upon foreign trade; their food supply, therefore, depends upon the masters of the sea. But it depends still more upon the United States, the only great country outside of Europe committed to the arbitrament of arms. That is why the American flag was almost like an enemy flag as long as the great transatlantic Republic remained in the neutral camp. From the day America entered the war it became wholly one of the Allies. The Americans, with their business lucidity and the light of two years' experience, perceived the gap in the blockade. That is why President Wilson did not rest until he had all exports under his control. Henceforth the neutrals will have their food imports strictly controlled. They will receive only what is truly required for their needs after their stocks have been greatly reduced and after they have proved the exhaustion of their resources. Under these conditions it becomes practically impossible for them to share their supplies with their neighbors.

Great Britain and Neutrals

Lord Robert Cecil, British Minister of Blockade, wrote a letter on Oct. 30, 1917, to Professor Birck of Copenhagen, in which he gave the following summary of Great Britain's blockade policy toward Denmark and other neutrals:

Until the United States entered the war, the powers of the Entente Governments with regard to Danish trade were those of belligerents, relying principally on their belligerent rights for exercising economic pressure on our enemies. As belligerents we have the right to stop and put into the prize court any goods which we had reason to believe were going to our enemies. Broadly speaking, the limit of our rights was drawn up for us by the law which our prize court administered. Anything which we had reasonable grounds for thinking was liable to condemnation by our prize court we could stop, and beyond that we could do nothing, except by agreement or in excess of our legal rights.

The British Government have throughout the war shown themselves anxious not to exceed their belligerent rights in dealing with neutral nations, and I am myself satisfied that that policy was not only right but eminently justified by its results all over the world. There remains the possibility of making agreements whereby imports from Denmark into Germany should be limited, and we did our best to enter into understandings or agreements of that nature; but our powers in that respect were much more limited than they are now that the United States have become co-belligerents, for a large part of the most necessary imports into Denmark comes from the United States. So long as America was neutral she naturally put no restraint on her trade with Denmark. Now that

she is a belligerent, she is entitled to make any condition that seems good to her as a price for continuing that trade, and the allied Governments are equally entitled to take similar action. * * *

Our action in this matter is not dictated by any desire to injure Denmark. There has always been a traditional friendship between England and Denmark, and it may be that if we had stood by Denmark in 1863-4 we should not now be faced with this devastating war, originated by German militarism. In my judgment, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case—the geographical position of Denmark and its military strength; the fact that Denmark, unlike some other neutrals, has always maintained a considerable export of foodstuffs with this country; and the fact that, as far as I know, the assurances given to the British Government by the Danish authorities have been substantially carried out—Great Britain has no ground for changing its traditional policy with regard to Denmark. That policy I most earnestly desire to maintain, and I confidently hope that the Danish Government will second our endeavors.

Exports to Sweden Reduced to Nil

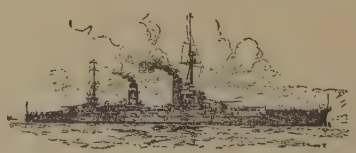
The effect of the United States embargo on exports to the neutral nations of Europe was strikingly shown in the New York Custom House figures for October, 1917. Not a single dollar's worth of merchandise of any kind was credited in the report as having been shipped to Sweden, whereas for the corresponding month of 1916 that country had shipped $3,951,168 worth of goods through New York.

Denmark was also hit hard by the embargo, as October saw only $10,073 worth of foodstuffs and manufactures sent out of the port. This compared with $2,338,599 in October, 1916, and $1,250,566 in September, 1917. Heavy pressure was put on Norway, as the October shipments were returned at $477,-521, against $1,722,000 in September, and $3,457,935 in October one year ago, when no restrictions were imposed on Scandinavian buying.

In contrast to this was the showing made by the Netherlands. That country in October was allowed to ship supplies of many kinds valued at $5,477,082, closely approximating similar exports in October, 1916, when their value was returned at $5,540,160. Shipments to Switzerland in October reached a value of $1,633,099, against $471,860 in the same month last year. Spain, the remaining European neutral, fared better than in preceding months, as the October exports aggregated $4,171,665, against $3,014,290 in September last, and only $2,512,547 in October, 1916.

Exports of munitions and foodstuffs to the Entente countries in October were in every case below those of the month preceding, and in the cases of England and France lower than twelve months before. The October exports to these were: England, $46,513,494; France, $54,760,734; Russia, $21,187,669, and Italy, $15,044,480.

Exports to North America, Asia, and Africa were lower than in September, while shipments to South America and Oceania, including the Philippines, gained.



Privations Endured in Enemy Countries

Swedish Traveler's Account of Conditions Among German People—Food Scarcity in Austria

A SWEDISH LADY, who had just returned from an extensive tour in Germany, published her observations in the Dagens Nyheter of Stockholm early in November, 1917. Her narrative gives some details not previously published.

After exciting adventures at the frontier station, where she was more than once arrested as a spy, and where afterward her luggage was minutely examined and fresh wrapping paper was provided for her parcels and charged for, the lady was allowed to proceed by train. In the train she met a young soldier, who was going home on sick leave until Christmas, when he hoped peace would be declared. His description of the life of the men at the front was fearful. They were starved and frozen, he said, and often they had to build walls of the dead bodies of their fallen comrades to protect them from the enemy's fire. He was utterly despondent, and on being given some bread wept, saying that his mother would not have died if such bread could have been got for her.

In one town which she visited the lady called on a family who invited her to take coffee with them. She asked where they got the coffee from, and they said from a Dutch smuggler, who is now a millionaire, and has bought a castle belonging to one of the late King Leopold's associates. She found families living in houses that were like besieged fortresses, with all the rooms, from garret to cellar, full of all sorts of provisions stored up in secrecy. The condition of the poor, however, baffles description. They are literally starving. Beer is not of the same quality as of old, but it is drunk in immense quantities by those who can afford it. The railway regulations are exceedingly stringent. If a train stops at any particular place for more than four hours the passengers are placed under arrest and closely questioned. Fares have been doubled, but, in spite of this, the trains are so crowded that many travel on the roofs of the carriages. Female guards are now numerous. The lady was invited to a field hospital, but the scene there was so horrible that she refrains from describing it.

Conditions in Berlin

In Berlin she put up at a hotel in Unter den Linden. Here she had an opportunity of witnessing organized starvation with all its horrors. The poor were in rags and could hardly stand on their feet from exhaustion. Starving children were to be seen begging everywhere. Outside the shops there were long queues of people hundreds deep. Often not more than ten people in a hundred succeeded in purchasing anything. For vegetables a maximum price was fixed, and consequently none were to be had. The only way to get food is to go to certain shops late at night and pay prohibited prices at the back door. Housewives without servants go out poorly clad to do their shopping in this way after nightfall. All linen goods in the hotels and restaurants are commandeered, and travellers are therefore subjected to serious inconvenience.

The commandeering of metals goes on briskly. Copper articles are no longer to be found in private houses. One day the lady was in a confectioner's shop when two policemen came in and unscrewed some brass trays on which cakes were displayed. The confectioner in a rage shouted, "Go across to the Prince in the castle yonder, and take the door-handles from his stable doors, which have twice as much copper in them as my trays, and leave me my things which I need for my business." The policemen took good care not to follow this advice because the Prince was a Captain of Hussars, although he had never been on

active service, and a man with sixty millions. The last of the church bells in the country have been taken to be melted down.

Gloom in All Homes

The general impression she got, says this Swedish woman, was surprising. A tourist in Germany just now would hardly notice in the streets and public places that he was in a belligerent country but for the many wounded men and soldiers who are to be seen. Many public houses have been closed, but those which remain open are quite crowded. But as soon as one steps over the threshold of people's homes a complete change is observable. It is like going into a dark abyss. This is not so surprising, as there is hardly a family that has not suffered the loss of some of its number, but equally serious are the effects of existing conditions among those at home. The rising generation is rapidly deteriorating. There is a general feeling of resignation, however, which was supported at that time by the hope that peace would be declared by Christmas, and also by the ignorance of the people of the strength and magnitude of the attack which the whole world, for well-known reasons, is making upon Germany.

Discontent, too, is suppressed. The military censor is implacable against anybody who ventures to raise his voice. The once mighty Labor Party, with its numerous unions and extensive organization, has been crushed into an inert mass. All motive power in politics rests with the bureaucracy, the militarists, and the Pan-German Chauvinists. The propaganda of all peace associations is strictly forbidden by the Governor of Berlin. A trip to Germany, the lady declares, is sufficient to show one that the war cannot end for a long time yet. It gives one the impression that any military successes achieved by the Allies will tend to strengthen the militarists in Germany and render activities of the In dependent Socialists in favor of peace still more difficult.

Dutch Workers at Essen

A Dutchman named Koene, who returned to Amsterdam from Krupps' works at Essen at the end of October, 1917, said that the Germans were putting forth every effort, and expected to win the war in six months from that time. He described the conditions there as very bad.

This man said that he was enticed to Germany by a firm at Rotterdam, who told him that there was plenty of work and good pay there. He was there eight weeks, having left with 168 Dutchmen, many of whom came from the Friesland and Groningen Provinces, and about sixty from Rotterdam and Schiedam. He was engaged as a casual laborer, and not for war work. On arriving at Elten, Germany, another agent met them and told him that the best pay was at Krupps, which, being a large and wealthy firm, could provide plenty of food and good wages. There were sufficient potatoes and beans, but no particle of fat. He was obliged to work eight hours daily continuously without Sunday rest at excessively hard toil. His health suffered and he lost twenty-four pounds' weight in seven weeks.

Krupps' main work are employed for the production of big guns, but they have sixty-eight wooden factories distributed over a wide area where shells are made. After working fourteen days he felt ill from fatigue, but the doctor said that there was nothing the matter with him and he must work, adding: "You are as strong as a bull. You must go on producing shells."

Darkness and Dirt

He was obliged to sleep in a barrack with 500 men. The conditions were filthy and highly insanitary, for no cleansing was ever done. When the employes left work they were unable to wash, as Essen is in total darkness as a precaution against air raids. German airmen were constantly above Essen, the people being told that these precautions were necessary. The employes suffer greatly from dysentery due to bad food, and from typhus. One night four men died close to where he was lying in the barrack.

He estimated that about 4,000 Dutchmen are employed at Krupps' alone.

Their condition is one of slavery. Many of them are ignorant people trapped into Germany and unable to obtain the necessary permit to leave. They are treated precisely as the deported Belgians, for whom Koene expressed the utmost commiseration, declaring that the Germans treated them brutally. The Belgians are unable to work in Belgium owing to German measures, and are threatened with never seeing their native country again if they make the slightest complaint while producing German munitions. Krupps' is not working at full capacity owing to deficiency of some material, which he suspected was copper, of which the works are very short. The Germans threatened that they would treat Holland as they had treated Belgium if she dared to go against Germany.

Early in December the Essen General Anzeiger contained an article urging German boys to join the Juvenile Corps, adding: "This great struggle between "the nations will necessitate those who "are now 16 and 17 being called up at "no very remote date for army service."

Vienna's Daily Bread Hunt

Robert C. Boesel, an American recently returned from Vienna, described some of the lighter aspects of war conditions in the Austrian capital in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 4:

"Except for those who take their meals in restaurants, the chase for food is the primary occupation of every person in Vienna. Some parents with only one child can't afford to let that child go to school. He or she is needed for standing in line at all hours of the day—first for milk, after that for bread, then for coffee and sugar, and, finally, for cigarettes or smoking tobacco, which may serve the father to get his mind off the child's failing health.

"A practical business man will interrupt an important sales conference to take a tip over the telephone on how he can get half a kilogram of butter. As soon as his partner gets wind of the new prospect he'll offer to exchange twenty-five cigars that he was able to get through a friend in the tobacco 'regie,' for half of the half-kilo. The prices of food articles are immaterial. The only way one can get things to eat is by exchange. I have seen some peculiar combinations, such as condensed milk for sole leather and a piece of paprika bacon for lump sugar.

"Shortly before leaving Vienna I was introduced to a wonderful new delicacy. The place where it was displayed was at a little family tea party, and yet it was not something to eat or drink. The name of the delicacy is dog soap, but its use is not for washing dogs. It is for washing lace handkerchiefs and silk blouses.

"Soap has been classified as a novelty in Vienna almost as long as white bread. Laundries stopped using it many months ago with resultant wear and tear on linens. So the housewife had to help herself out of a bad situation by her own wits. First, she made her own laundry soap in the kitchen from waste table fats. But soon there was no fat to eat—much less to waste. Contrary to some reports that have reached the United States, they have not yet begun to eat dogs in Vienna, but they do use the dog fat when it is to be had. My hostess had a veterinarian friend who, at her suggestion, saved the fat from dogs that could not withstand his operations, and she utilized it in the manufacture of a soap which, if it had no other merit, was at least a pure fat product. It was a smooth greenish white substance that did the work without leaving a trace of the dog at the bottom of it."

Conditions in Austria-Hungary

An Austrian officer of Slav nationality, who gave himself up to the Russians on the Rumanian front, described the darker side of Austria-Hungary's plight in a narrative which was issued as an official report of the Rumanian Government at Jassy, and made public through an allied legation at Washington on Dec. 3, 1917. The essential portions of the report are as follows:

"The harvest of this year has been much less plentiful than in previous years. In Istria, Dalmatia, and Bosnia the yield has been practically nil. There is a great scarcity of many necessaries

of life, and some are simply unobtainable.

"Clothes and footgear have reached fabulous prices; in fact, they are no longer to be bought, because the State requisitions everything in advance. Cards are issued for all articles, and tobacco is vanishing, though every soldier still gets his ounce and a half at the expense of the civilian, who has to go without. Coffee and tea are not to be had. A great financial crisis prevails throughout the land. In spite of all the military successes, the people are convinced that this war will be lost by the Central Powers, and therefore the whole population is crying for peace.

Rioters Seize Munitions

"It is interesting that the Rumanian and Serbian banknotes have greater value in exchange than the Austrian. During this last Summer great riots occurred in many places, and particularly in Hungary and Bohemia. In Budapest the rioters took posesssion of a munitions factory, and the revolt was not suppressed without the loss of some thousands killed and wounded.

"Every man from the age of 17 to 54 is taken for the army. Even those who have returned home as unfit on account of wounds have been taken to the army. There are many deserters from the front, as well as from those troops in the rear which are being trained. They have taken refuge in the mountains and become outlaws.

"With my own eyes I have seen the latest recruits for the Hungarian Army Youths and old men from the 102d Honved Regiment marched through Budapest with rifles without bolts, and at their side Bosnian Mussulman soldiers marching with fixed bayonets. A similar condition of things almost prevails at the front. If the Slavs are in the firing line the Hungarians form a reserve, and the general reserve is always composed of Germans, who are there to keep discipline by force.

Original Army Destroyed

"Austria-Hungary has lost in the combats with the Russians, Italians, Serbians, and Rumanians almost all her old army. In Russia alone there are more than two million prisoners and deserters. The Austro-Hungarian regiments are now reduced to two battalions, each battalion having four companies and eight machine guns. No company has a greater strength than 120 men. My regiment, after the offensive of General Brusiloff, was reduced to 120 men, and the other regiments did not come out of the fighting any better. Owing to their enormous losses, not only on the Russian but also on the Italian front, the Austrians have been compelled to fill up the gaps in the regiment five or six times, and my impression is that the Russians, if they chose to take the offensive, could break through whenever they like.

"In regard to the general condition of the country, great misery prevails; the inhabitants do not receive one-half the amount of the military rations. So it comes about that the entire population receives the intelligence of victories or defeats with complete indifference."

Gruesome German War Humor

An American college student who served in the Ambulance Corps for four months at the western front relates the following in the Yale Literary Magazine:

The morning following this, the section went into C——, which village had been abandoned that night by the boches. As we drove through the shattered town and past the Hôtel de Ville, a sight greeted our eyes which was worse than anything we had yet encountered. Stretched out on a number of planks that had been torn from the wall of a nearby house were three French poilus. Two long bayonets used as spikes pierced each man through the shoulders, while the hands and feet of each had been severed, interchanged, and tied in place. Underneath the poor fellows the boches had scrawled in black charcoal on a white board, "Stare and Wonder." We made photographs of the monstrous atrocity, threw the bodies in a corner to await burial, and proceeded to our task.

Austrian Atrocities in Serbia

A Policy of Extermination

SLAVIC Deputies in the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrat have repeatedly charged that the Government was deliberately pursuing a policy of annihilation in Serbia. In the Autumn of 1917 Dr. Tresic Pavicic, a Jugo-Slav Deputy, delivered a speech in the Vienna Parliament giving the most revolting details of the atrocities committed against Serbians. Its publication in the Austro-Hungarian press was forbidden, but a portion of it got into a Croatian paper, and from this it was translated and forwarded to England by Reuter's Agency, with indorsement as to its authenticity.

After referring to the fact that even before the war there was organized persecution and many Serbs were done to death, Dr. Pavicic said that since the war "the whole country has been filled with groans." The very young and aged died of destitution and hunger, while the vigorous, competent, and courageous had been arrested, falsely accused, thrown into prison, ruined, condemned, tortured, and executed. The Deputy declared that at Spalato he and others were herded together by hundreds with brigands of the worst type. He continued:

"At Rieka we were taken to the railway station in a torrential downpour of rain and crowded into the train with not an inch of dry clothing upon us. Then we were kept in the train three days and four nights, via Zagreb and Budapest, right away to Western Germany to Marburg, in filthy carriages, without bread, without sleep; exposed to the insults of the Magyar rabble, struck with the butt end of Magyar rifles, and furiously cursed by Magyar soldiers.

"During this hideous journey a great number of us lost our reason, and I saw with my own eyes one poor fellow hurl himself from our train under the wheels of another which passed us at full speed."

The fate of those shut up at Mostar, Doboj, and Arad was much more terrible, said Dr. Pavicic, who then proceeded to give the narratives of two survivors—one a publicist and the other a Deputy—as follows:

Story of Two Survivors

"At Mostar we were thrown into underground cells with robbers, brigands, and gypsies. There, on the foul soil, we were supposed to move, sleep, and eat. In this den the most terrible man was the jailer, Gaspar Scholier. Armed with a hooked baton of iron, which he called 'Kronprinz,' he visited his captives all too often, to strike them recklessly with his 'Kronprinz' on the head and shoulders. I do not repeat the bestial curses, the satanic shouts of this monster. Only with money could one calm for a moment the fury of this Cerberus.

"Among these unfortunates was Rinda Radulovitch, editor of the Nation, (Narod,) and the Orthodox priest Tichy, who died at Arad, in Hungary, as a result of all the tortures inflicted upon him by this ferocious beast, who literally tore his flesh from him with his iron baton. He would come among his victims at night and choose fresh subjects for torture. Those who wished to prolong this existence had to hold up their hands and show how many banknotes they were ready to pay. Hundreds died.

"At Doboj things were still worse. Along with Serbian and Montenegrin prisoners came crowds of civilians, old men, women, and children, driven from home—forced to travel in open cattle trucks. Hunger was found to be the simplest and cheapest means of sending these people to another world. Women with four or five children were given a soldier's loaf to last them five days. Often a mother would be already dead when her little one shook her to wake her to ask for bread. At first from fifteen to twenty of these persons died daily, but later there died on one day alone ninety-two. Trustworthy approximate figures show that more than 8,000

innocent victims met their death in this place.

Dug Their Own Graves

"General Potiorek, the autocrat of Bosnia, had ordered all the Serbians of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be removed from the frontier districts. The inhabitants of the village of Svice were all led away, young and old, and on arriving at Mount Rudo were compelled to dig their own graves and to lie down quietly, each in his own. Many women lay down in their graves with children at the breast. The soldiers then shot them one after another, the living putting earth over the dead until their turn came."

Dr. Pavicic related in detail a number of outrages, giving the names of victims, with dates and localities. These "interned" persons were shot with machine-guns, drowned in the Save, and burned alive bound to bundles of hay. But the more usual method was hanging. At Zubac were hanged, without trial, 82 persons; at Tebinjo, 103, of whom 39 were sent to death for the simple reason that they were notables; at Foca, 71; at Tuzla, 300. The whole Serbo-Montenegrin frontier was turned into a desert. It is said that General Potiorek himself signed with his own hand 500 death warrants.

Whole Districts Devastated

More recently another Deputy in the Austrian Reichsrat, Dr. V. Ribar, protesting against the systematic extermination of the Serbian population, said:

"Go to the Balkans and you shall see how the former flourishing towns and villages are now but smoldering ruins. From whole districts the military authorities have carried off women and old men and children just as did the Assyrians and Babylonians the conquered peoples of ancient times. From the vicinity of Nish alone the Bulgars have carried away 30,000 persons to the deserts of Asia Minor. It is a war of extermination of the Jugo-Slavs."

In the Hungarian Diet a similar protest has been made by M. Zoltan Vermes, who, referring to the barbarity of the Bulgarians and their crimes against the unfortunate population of Serbia, said:

"As commandant of a detachment, my duties called me to the mining village of Maidanpek, from which neighborhood is obtained the pyrites necessary for the manufacture of munitions. The monarchy needs some 120,000 tons of pyrites, of which quantity this mine alone produces 40,000 tons. Its regular working, therefore, is of capital importance to the monarchy. There are working in the mine 1,080 laborers, invalided soldiers and interned persons from the Serbian civilian population. But the mine is adjacent to the Bulgarian administrative territory, where the Bulgarians pursue with the cruelest severity bands of insurgent Serbs, whose relatives they systematically put to death. Thus at Maidanpek executions are the order of the day.

"Nobody troubles to bury the bodies of those who thus meet their fate. One after another, whole villages are cleared of the friends and relatives of these unhappy people. The Bulgarians round up the people and send them off, some to the Dobrudja, others to Asia Minor. In this way farms are left masterless and cattle to stray over the country, and even the richest villages fall into a state of utter wretchedness, so that the workmen in the mine are unable with any certainty to procure even the barest necessaries of life. Representations have been made without result to the Bulgarian Government.

Great Suffering in Nish

The Hague correspondent of The London Times gleaned the following from a traveler who had lived in Nish, Serbia, from the beginning of the war until the Autumn of 1917:

"The city is divided into German and Bulgarian sections, each nation being extremely jealous of its authority in its own section. The Germans took over the control of the railway and railway construction work, which was previously under Bulgarian authority. One day all the Serbian employes in the engine works were locked up in the big building by the Germans. About two hours later the workmen were released, and when they inquired as to the meaning of the proceedings, the Germans said that they

expected the Bulgarians to attempt to regain control by force.

"The greatest poverty prevails. The population of the town has been diminished by about 60 per cent. and is now estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000, mainly women and children. All the males capable of bearing arms, and even elderly men, have been removed, many of them being sent to Bulgaria to be employed in road making. The Serbians tell many harrowing tales of Bulgarian cruelty, declaring that it recalled the era of the Turks. Villages where Serbian bands had occasioned trouble were made to suffer severely.

"Children were taken from their homes and flogged in order to make them reveal the supposed hidden stores of arms and ammunition of their parents, who were suspected of complicity with these bands.

"The Bulgarians have stolen everything they could lay hand on. Serbian books, wherever found, have been burned. The present Burgomaster of Nish is a Bulgarian café keeeper of low class, who treats the people with insolence and with blows. One woman was so maltreated by him that she died the next day. The Serbians will not eat fish taken from the River Nishava. They believe it to be full of Serbian dead.

"Prices of all foods are prohibitive, a fair-sized pig costing $150 to $200. Fat is unobtainable. My informant was shown a fragment of bread made largely of maize and almost black. When purchased a loaf of this bread weighs about two pounds; when dry it weighs one pound. A pound of bread costs 40 cents, potatoes 25 to 40 cents. Until lately no petroleum was available, but this became more plentiful in August."

Barbarous Severity of a Court-Martial

THE cruelty of Austrian courts-martial, against which the people rebelled, forcing a general amnesty proclamation by Emperor Charles, is revealed in an article from the Wiener Arbeiterzeitung, (Vienna Workingman's Gazette,) which was reprinted in the Münchner Post of Aug. 18, 1917, and came to the American public through The Official Bulletin of the United States Government in its issue of Nov. 5. It tells how the reading of a Russian paper dropped in Austria from an airplane cost six lives and ninety-one years in jail sentences. The words in italics were printed in fullface type in the original:

"Aurelia Kolik, clerk, 21 years old, sent her uncle, Vladimir Kolik, a letter in September, 1914, and inclosed in this letter a copy of proclamations by the Czar and General Rennenkampf which had been dropped by a Russian airplane on the Austrian troops and which she had picked up from the floor of a hospital where she had been to visit a wounded soldier.

"The girl was condemned *to death* on account of this copy. The uncle copied the proclamation into his notebook and read it aloud one day to one Hlasdik, an employe, at a session of the Directors of the Land Loan Company of Brunn, and had him make a copy of it. For permitting this copy to be made Kolik was likewise *condemned to death.* The employe made three copies and passed them on to some of his acquaintances. He was *condemned to death* for this, and two of his friends, who had merely read the proclamation and had immediately burned the copies, were condemned to *five and three years in the penitentiary.* The third friend, Paral by name, loaned his copy to an office mate, Brezansky, who immediately made two copies.

Death for Lending His Copy

"Paral was *condemned to death* for lending his copy. Bruch, an employe of an insurance company, read the proclamations on this occasion. He was condemned to *three years in the penitentiary.* Brezansky gives one copy to a woman employe named Psota, the other to his friend Toman, a confectioner. Brezansky is condemned to *death.* Toman reads the papers through, and,

fearing harm, destroys them. He is condemned to *three years in the penitentiary.* The Psota woman reads the first proclamation aloud to her landlady, named Tichy, and expresses horror at it. After the Tichy woman understood the purport of the proclamation, she became excited at the insult to the Czechs contained in it and strongly urged the Psota woman to burn the copy. This she did in a candle flame after a short time. On the ground that she had undoubtedly contributed to the indignation against these proclamations, she was not condemned, although she had read the document. But the daughter of the Tichy woman, a minor, gave the copy to one Ocacek, a pupil in the Municipal School of Manual Training, who lived with them.

"What is the crime of the 17-year-old student? 'He made a copy and laid it on the table.' He was condemned to *eighteen months in the penitentiary.* With Ocacek was living Stochleba, a pupil of the Trades Academy, 18 years old. This 18-year-old student 'comes home and starts to do examples in arithmetic. He looks for paper and discovers the proclamations lying on the table.' He makes a copy and takes it to school with him and reads it aloud to the students there. As he could not be condemned to death even in the court of Dr. Konig, since he was under 20 years of age, he was condemned to *twelve years in the penitentiary.*

School Children Sentenced

"We are now in school, and there the 'treasonable undertakings' continue. *All the pupils* who had *listened* to the reading of the proclamations were accused and condemned. Pavlat, (17 years old,) Havranek, (17,) Cech, (17,) Novak, (17,) Ademec, (15,) Bajgar, (17,) Robunek, (15,) Huf, (17,) and Rohac, (17,) were *condemned to eighteen months in the penitentiary.* Nemac, (19,) Hruby, (16,) Sovcik, (17,) Domol, (17,) Koprt, (18,) Polisek, (16,) Boutr, (18,) Faiti, (17,) Jabornik, (16,) Kopriva, (17,) and Pittaner (16) were *condemned to one year in the penitentiary.* All the 15- to 18-year-old boys were sent to jail because they had listened to the proclamations and had not reported it. This one reading brought about twenty-four and a half years of penitentiary sentences.

"But the affair is still not at an end. One of the pupils in the trade school, Joseph Hudec, 16 years old, copied the proclamation stenographically as it was read by Stochleba, and thus obtained a 'copy.' He showed it to one of his friends, Beran, a pupil in the Second Manual Training School, and then destroyed his stenographic notes. They condemned this 16-year-old boy to *ten years in the penitentiary.* His friend, Wenzel Beran, likewise only 16 years old, was given a ten-year sentence. He showed the copy to a schoolmate, who read it and showed it to two others. The first of these three got ten years in the penitentiary, the two others a year each. The landlord of the first pupil, a tailor's apprentice, copied the text and showed it about in the workrooms. He was condemned to *death;* one apprentice got *three years in the penitentiary;* a second, who had showed it to his helper, was condemned to *death.* The tailor, Divisch by name, put the piece of paper in his pocket without knowing that the proclamation was on it. With him the affair seems to have become known. 'The police here became active and traced in the reverse direction the path of the proclamations.' And so the copy which Aurelia Kolik sent her uncle *became the cause of the condemning of thirty-nine persons.* And so six death sentences and sentences aggregating ninety-one years of confinement in the penitentiary were brought about."

Torture of Prisoners in Belgium

Escaped Russian's Grim Story

The following account of German methods of treating Belgians who refuse to work for them was related by a Russian war prisoner who escaped from Northern France through Belgium. It is vouched for by The Official Bulletin at Washington:

AFTER twelve days of travel from his place of imprisonment, he arrived at the electric fence near the Antwerp-Roosendaal line, and dug his way out under the fence with a long knife on a stormy night when the sentries were under cover.

He belonged to a labor battalion which worked at the rear of the firing line, dismantling manufacturing plants and railways. There were other battalions, composed of Belgians, French, English, Italians, and Rumanians. The work of these battalions was directed by German soldiers. In 1915 and 1916 the soldiers worked well themselves and were very hard on the prisoners. This year, and especially lately, they had slackened very much in their efforts. Insufficient food of bad quality had brought on a condition of physical debility, and they were unable to work well. The prisoners' allowance of bread was one loaf of two and a half pounds a day for four men. Turnip soup was the only other thing they got to eat. Occasionally there was meat in it from some injured horse that had been killed.

Physical Wrecks

A labor battalion on the western front originally consisted of 2,000 men, but the processes of starvation, accidents, exposure, unmerciful beatings, and death have reduced it to about 500 men, and sometimes to much less. Those men who cheated the graveyard were either distributed among other battalions, sent to hospitals behind the front, or were assigned to invalid commands. They were total physical wrecks; some of them had broken arms or legs and fingerless hands —in a word, men with every injury and deformity the human frame can endure and still hold life. These are never sent back to Germany to their original camps, but are kept behind the front there to die. They are like men who stalk out of their graves, animated skeletons, bones covered with skin, cheeks without flesh, deeply sunken eyes.

The informant was a sergeant and resisted to the end all German attempts to compel him to work. In the latter part of November, for six days, he was made to stand at attention in an open field from 6 A. M. till noon. After eating his soup at noon, he and thirty other non-commissioned officers were locked up in a wet cellar until morning. After the six days they were told that three of the thirty of them would be picked out by lot and would be shot unless they consented to work. They were led out. In the party were three sentries, a German officer, and a doctor. The threat was repeated once more. Some non-commissioned officers weakened and consented to work; others followed suit and signed a paper to the effect that they "volunteered" to work.

Hanging by the Wrists

The informant and ten others persisted in their refusal and begged the officer to have them shot. They were led to one side, their arms were twisted behind their backs, their wrists were tied with a rope, and they were then led each to a post and backed against it. Wooden blocks were brought, on which they were made to stand while their hands were tied to the post as high as possible. The blocks were then kicked out from under them and they were left suspended by their wrists with their feet off the ground.

They remained thus suspended for two hours. The next day the process was repeated, and one man broke down and consented to work. Hanging of the remainder continued and was followed by beating with rifle butts. Then fol-

lowed four more hours of hanging, when consciousness left them. They were carried into the cellar and were thrown on wet stones. The men weakened and "volunteered" to work. The informant still held out. All together, he hung twelve hours on that post.

He was finally liberated and was sent to work along with others. He was given a shovel and threw it away. This went on for five days, after which he was sent to another barrack and was left alone, as he only created distraction from the work. The cook there enlisted his services, and he worked in the kitchen. He stated that there were ten other non-commissioned officers who similarly resisted all German efforts to compel them to work.

On July 1 last a party of thirty men, five of whom were Sergeants, came to his battalion. Twenty of them consented to work, others refused. They were made to stand immovable from 5 A. M. to noon, when soup was given them, and then the standing continued until 10 P. M. This continued for eight days. The commandant told them they would stand until they were dead unless they consented to work. The men's legs became so swollen that they could neither stand nor move, and they were removed somewhere.

In 1916 there was much torture practiced, according to the informant, though lately, he said, hanging has been stopped by orders. In January and February last he and other non-commissioned officers were made to stand against a wall on rainy days from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M., with one hour's intermission for soup. Punishments of this nature, bad food, and forced work extended over long hours reduced the labor battalions rapidly. His battalion, originally 2,000 men strong, dwindled in November, 1916, to 350 men.

In March and April of the present year only thirty-five men were left who could still do work. He personally knew some fifty men who died in the battalion while he was with it.

Captain David Fallon, an Australian officer who fought at Gallipoli and who has been permanently invalided because of wounds received in France, told the New York Society of Illustrators (Nov. 9, 1917) what he had seen on the western front.

Barbarities on Western Front

"I saw with my own eyes," he said, "the crucified body of the mother superior of a convent hanging in front of the ruined entrance. And within were the mutilated bodies of the women who had given up every worldly advantage to teach little children. A little further on I saw the body of an old blacksmith transfixed with a bayonet, upon which was pinned a note, 'You will not shoe the horses of the enemies of the Fatherland.'

"And do you know what happened shortly after we reached the trenches? A counterattack drove us back, and some of our men were taken as a few of your lads were taken the other night. When it grew light enough to see in the morning we saw the heads of those men impaled upon bayonets, scarcely fifty yards away, above the German trench. Have you ever seen a man's head impaled on a bayonet? We didn't wait for a barrage, we didn't call for our supports—we just grabbed up our guns and went at them.

"The German has proclaimed a war of extermination. So let it be—if he wants the world he has got to take it over our dead bodies. It's not necessary to tell the boys in the trenches this, but it is necessary to bring it home to people here. Even after all we had seen we were willing to trust the Germans. One day I asked the German officer commanding the opposite sector for a truce so that we could bring in our wounded. He agreed, and both sides sent out a party under a flag of truce. At a given signal the German front rank fell flat and a second line opened fire with machine guns. That was the end. Since then we've never given them a dog's chance.

"Germany is a nation without a soul —not only the Kaiser and the junkers, but the whole German Nation. They have made a religion of the Fatherland and a god of their Kaiser, and they won't stop until they have destroyed the whole world or destroyed themselves."

Torpedoing Belgian Relief Ships

Commission's Formal Protest Tells of Twelve Vessels Deliberately Sunk

THE Commission for Relief in Belgium, speaking through its Washington representatives on Nov. 24, 1917, renewed its charge that German submarines had sunk and shelled many Belgian relief ships after the Berlin Government had given official assurance of their immunity. Germany had issued a denial of this charge. The commission, by way of reply, made public a formal protest which it had sent to the Central Powers on April 9, 1917, and which contained details of the sinking of twelve of its vessels and the shelling of three others. The protest covered the two months and a half immediately following Germany's declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare. The full text of the document is as follows:

On the 2d of February, 1917, we received from the Director of the commission in Brussels telegraphic advice that the Imperial German Government insisted that the commission should send its ships to Rotterdam by a route northward of the newly declared war zone, and that ships at that time in the war zone should proceed out of it by the most direct route, and could safely do so up to the evening of the 4th of February.

At that time we had fourteen ships at sea carrying 76,000 tons of foodstuffs, either en route to or already inside the declared zone, and all but a few of them out of communication. Also at that moment we had stored in the United Kingdom 47,000 tons of foodstuffs awaiting shipment to Rotterdam. The notice given to us was entirely too short to make arrangements in all cases, either for the alteration of the route or the transportation of our stocks in the United Kingdom, and as a consequence eleven of the ships arrived in the United Kingdom ports in due course. In any event, we were advised by the Dutch and English Admiralties that the war zone declared by the German Government overlapped with the mine zone in the North Sea, and there was no safe lane open on the route stated by the German authorities.

We were compelled to direct our New York office not only to hold up all shipments abroad, but also we were compelled to hold all arrivals and stocks in the United Kingdom until such time as a safe passage to Rotterdam could be agreed upon. The British authorities made no difficulty over the recession of the previous requirement to search in the United Kingdom ports, and ultimately the German war zone was minimized so as to establish a lane into Rotterdam through the North Sea, which they declared safe. The German authorities agreed to again respect our markings and to furnish safe conduct passes by this route from America. These arrangements we settled on the 28th of February, and our traffic was resumed from the Atlantic seaboard after a cessation of one month and the accumulation of large demurrage costs.

Repeated Appeals Disregarded

In the meantime we had made repeated appeals to the German authorities for safe conducts for the steamers then in the United Kingdom ports to proceed to Rotterdam, but as we could obtain no satisfaction in this matter we were compelled to discharge the cargoes in order to release the ships and prevent the perishable supplies from spoiling. Ultimately, on April 3, the German authorities conditionally promised to give passage to four steamers then remaining in United Kingdom ports undischarged, but these steamers were not to proceed until May 1. As it was hopeless to preserve the foodstuffs over such a period, these steamers were discharged as well.

The net result is that today we have upward of 96,000 tons of foodstuffs in the United Kingdom. We were only able to deliver 24,000 tons in Rotterdam during the month of February and 9,600 tons during the month of March, as against 120,000 required per month. Owing to the alarm arising out of the unrestricted submarine warfare and from the sinking of our ships mentioned later on, even when on the "safe" lane, we have not been able to secure sufficient charters to fully re-establish our service. During the month of April, assuming that we have no further losses of steamers, we shall deliver less than 55,000 tons of foodstuffs into Rotterdam. During these three months the Belgian and French populations will have been deprived of over 270,000 tons of foodstuffs critically necessary to prevent the most intense suffering among the people. Nor is the outlook for the future at all improving.

Of equal importance, however, with the direct loss and suffering entailed by the

shortage of deliveries, as mentioned above, has been the entire failure of the German submarines to adhere to the previous or new undertaking entered into by the Imperial Government as to the safety of our ships.

List of Ships Deliberately Sunk

On Feb. 3 we learned that the Belgian steamship Euphrates, of 4,250 tons, outward bound in ballast, provided with the commission's markings and a safe conduct pass from the German Minister in The Hague, had been torpedoed without warning and most of the crew drowned. This act occurred before the expiration of the period notified as safe to Feb. 4.

On Feb. 6 the Danish steamer Lars Kruse, carrying 2,300 tons of maize inward to Rotterdam, provided with the commission's markings, was sunk and only one member of the crew saved. The German authorities assert that this ship struck a mine, but much evidence points the other way.

On March 8 the Norwegian steamer Storstad, en route to the newly agreed safe lane, carrying 10,000 tons of maize, with the commission's markings and safe conduct pass from the German authorities in the Argentine, was stopped by a submarine and subsequently torpedoed by it without examination of the ship's papers. One of the crew died of exposure and another was lost.

On March 16 the Belgian steamers Haelen and Tunisie, outward bound on the safe lane from Rotterdam in ballast for New York, carrying all the commission's markings, together with safe conduct from the German Minister at The Hague, were shelled by a German submarine, and six members of the Haelen crew were killed. The others managed to escape, but the Haelen was so injured that she had to put into a Norwegian port for repairs.

On March 17 the Belgian steamer Ministre de Smet de Naeyer was shelled by a submarine in the North Sea, but managed to escape. She was outward bound in ballast, and was provided with the commission's markings, and had, as usual, a safe conduct pass from the German Minister at The Hague.

On March 31 the Norwegian steamer Feistein, inward bound within the (safe) lane, carrying 4,650 tons of wheat, was torpedoed and sunk without warning in broad daylight off the Dutch coast near Terschelling. She carried all the commission's markings and safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on behalf of the German Government.

On the 4th of April the Belgian ship Trevier, carrying 4,396 tons of wheat, was torpedoed in broad daylight without warning ten miles off the Dutch coast, within the safe lane. She carried full markings and safe conduct pass from the Swiss Minister, Washington, issued with the authority of the German Government, and six members of the crew were seriously wounded by shell fire after they had taken to the boats.

On April 2 the Norwegian steamer Anna Fostenes, inward bound, loaded with 3,100 tons of wheat, was torpedoed near Rotterdam, well within the (safe) lane. She carried full commission's markings and safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on the authority of the German Government.

On April 8 we received word that the Norwegian steamer Camilla, inward bound, with 2,600 tons of wheat, on the safe lane, had been torpedoed without warning. She carried, as usual, the commission's markings and a safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on the authority of the German Government.

Since resuming traffic on Feb. 28 three steamers have arrived safely and five have been sunk.

It is impossible to express the indignation which we rightly feel over these acts, and we are at a loss to know whether this continued sinking of steamers in violation of their undertakings is a settled policy of the Imperial Government or whether it is due to reckless irresponsibility of submarine commanders. In any event, the immediate peril and loss of life of innocent seamen continuing resolutely in the service of helpless people is transcended only by the tragedy of suffering imposed on those millions of men, women, and children we are trying to preserve.

THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM.

April 9, 1917.

Sinking Hospital Ships

A British Reply to a German Charge

GERMANY'S excuse for the torpedoing of hospital ships—namely, the assertions that these ships were carrying British soldiers and munitions—is the subject of an official reply contained in a British White Book that appeared in November, 1917. The document contains the evidence cited by the

German Government to support its charges, with the British official comments on it and the diplomatic correspondence on the subject. The correspondence is accompanied by a memorandum from the British Foreign Office, which denies the charge in toto and point by point. The text of the memorandum is as follows:

In reply to the accusations brought forward by the German Government, his Majesty's Government desire, before all, to call attention to the remarkable fact that German submarines and other warships have never once exercised the right of inspecting British hospital ships, which is given to them by Article 4 of The Hague Convention for the application of the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare. So far as can be ascertained, they have only once stopped a British hospital ship long enough to examine her papers. This occurred on the 23d of February, 1917, when the hospital ship Dunluce Castle was stopped by a German submarine in the Eastern Mediterranean; her papers were found to be in order, and the vessel was allowed to proceed.

It might have been expected that the German Government, seeing that they had reports in their possession, which they profess to regard as reliable, pointing to the misuse of British hospital ships, would not have completely neglected the obvious and well-recognized method of inspection for the purpose of verifying their suspicions. Instead, they have preferred to appeal for support of their charges to conjectural statements of persons who never had an opportunity of ascertaining whether there was any real foundation for their assumptions, and, on this flimsy basis, without making any attempt to discover the value of the hearsay evidence which they had collected or giving his Majesty's Government any opportunity of rebutting their allegations, they proceeded to the extreme step of ruthlessly attacking innocent hospital ships engaged in their humane task of serving the sick and wounded.

Germany's Charges Grouped

His Majesty's Government have now made inquiry into the allegations contained in the German memoranda so far as they concern British hospital ships and so far as the charges made are not in such vague terms as to preclude any possibility of investigating their foundation. Generally, the charges group themselves under four heads, viz.:

(1) Alleged excessive number of hospital ships in relation to the Gallipoli campaign.

(2) Changes in the list of hospital ships, with supposed intention to deceive.

(3) Alleged transport of munitions.

(4) Alleged transport of troops.

As to (1) the number of hospital ships employed was not excessive, having regard to the number of invalids to be evacuated from Gallipoli. On the contrary, the accommodations on hospital ships proved to be inadequate to meet requirements, and it was necessary to employ ordinary transports in addition for the conveyance of sick and wounded. These transports were, of course, not protected by The Hague Convention, did not fly the Red Cross flag, and were not fitted out as hospital ships.

As to (2), no rule exists under which a hospital ship, once notified, must remain in hospital service for the duration of the war. It is perfectly true that certain ships were notified as hospital ships and later on were removed from the list. This was due to alterations in the requirements for the various classes of tonnage caused by the sinkings of ships by submarines and to changes in the military situation.

There is no ground for the somewhat nebulous suggestion of the German Government that the aim of the changes was to produce uncertainty and confusion in regard to the character of the ships, and no evidence is adduced to show what military advantages could be gained by such confusion, which, in fact, would probably be disadvantageous rather than otherwise, since it would be injurious to the safety of the hospital ships themselves.

Carried No Munitions or Troops

As to (3 and 4) alleged conveyance of munitions and troops, to which nearly all the evidence relates, a detailed examination of the particular instances alleged is given below. It may, however, be stated at once that *British hospital ships have never been used for the carriage of munitions of war or of combatant troops.* Red Cross stores and personnel of the Royal Army Medical Corps (who are protected by the Geneva Convention) have been embarked, and it appears probable that the German Government have been misled by fallacious deductions of their witnesses, who apparently were unable to verify their assumption that cases of Red Cross stores were really munitions of war and bodies of the Royal Army Medical Corps in khaki uniform were detachments of combatant troops.

The statement in the second German memorandum to the effect that, while his Majesty's Government had denied that British hospital ships had carried either troops or munitions, the British Admiralty had merely declared that no troops had been conveyed in such ships, without denying the carriage of munitions, is curi-

ously devoid of point. Both in the statement issued by his Majesty's Government on the 1st of February, 1917, and in a note addressed to the United States Ambassador in London on the 31st of January, the allegations of the German Government were contradicted in respect both of troops and of munitions.

The discrepancy which the German Government pretends to have discovered between the declarations of his Majesty's Government as a whole and those of the Admiralty in particular appears to rest on a statement issued by the Admiralty and published on the 2d of February, in which particular notice is given to the allegations of Albert Messany, circulated in a German wireless press message, to the effect that 2,000 soldiers, who were not invalids, had been carried by the hospital ship Britannia.

With reference to this allegation, the Admiralty stated that no British hospital ship had ever embarked any persons but invalids and hospital staff. There was no occasion in that particular connection to refer to munitions. The play which the German Government make with this imaginary discrepancy is an illustration of their practice of trying to make capital out of infinitesimal points, a practice which has the appearance of being adopted in order to cover up the weakness of their main position.

German Honors Renounced by British Scientists

The following " Note on Membership of German Academies and Scientific Societies," signed by prominent scientific professors of Cambridge, Oxford, University College, Kings College, and Liverpool University, was circulated among the Fellows of the Royal Society in November, 1917:

The declaration of war by Germany against Russia and France was, it is known, received with enthusiasm by practically every section of the German Nation. The professors, who form the backbone of the German scientific academies and societies, were prominent as a whole in arousing this enthusiasm. It is largely due to them that a belief was created in German minds that Germany was superior to other nations, and that in consequence it was only just and right that German power over other nations should be extended.

No German scientific academy or society has, so far as we know, issued any protest against the many infringements of humanity and of international law which have been characteristic of the German conduct of the war.

We have just received a note from the Royal Society's office in regard to the society's year-book for the ensuing year. The members of the Royal Society doubtless reprobate the action of the German Government in bringing on the war, and its method of conducting it, as much as any other section of British folk. It seems, therefore, incongruous that Fellows of the society should continue to announce in the year-book of the society, in " Who's Who " or elsewhere, their membership of German academies and scientific societies as an honor which they value. It seems more consistent with the actual state of affairs that such mention should be omitted.

Some Fellows of the society have, we understand, already adopted this course, with a view to bringing home to German scientific men that learning and research cannot be divorced from public conduct. Others with whom we have spoken intend to do so. Our occupations have prevented us from obtaining the opinions of the Fellows generally, but as we believe that there is a widespread desire for common action, we venture to call attention to the matter. For ourselves we intend to omit mention of German academies and societies.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

A Sad Anniversary

—From Il 420, Florence.

THE KAISER (weeping): "Here lies the king of cooks, who was to have prepared that feast in Paris!"

[Australian Cartoon]

A Frightful Mistake Somewhere

—Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.

THE KAISER (as American troops march through London): "This is all wrong, I tell you! I—I was to do this march!"

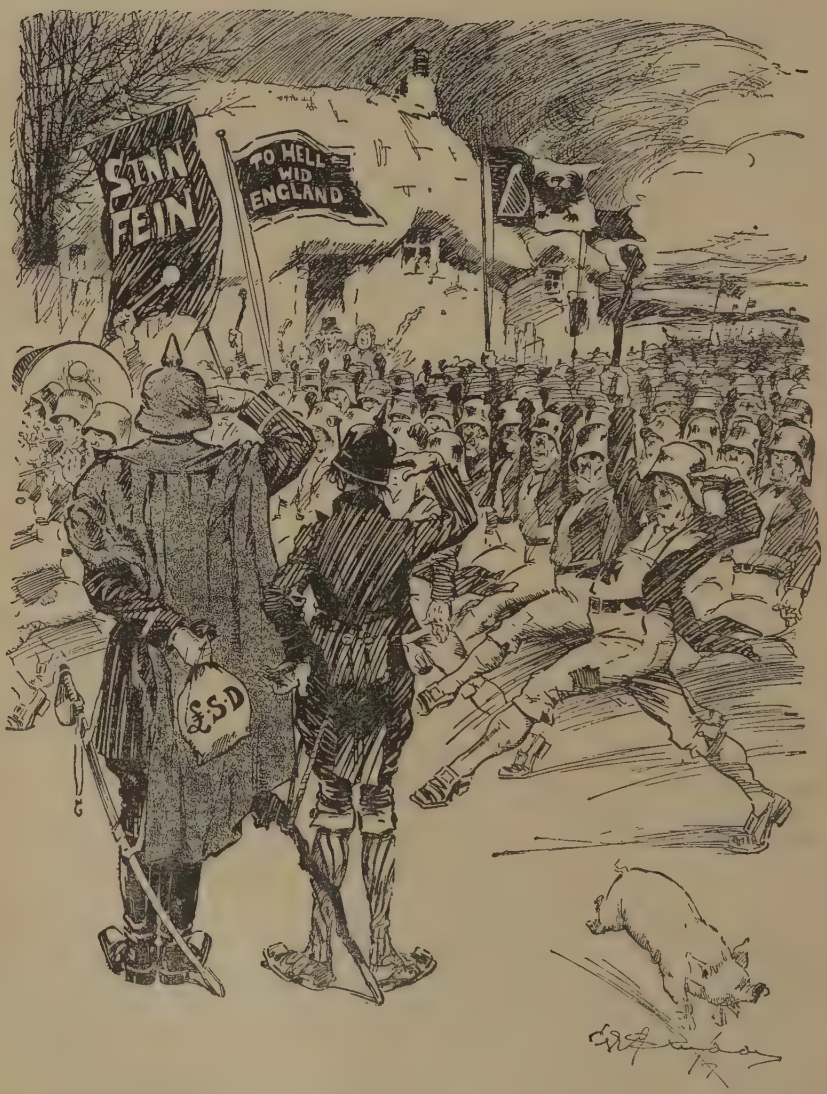
[Australian Cartoon]

Between Two Thieves

—Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Last Reserves



—*From The Passing Show, London.*

THE PAYMASTER: " * * * and you will continue meantime to render every assistance to our U-boats."

[American Cartoon]

The Double-Headed Eagle of Russia

—*From The New York Herald.*

[Dutch Cartoon]

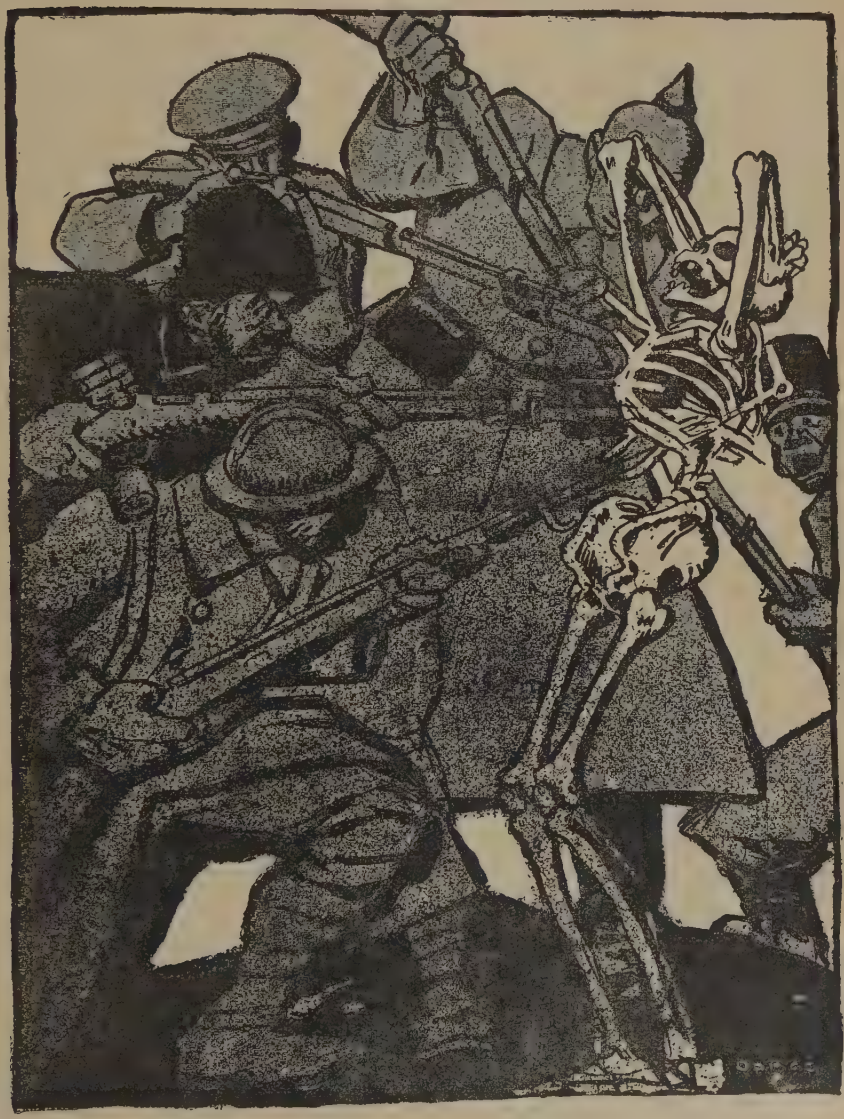
Kultur in Belgium

—By Louis Raemaekers.

"Ah! Was your boy among the twelve this morning? Then you'll find him among this lot."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Disarmament of Death



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

"Hold, enough! Have done!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Military Honor

—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

HINDENBURG: "Good heavens! If we can't send a Lenine to the western front we are ruined!"

[Russian Cartoon]

The Wisdom of the Bolshevik

—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

"In Africa monkeys are captured by putting rice in gourds. When the monkey has a handful of the rice he cannot withdraw his hand, and has not enough intelligence to let go the rice to get free."

[English Cartoon]

The Seen Hand

—From The National News, London.

PEACE PROPAGANDIST: "What we want, friends, is Peace—Peace at any price!"

MAN FROM THE TRENCHES: "What price YOU?"

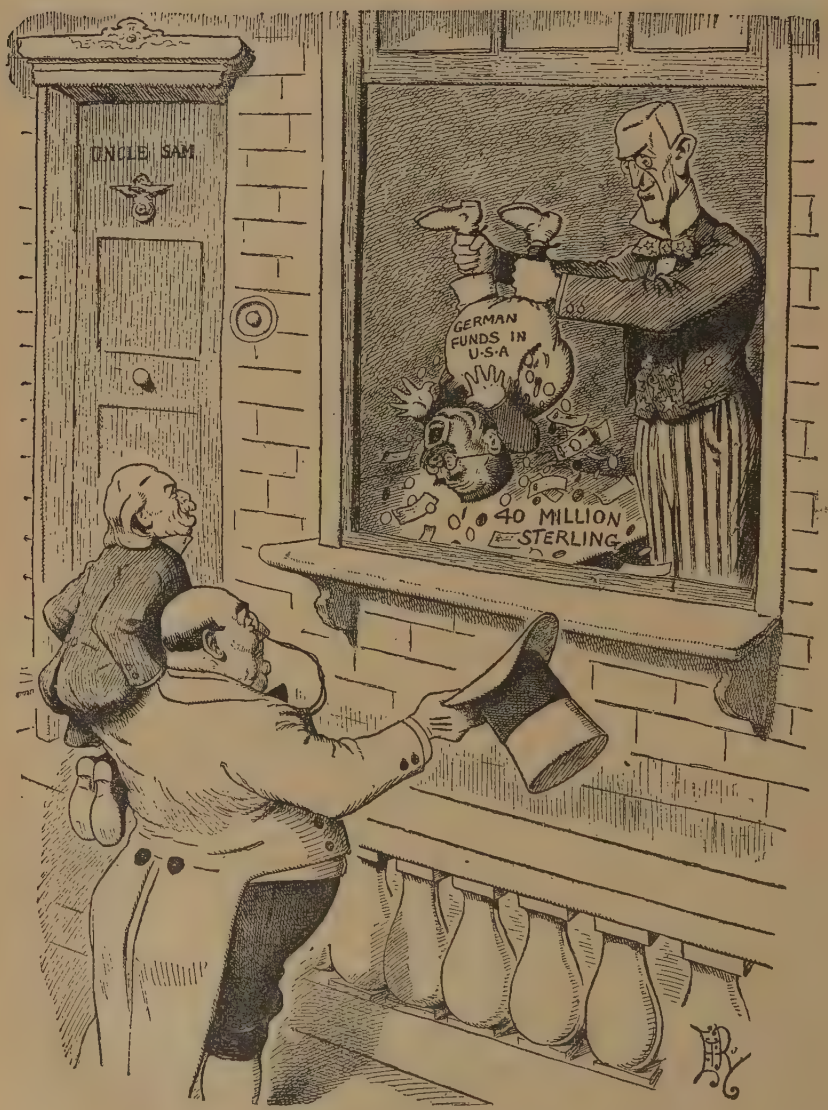
[American Cartoon]

German Peace

—James Montgomery Flagg in New York Sun.

[English Cartoon]

Taking It Out of Him



—From The Passing Show, London.

THE SHOWMAN: "Have a good look at him, David, and as there are £23,000,000 of Fritz's money here you might do the same!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Martial Spaniards—But Not in Spain

—From Esquella, Barcelona.

SPAIN: "I can hardly believe that I am the mother of these children."

[Russian Cartoon]

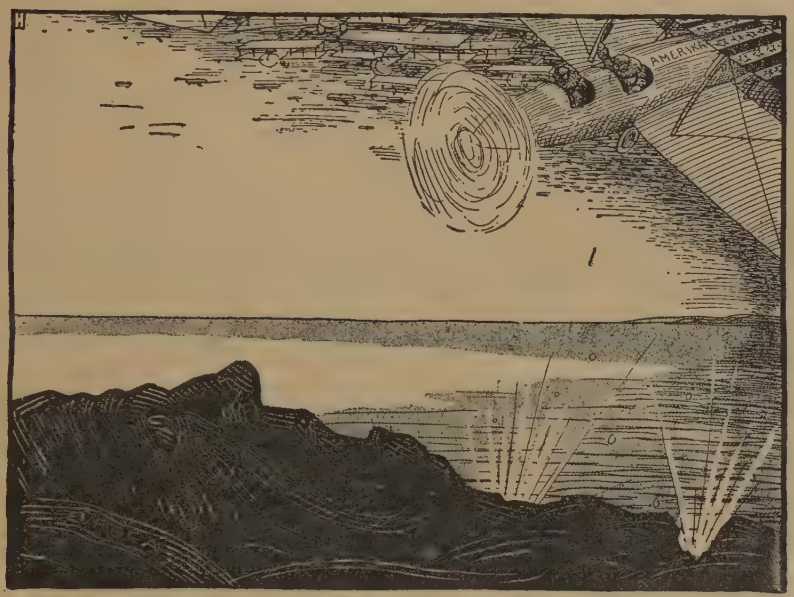
Salvation

—*From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.*

RUSSIAN PLUTOCRAT: "If I can't save the fatherland, I will save what I can of it."

[Dutch Cartoon]

When the American Air Fleet Comes



—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

OLD EUROPE: "Is this what I discovered you for, America?"

[English Cartoon]

The Russian Bear—After the Upset

—From The Westminster Gazette, London.

[American Cartoon]

Another Tower of Babel

—From The New York Times.

[Italian Cartoon]

Wasted Breath

—From L'Asino, Rome.

Hindenburg efforts that failed.

Can He Get It On?

—*Idaho Statesman.*

Joy Riding

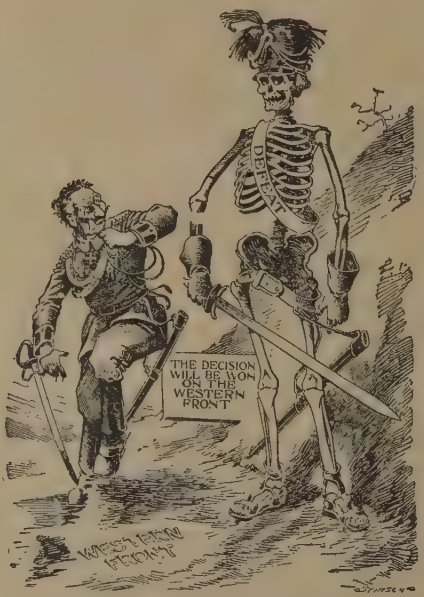
—*The New York World.*

The British "tank" at the victory near Cambrai.

General Byng's Sudden Blow

—*Chicago Herald.*

Wilhelm: "Always I Meet You Here!"



—*Dayton News.*

On to Berlin!

—Dallas News.

Samson and Delilah

—Baltimore Sun.

And she made him sleep on her knees; and she called for a man and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head * * * and his strength went from him.—Judges, xvi., 16.

Leggo, Ye Bloody Pup—Leggo!

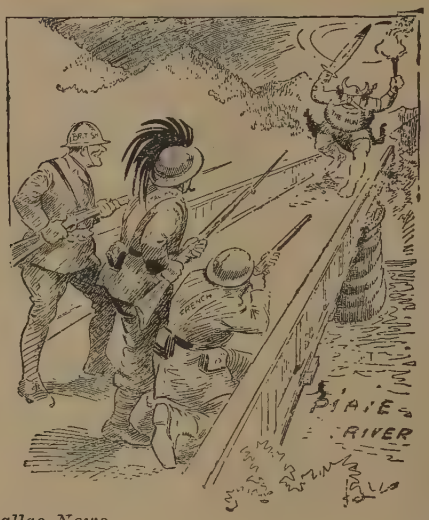
And Still the Cur Barks

—From The Baltimore American.

[American Cartoons]

Ivan the Terribly Simple

Can They Hold the Bridge?



—From The Dallas News

His Bit Done for Liberty

The Gorgon's Head—Autocracy

—Carter in Philadelphia Press.

EARL READING

Lord Chief Justice of England, who has been appointed High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States.

Central News Photo Service.)

SIR ROSSLYN WEMYSS

The New First Sea Lord of the Britisn Admiralty in Succession to Sir John Jellicoe.

(Photo Bain News Service.)

PERIOD XLI.

War Aims of the Labor Parties—Field Marshal Haig's 1917 Report—The New German Troops in France—Plural Marriages in Germany—The Caillaux Case in France—Making America's Army Efficient—Railroads Under Government Control—Count Czernin on Austria's War Aims—Central Powers' Terms for a General Peace—Britain's Aims Newly Defined by Mr. Lloyd George—Italian Premier's Statement of Issues—The Kaiser's "Shining Sword" Address to His Troops—Russia's Parleys for a Separate Peace—The Fall of Kerensky—Causes of the Russian Revolution—The Taking of Jerusalem—German Plotting in Russia—Count Luxburg's Secret Telegrams—Prussianism in German Education—Germany's Purpose in Belgium—German Ruthlessness—The Doom of Germany After the War.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended Jan. 23, 1918.]

Summary of the Month's Developments

NO important military events occurred on any of the fronts during the month ended Jan. 20, 1918. In France and Flanders there were frequent isolated raids in many sectors, but no general engagements. In Palestine the British advanced several miles beyond Jerusalem, and firmly secured their conquest of the city. On the Italian front the Austrians were driven across the lower Piave and such minor advantages as were gained by the Allies in the upper reaches strengthened the belief that the Venetian Plain would be safe against further invasion. The armistice continued on the Russian front, and the peace parleys were pursued at Brest-Litovsk.

Politically the month was full of activity and possibilities. The restatement in concrete form of the aims of the Allies by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George gave assurance that a separate peace with Russia would not give the Central Powers the triumphant conclusion of the war they seemingly had anticipated, and forced the conviction throughout the world that the struggle would continue with renewed bitterness and inexorable determination until Germany and Austria had conclusively given up their designs of annexation and world domination.

The investigations by Congress into the organization and preparation of the American armies produced a widespread demand for concentration of efforts, and for the creation of a Director of Munitions, whose jurisdiction should supersede the Secretary of War in the purchase of supplies. There was also a demand for the creation of a War Cabinet, empowered to take over the management of our part in the conflict, under the direction of the President. The railroads passed from private to Government control during the month, but this step did not relieve the freight congestion, and, in consequence, on Jan. 16, the Fuel Administration unexpectedly issued an order closing all factories east of the Mississippi River—except those engaged in producing specified munitions or food products—for the five days beginning Jan. 18; the order also called for a general cessation of business on all Mondays from Jan. 28 to March 25, inclusive. This measure produced a profound sensation throughout the country. It was bitterly assailed, and the United States Senate, by a vote of 50 to 19, passed a resolution suggesting that the order be suspended, but without avail.

The clear emergence of Germany's annexationist purposes at the Brest-Litovsk conference reacted upon both Russian and German public opinion. All reports from Germany indicated that bitter controversies were raging between the Militarists and Liberals; widespread unrest was reported also in Austria-Hungary. In France the arrest of former Premier Caillaux with fresh disclosures of his questionable acts strengthened the Clemenceau Government. The activities of labor organizations in England, Italy, and France indicated unrest, and deepened the conviction that unless the Governments agreed upon peace within a few months the demands for an international labor congress to take up the question could probably not be rejected without serious consequences.

Sir Edward Carson, a member of the British War Cabinet, resigned Jan. 21 on account of the possible action of the Government with relation to Irish affairs, the presumption being that he as leader of the Ulsterites would not be in harmony with the Government in relation to home rule. No announcement of the decision of the Irish Convention or of the Government's attitude was made, however, up to Jan. 23. Lieut. Col. James Craig resigned as Lord Treasurer of the Household for the same reason.

The German cruisers Breslau and Goeben, which had been acquired by Turkey and renamed the Sultan Selim and Midulla, made a sortie from the Dardanelles on Jan. 20. The Breslau was sunk by a mine and the Goeben so seriously damaged that she was beached at Niagara Point in the Dardanelles. Two British monitors were lost in the engagement.

* * *

Dr. Garfield's "Heatless Days" Order

THE order of the Fuel Administrator, Dr. Harry A. Garfield, issued on Jan. 16, provided that in all portions of the United States east of the Mississippi River, on Jan. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and on each Monday, beginning Jan. 28, and continuing to March 25, 1918, inclusive, no manufacturing plant should burn fuel or use power derived from fuel, except only such plants as must be operated seven days a week to avoid serious damage, plants manufacturing perishable foods, newspaper plants, and certain munition factories. It was also ordered that on the Mondays between Jan. 21 and March 25, inclusive, no fuel should be burned—except enough to prevent injury to property from freezing—in any business or professional offices except those of the national, State, or Federal Governments, of public utility companies, banks, physicians, and dentists; nor was the use of fuel permitted in any stores or business houses, or in theatres and other places of amusement, or in places where liquor was sold. The order also provided that priority in shipping coal should be given to the needs of private residences, hospitals, railroads, military cantonments, public utilities, shipping for bunker purposes, manufacturers of perishable foods, and Federal, State, and Municipal Governments.

The order came unexpectedly, and was strongly condemned as injudicious and unnecessary; nevertheless, it was almost universally obeyed. It received the official sanction of President Wilson, and was indorsed by some members of the Cabinet. Its first effect was such as to cause leading members of the Democratic Party in and out of Congress, and the Republicans almost unanimously, to denounce the step and to question the wisdom and judgment of the Fuel Administration.

* * *

Russia's Constituent Assembly Dissolved

THE Russian Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on Jan. 18, 1918, and after a single turbulent session was dissolved by armed Bolshevist sailors in pursuance of a decree of Lenine. Tchernoff, a Social Revolutionary, who had been Minister of Agriculture in the Kerensky Cabinet, was elected Chairman over Marie Spiridonova, the Bolshevist candidate, by a vote of 244 to 151; the Cadets, of whom fifteen were elected, were absent. The Bolshevist members withdrew from the Assembly after the defeat of their motion that the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government (the Bolsheviki) first be recognized. The remnants of the Assembly then adopted decrees awarding the lands to the peasants and proposing to send delegates to all the warring nations to arrange a world peace. But before any further action was taken the Assembly was closed by the sailor guards. The ground of its dissolution was that the delegates had been elected by the first revolution, (Milukoff-Kerensky,) but that the second revolution (Lenine-Trotzky) had superseded that election and was not properly represented by the existing delegates.

There was some disorder in Petrograd, with a number of casualties, the day this Assembly convened and during its brief existence.

Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevist Premier, in addressing the Central Executive Committee at the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council prior to the issuance of the decree dissolving the Assembly, spoke as follows:

> A conflict between the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government and the Constituent Assembly has been growing since the Russian revolution. The February revolution was a political bourgeois revolution, in which the Constitutional Democrats scored success, overthrowing Czarism. In October a social revolution occurred and the working masses, through

the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, became the sovereign authority.

By creating the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates the Russian proletariat brought something new into the revolution. There is no equal in the history of revolutions in Western Europe, except the Paris Commune. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates are not bound by any rules or traditions to the old bourgeois society. Their Government has taken all the power and rights into its own hands. The Constituent Assembly is the highest expression of the political ideals of bourgeois society, which are no longer necessary in a socialist State. The Constituent Assembly will be dissolved. It has not met today, and has, in fact, ceased to exist.

The Assembly was succeeded by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, (Councils of Workmen and Soldiers,) which held its first meeting on Jan. 22.

A tragic episode occurred at Petrograd on Jan. 20. A. I. Shingaroff, former Minister of Finance and Food Control in the Kerensky Government, and F. F. Kokoshikine, Professor of Political Science in Moscow University, and former Controller General in the Kerensky Cabinet, were both assassinated by armed sailors while lying ill in a prison hospital. Both were distinguished Russians, and their murder produced a profound sensation. Measures were taken to protect other members of the Kerensky Cabinet still under arrest.

It was stated on Jan. 23 that the Bolsheviki had definitely concluded to break off negotiations for peace with the Germans and Austrians on account of their refusal to evacuate the occupied provinces pending an election to determine their sovereignty.

* * *

Admiral Wemyss, New Head of the British Navy

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ROSSLYN WEMYSS was appointed First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty on Dec. 26, 1917, in succession to Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, who was elevated to the peerage. The new Sea Lord was born in 1864; he is the son of the late J. H. Erskine Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, Fife. He entered the navy in 1877, was Lieutenant in 1887, Commander in 1898, and Captain in 1901. He has been in command of the Royal Naval Barracks, was for a while equerry to King Edward, and as Rear Admiral commanded the Second Battle Squadron in 1912-13. In April, 1915, he commanded the squadron which protected the landing of the troops at Gallipoli. No important announcements followed the appointment, and no changes in policy were made public.

* * *

Adding to Britain's Fighting Forces

THE English House of Commons unanimously passed on second reading the bill to increase the man power of the United Kingdom at the front by recruiting men from munition factories who had previously been exempted to protect them in certain occupations. The bill divides the essential industries into three classes, in which 1,000,000 exempted men were employed. From the first class no men were taken; from the second, one-half the fit men; from the third, about one-third. It was estimated that the change would increase the available fighting forces by 450,000. In presenting the bill it was stated that the total enrollment in the British armies was 7,500,000. England had contributed 4,530,000; Scotland, 620,000; Wales, 280,000; Ireland 170,000; the dominions and colonies, 900,000. The remaining 1,000,000, composed of native fighting troops, labor corps, carriers, and similar workers, were from India, Africa, and other dependencies.

As the exemptions had been part of a bargain made with the labor leaders when conscription was first decided upon, it was necessary to have their concurrence in the new measure. The Premier delivered two addresses to the leaders of the labor parties in advocacy of the measure, the war aims speech printed elsewhere in this issue being one of them. The negotiations gave a fresh importance to the general attitude of labor parties toward the war, not only in England, but in the other countries of Europe.

On Jan. 15 the British Labor Party issued an appeal to the people of Central Europe, in which they announced their support of the Russian principle of self-determination of peoples and no indemni-

ties or annexations. Previously a special national labor conference on Dec. 28 had adopted a pronunciamento, insisting on restitution and reparation. The statement placed at the forefront a demand for the restoration and rehabilitation of Belgium at the expense of Germany. It also dealt with Alsace-Lorraine, Italy, the Balkans, Poland, Turkey, and German African colonies on lines similar to those suggested in earlier documents on these subjects. The war aims address of President Wilson was indorsed throughout England, Italy, and France by labor leaders in fervent resolutions of approval.

* * *

The New Republic of Finland

THE new Republic of Finland is the first great fragment broken off the former Empire of Russia to attain to something like complete national existence, as it was almost the latest addition to that empire in Europe, Bessarabia alone having been added later, as a result of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, though Bessarabia had earlier been Russian territory. Finland, which had been a semi-independent grand duchy under the Swedish Crown, was united to Russia in 1809, as the result of an agreement between the Czar Alexander I. of Russia and Napoleon I. According to treaty, Finland was to maintain its own self-governing institutions, even having its own coinage and postage stamps, the Emperor of Russia being simply the Grand Duke of Finland. This treaty was observed by Russia for a century, and was then infringed by the "Russianizing" policy of the Russian Ministry. But Finland has had a long and continuous practice in the science and art of self-government, and is, therefore, far more favorably situated for experiments in nationhood than is Russia. Its population of 3,231,000, thinly scattered over an area of 125,000 square miles, is made up of 2,751,000 Finns, 338,961 Swedes, (who form the ruling class,) with a small number of Russians and some 1,600 Lapps, (probably representing the oldest European race, whose ancestors were contemporary with the Ice Age and the mammoth.) The great majority of the population, including both Finns and Swedes, belongs to the Lutheran Church. In Finland the suffrage is possessed by every Finnish citizen (man or woman) aged 24 or more. There are sixteen electoral districts, readjusted every ten years, which elect the Diet, a single-chamber Parliament of 200 members, chosen for three years. The members of the Diet receive 1,400 marks, equal to about $280, for each session of about three months. Finland, therefore, begins national life with a clear-cut constitutional system. The substitution of an elected President for the hereditary Grand Duke will make its organization complete.

* * *

The Problem of "Self-Determination in the German Colonies"

ACCORDING to the recently declared war aims of the Entente nations, the future of Germany's colonies in Africa and New Guinea is to be decided in accordance with the expressed wish of the inhabitants. It is not altogether easy to see exactly how this popular expression is to be obtained. To begin with New Guinea, the region formerly known as Kaiser Wilhelm's Land contains 70,000 square miles, with a population of 531,000 natives, and, before the war, 200 Germans. It is not easy to see how the rival theories of constitutional government and the histories of, say, Germany, France, England, and the United States, are to be made known to these half-million head-hunting Melanesians in such a way that they may form a reasoned judgment; nor is it easy to see just how their votes can be counted, since it is highly dangerous for a white man to travel through nearly the whole region. Similarly, the former German colonies in Africa cover a million square miles, with a population of 12,000,000 speaking scores of different tongues. Their education in the theory of government will take time. Most of this territory is, in fact, governed by native chiefs, vigorous native despots, ruling by armed might, forming about them bands of trained spearsmen and having their wealth in slaves. It would be practicable to obtain the opinion of these small military despots, as France

did before annexing the regions about Timbuktu, on the upper Senegal and Niger Rivers. Cameroon chiefs did actually apply for admission to the British Empire shortly before this region was seized by Germany. But it does not seem that to leave the decision in the hands of the chiefs would be quite consistent with democracy.

* * *

Women and Drink in England

THE weekly average number of women in the United Kingdom convicted of drunkenness declined from 700 in 1914 to 188 at the end of 1917. The increase of women employed in industry in that period was 1,500,000, and their wage earnings increased nearly one billion dollars, yet female drunkenness declined 73 per cent. The main causes appear to be the restrictive measures applied to the sale of alcohol, the constructive measures adopted to increase opportunities for nonalcoholic refreshment, and the restrictions on the output and release from bond of alcoholic liquors imposed by the Food Committee. The restriction of the sale of alcohol to the hours of the two principal meals has done away with the habit of drinking in public houses during the morning and afternoon. As regards the constructive measures, the Central Control Board approached the problem by initiating and supervising the erection and equipment of canteens and messrooms at national factories and controlled establishments, and in the neighborhood of docks, and this movement removed one of the most prevalent causes of unnecessary drinking, besides materially contributing to the efficiency and contentment of the workers.

* * *

Australia Against Conscription

A SECOND referendum on the question of conscription in Australia was held on Dec. 20, 1917, and resulted in a heavier majority against compulsory service than the first referendum, in October, 1916. [See Current History Magazine, December, 1916, Pages 446-9.] In 1916 the majority against conscription was 61,000, but in 1917 it was 165,000, the vote being 1,013,000 for and 1,178,000 against. There were majorities against conscription in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia. Western Australia, Tasmania, the Federal territories, and the Australian military forces gave majorities for conscription. William Morris Hughes, Prime Minister, who had pledged himself to the resignation of the Government in the event of his proposals being defeated, accepted the verdict and offered to retire, but, as Frank Gwynne Tudor, leader of the Labor Party, was unable to form a Cabinet, Mr. Hughes resumed office as Prime Minister.

* * *

The Revolution in Portugal

FROM the twelfth century until the year 1910 Portugal was an independent monarchy. The forced abdication of Dom Pedro, in the former Portuguese colony of Brazil, gave rise to a sympathetic republican movement in Portugal, the first Republican Club being founded in 1890. On Jan. 31, 1891, there was an unsuccessful republican revolt at Oporto, (or Porto, the home of port wine,) and under Carlos I. the "tobacco question" nearly overturned the monarchy. A new revolt, beginning on Jan. 28, 1908, resulted three days later in the assassination of the King, Carlos I, and his eldest son, Prince Luiz Philip, but the monarchy survived in the person of a younger son, who became King Manoel II. A new revolution in October, 1910, however, dethroned him and a republic was proclaimed on Oct. 5.

Students of Portuguese political problems say that this was wholly a revolution of the capital, Lisbon, the greater part of the nation taking no part in it. There followed a long and bitter struggle among the various politicians who had overthrown the monarchy, and who appear to call themselves Republicans and Progressives; but, for an outsider, it is difficult to discern any clear difference of principle between them; the real line of cleavage being apparently between those in and those out of office; or to repeat the phrase of a distinguished native of the Iberian Peninsula, Sancho Panza, between the Haves and the Have-nots, in an official sense.

A revolutionary outbreak took place in Portugal early in December, 1917, and after three days' fighting the Government capitulated; seventy persons were killed and 350 wounded. A new Government was formed under Dr. Paes, the revolutionary leader, and President Machado of the republic was banished. The movement appears to have been prompted by dissatisfaction with the alleged inefficiency of the old Government. There had previously been numerous strikes and riots, attributed largely to food scarcity and high prices, and any monarchist influence in the uprising was denied. The new Government pledged itself to continue cordial support of the cause of the Entente Allies. On Jan. 8, 1918, the crews of warships at Lisbon mutinied and bombarded the forts, but the army remained faithful and the rebellious crews were overpowered.

* * *

War and Marriages

SIR BERNARD MALLET, President of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain, in his annual address declared that the marriage rate of 1915 in the United Kingdom was the highest on record—19.4 per cent.; the previous maximum, 17.9, was in 1853. "Crudely stated," he declared, "the war has resulted in 200,000 people being married "between August, 1914, and June, 1917, "who in the ordinary course would not "have married."

Alluding to the marriage statistics in belligerent countries, he said that in Hungary the effect of the war had been that more than 600,000 people who in the ordinary course would have married had not done so. In Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hesse, Hamburg, and Bremen, six States containing more than 80 per cent. of the German population, the total number of marriages in 1913 was 434,103, and in 1914 the number was 392,053, a decrease of nearly 10 per cent., in spite of a great number of war marriages during the first month of the war. From figures available, in Saxony, compared with the last year of peace, the decrease was about 35 per cent., in Hamburg 24.5 per cent., in Bremen 37.6 per cent., and in Berlin 21.6 per cent., and he presumed that the decrease in the country was greater than in the towns.

The United Kingdom, he stated, had lost by the fall in births over 500,000 potential lives, approximately 10,000 per million of the population. Germany had lost in the same period 2,600,000, approximately 40,000 per million. Hungary had lost 1,500,000, approximately 40,000 per million. At the outbreak of war the population of the Central Empires was about two and a half times as great as that of the United Kingdom; their losses of births had apparently been ten times as great. The infant mortality, both in England and in Germany, was the lowest on record in 1916.

The effect of the war strain in reducing vitality is reflected in the rapid increase in deaths in Germany, Austria, and England from tuberculosis. The deaths from this cause in the first half of 1917 in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Alsace-Lorraine, and other German States rose from 22,008 in the first half of 1913 to 37,064 in 1917, a 78 per cent. increase; in Vienna, Prague, and Budapest the increase was 90 per cent.; in London the increase was 17 per cent.

* * *

Nationalities in the Turkish Empire

THE statements of war aims by Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson both laid stress on the fact that the so-called Turkish Empire, at present, in fact, ruled from Berlin, is an example of the injustice suffered by subject peoples under the domination of pitiless foreign conquerors. Since the Turks originally came from Northern Central Asia, whence they were driven by the conquering Mongols, there is in fact no part of the Turkish Empire where they are not intruders. In Anatolia, (Western Asia Minor,) where they have absorbed or displaced the earlier Greek inhabitants, they form a large majority of the population. In Constantinople, with a population of 1,000,000, and the strip of European Turkey attached to it by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, the Turks are in a minority. The estimates for Asiatic Turkey are as follows: Asia Minor (Anatolia) has 7,000,000 Mussul-

mans and 575,000 Armenians, and may be considered genuinely Turkish. In Armenia there are 1,800,000 Mussulmans, while there are, or were, 500,000 Armenians. The Aleppo district contains about 800,000 Mussulmans and 50,000 Armenians. The Lebanon region contains 320,000 Christians and 30,000 Mussulmans. This indicates for Asia Minor two distinct national areas—Turkish to the west and Armenian to the east. There are across the Russian frontier some 1,250,000 Armenians. If added to those in Asia Minor they would form the nucleus for the restoration of an ancient Aryan race with a very valuable ancient literature. Syria and Palestine might form two additional small States, but there are large Mussulman elements in both, though there is probably hardly any Turkish blood in either outside the small official class. Finally, Arabia, the southern part of which has already established its independence, has some 4,000,000 inhabitants.

* * *

Losses of Heavy Guns

GENERAL LUDENDORFF, Chief of the German General Staff, in a report issued on Oct. 4, 1917, stated that during grand operations the average numbers of guns lost by a single German army in a single month, either by wear and tear or by enemy fire, were found to be as follows:

Field guns	870
Heavy pieces	585
Total	1,455

If the same average were maintained by all the armies during the year it would show a loss of 17,460 guns. Of the above total of 1,455, about 655 were lost through wear and 800 through allied bombardments. General Ludendorff gave these figures as a reply to the contention of his critics that fire against enemy batteries is relatively unimportant, and that it is only bombardment of the infantry that seriously matters. The reply is decisive, as the General says:

> The figures show that the enemy counterfires upon our artillery with very good results. It should be added that the loss of material is only one side of the artillery struggle. The destruction of enemy munitions, the losses in killed, and the diminution of the physical and moral worth of the men are elements at least as important.

* * *

Japanese Shipbuilding

THE Japanese Government in 1917, up to August, granted permission for construction of 111 ships of a total of 554,580 tons, and by September thirty-five ships, aggregating 154,727 tons gross, had been launched. Prior to 1916 many vessels were purchased abroad. In 1916 twenty vessels, of a total of 74,300 tons, were sold to foreigners. The expansion of the mercantile fleet since 1896 has been rapid. In 1896 Japan possessed 373 vessels of over 100 tons gross, aggregating 334,592 tons; in 1916 1,151 vessels aggregating 1,847,453 tons—an increase of 550 per cent. in twenty years. Exports and imports combined during the same period increased 650 per cent. At the end of 1916 there were twenty-eight steamship companies, the fleets totaling 980,000 tons gross, and the dividends paid in 1916 averaged 26.1 per cent., while private shipowning represented about 870,000 tons gross. Japan today ranks third in shipbuilding and fifth in tonnage.

* * *

The Ukrainian National Movement

UKRAINE, the new republic in Russia, derives its name from the Russian Krai, "border," and means in general the "frontier," and in particular the frontier territory between the Slavs (Poles, Lithuanians, Russians) on the north and west and the Mussulman Turks and Tartars on the south and east. Like the "frontier" in the early days of the United States, it was unstable, a rather vague, constantly moving region with no definite boundaries. In the earlier period of Eastern European history, while Russia was a comparatively small territory centred about Moscow, much of the Ukraine was under Polish domination. The Union of Lublin, in 1569, definitely brought both Lithuania and the Ukraine under the Polish crown; the Ukraine then including the districts of Kiev, Poltava, and Chernigoff. With the election of the Roman-

offs, in 1613, Russia began to increase while Poland began to decrease in power. Under the Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, ("son of Michael,") the second Romanoff, father of Peter the Great, largely through an armed uprising of the people of the Ukraine against Polish oppression, Russia gained, in 1667, the city and district of Smolensk (Lithuania) and that part of the Ukraine to the west of the Dnieper, of which Kiev was the capital; Kiev having been the oldest Russian capital, the original centre of the Russian Nation. But much of the Ukraine, east of the Dnieper, remained independent for a century and a quarter longer, being joined to Russia in the year 1787.

The population of the Ukraine was largely made up of emigrants from Russia, with large Lithuanian and Polish elements and some infusion of Tartar blood; but most of the Ukraine speaks a dialect differing from that of Muscovite Russia about as much as Sicilian differs from Tuscan, or Lowland Scotch from English. The modern "Ukrainian" movement largely owes its origin to forces set in motion in (Austrian) Galicia, the purpose of which was to weaken Russia by setting up a rival nationalist movement, which was to include Southern Galicia and Northern Bukowina, Southern Bukowina being Rumanian.

* * *

The Organization of the Cossacks

THE word "Cossack" (or more correctly "Kazak") was originally a name given by the Mohammedan Tartars to the irregular armies of the Ukraine frontier territory, who fought against them on the great plain between the Central Russian forest land and the Black Sea, in the basins of the Dnieper and the Don. Originally the Cossacks were, in fact, a knightly order, recruited to oppose the advance of the Mohammedan Tartars, and later Turks. They were strictly disciplined under an elected "Ataman," also a Tartar title. In their strongly fortified camps on the islands of the lower Dnieper no women were admitted, and they anticipated, and in some respects surpassed, recent movements of reform by absolutely prohibiting the use of wine in time of war. When the Tartars ceased to be a nation and the Turks were gradually pushed backward toward the Danbue, the strong Cossack organization, still with large rights of self-government, was made use of by the rulers of Russia, into which the greater part of the Ukraine had been incorporated, as a well-armed and mounted frontier force, Cossack colonies being planted along the north edge of the Caucasus range and in Siberia. The Cossacks of the Caucasus are finely described in Tolstoy's story, "The Cossacks." The Cossacks form, in fact, a caste of mounted warriors, probably numbering half a million, with certain well-defined rights of self-government, and still maintaining the strongly religious coloring which marked their original purpose. They constitute a potential force for the defense of order against anarchy in Russia.

* * *

Siberia and Ukrainia

WHILE the whole vast Russian realm, covering more than 8,000,000 square miles, or about one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, is threatening to dissolve into its constituent elements, it is interesting to recall the circumstances under which this vast, unwieldy mass was brought together. Siberia was added to the Russian realm in the stirring and adventurous days of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, just before the Invincible Armada set forth from Spain to "bring England to her knees." Yermak the Cossack, who was practically in rebellion against the Moscow Czar, Ivan the Terrible, led a small band of 1,636 men across the Ural Mountains, then the eastern boundary of Russia. The Tartar armies had subdued most of Siberia, but their power was already falling into decay, and Yermak and his battalion had little difficulty in capturing Sibir, the capital of the Tartar Khan, the town from which the whole vast territory takes its name. Within eighty years—that is, by 1660—the Russians had reached the Pacific Ocean. Neither Tartars nor Turks offered much resistance, though during Milton's childhood the Tunguzes fought obstinately against the invaders. The Buryats of

Lake Baikal contested their advance for ten years, beginning in 1631. Thereafter all went smoothly.

Ukrainia, at the southwestern end of the Russian realm, was largely an outgrowth, in the stirring times depicted in Henry Sienkewicz's great novels, of the once great Polish Kingdom, forming a loosely organized region between Poland and the territories of the Tartars and Turks. Large inducements to settle in this border country were offered by the Kings of Poland, and an instant response was made by the more adventurous spirits of Poland, Galicia, and Russia. But the Poles exercised their authority so tyrannously that in the reign of the second Romanoff, Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, the Cossacks, led by Bogdan Khmelnitski, revolted, and joined their fortunes with Russia, asking for and receiving large rights of self-government. In the days of Peter the Great Mazeppa tried to break this union, joining his forces with Charles XII. of Sweden, Peter's indomitable enemy. But Peter won, and the union between Great Russia and Little Russia was renewed.

* * *

The German Practice of "Looting"

THE Director of Lick Observatory, California, has recently reminded the world of a notorious act of looting by German troops, Kaiser Wilhelm being the receiver of the stolen goods. Several hundred years ago the French Jesuits made for the Chinese Court a group of huge bronze astronomical instruments: great globes, armillary spheres, astrolabes, and large circles divided for measurement of angles in the sky, all of heroic size and cast in massive bronze. Eight or nine of these historic instruments were dismounted by French and German officers during the expedition against the Boxers in 1900, five being sent to Germany and three or four to France. The French Government was indignant, and immediately returned to Peking the instruments sent to France; they were once more mounted on the city wall. The German Kaiser had no such scruples. Three of these beautiful instruments are now to be seen in front of the Kaiser's Palace at Potsdam, to remind the world of his speech: "When you shall meet him, (the Chinese,) remember, quarter is not to be given, prisoners must not be made; use your weapons so that for a thousand years no Chinaman dare look askance at a German." (Illustrierte Zeitung, Aug. 2, 1900.)

The word "loot," used by the Lick Director, is interesting. It is an Anglo-Indian "loan-word," borrowed from the Hindi, from the vocabulary of tribes of hereditary thieves. It was first used in 1757, the year of the battle of Plassey, in Orme's History. The looter was called, in Hindi, a "looty-wallah"; thus, in 1782, J. Munro speaks of "rascally looty-wallahs." More recent instances are those of W. L. Whipple: "A noted lutee or rogue"; and Lawrence Oliphant: "I observed, in the suburb, large looting parties composed of Chinese blackguards, ransacking the houses."

* * *

THE Japanese since their capture of Tsing-tao have greatly increased the trade of that port. In 1916 the trade was $39,000,000, against $13,000,000 in 1915. At the rate of exchange, which fell 35 per cent. in 1916, the actual increase was 400 per cent. During the year the imports rose from $7,500,000 to $20,000,000, the exports from $5,500,000 to $19,000,000. A new section of the city has been erected, wharves have been built, and shipping and railway facilities vigorously introduced.

* * *

UNDER the new Franchise bill, which has passed the Commons and is favorably reported in the House of Lords, there will be added to the total electorate 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women, thus doubling the voting strength of the United Kingdom; the present electorate numbers 8,000,000. The bill will put upon the voting list about 10,000,000 men out of the total of 13,000,000 above the age of 21 in the British Isles.

WAR AIMS OF LABOR PARTIES

Significant Manifestoes Marking the Rise of the Workingman as a Power in Deciding War Questions

SINCE the Russian Socialists have succeeded in seizing control of the issues of war and peace on the eastern front there has been a marked tendency among the working people in all the belligerent countries to take an active part in the settlement of war questions. In the first weeks of 1918 this new attitude became so emphatic and powerful as to constitute one of the most momentous aspects of the war situation, calling for treatment at some length in the pages of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The proletariat, awakening to fuller class consciousness, declares that it is going to end the war. As the middle class did in the Napoleonic wars, the working class is gaining an increasing, if not yet a controlling, voice in the conduct of affairs, and many thoughtful observers are expressing the belief that this power will never be relinquished.

The revolutionary change has been especially marked in England, where organized labor is aspiring to supplant the titled and capitalistic classes in national politics. Every day of the first weeks of 1918 has brought new emphasis to the fact that labor is now the dominant factor in shaping Great Britain's war policy. Premier Lloyd George, recognizing the situation, made two of his most important war speeches within a single week to the nation's labor leaders. At the annual conference of the British Labor Party in Nottingham on Jan. 23 Arthur Henderson, the party's leader in the House of Commons, declared that organized labor was taking a stand in international politics from which it would never recede. "We are expecting," he added, "to get into a conference that will result in a peace settlement." Both he and the Russian Ambassador made the startling statement that a revolution—peaceful, of course—was taking place at the present moment in England. At the same time Chairman Purdy, in opening the convention, declared: "A negotiated peace while Germany occupies the territory of others would be a German victory. If Germany does not accept President Wilson's aims, those announced by Premier Lloyd George, and labor's minimum terms, we will fight on."

The Nottingham Convention by a two-thirds majority indorsed the war aims program which appears in the pages that follow. All amendments suggested by pacifists were laid aside. A resolution was adopted welcoming the war aims addresses of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George [which appear elsewhere] "in so far as they harmonize with the aims of the British labor movement." The resolution called upon the Allies to formulate their war aims jointly and arrange for an interallied conference in London on Feb. 20.

Crisis in Central Empires

That the Central Powers are feeling the pressure of the new movement, which has been aided by the fraternizing of Russian and Teutonic soldiers, is evident from the widespread strikes in Austria-Hungary and the imprisonment of scores of pacifist labor leaders in Germany. The situation in Austria has taken on the proportions of a crisis. The plain citizenry of the Dual Monarchy, reading the peace terms of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, can find little in them to support the frantic pleas of the German militarists that they are fighting to preserve their empire. Since the Bolsheviki at Brest-Litovsk forced the German leaders to come out into the open as avowed annexationists the temper of the common people throughout the Central Empires has undergone a change. The working of this new and potent influence caused M. Litvinoff, Bolshevist Ambassador to Great Britain, in his speech before the labor congress at Nottingham, to declare "we can already hear the rumblings of

a storm in Austria from the results at Brest-Litovsk."

The message of the French Socialists to the Bolsheviki, printed in the pages that follow, is another phase of the same movement. The war aims of the British labor unions and those of the Socialists of the Continental countries, while differing widely on the point of a German peace, are so nearly alike in other essentials as to give an impression of general solidarity. Upon this solidarity their leaders have based the recent assertion that if the statesmen do not soon make a peace the workers will get together at Stockholm or elsewhere and do it themselves.

Below are presented the most significant of the recent utterances of labor organizations in various belligerent countries, all throwing light upon the war aims of European groups of workingmen. To complete the story the reader should turn also to the imposing series of war-aims speeches by political leaders, beginning on Page 257 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

British Labor's War Aims

One of the steps leading up to the Nottingham resolution was a memorandum on "Labor's War Aims" issued Dec. 17, 1917, by the Labor Party through its Secretary, Mr. Henderson. The memorandum was passed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the Labor Party. It declares "that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of the war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it," and that "whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British labor movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy."

Opposing imperialism in all countries, the memorandum declares that the British labor movement relies largely upon the complete democratization of all Governments, on the abolition of compulsory military service everywhere, and on the establishment, through the coming peace treaty, of a supernational authority, or league of nations, with appropriate legislative machinery and the necessary power to enforce its decrees.

Self-Determinism of Peoples

A summary of the other chief points is as follows:

The British labor movement has no sympathy with the attempts made, now in this quarter and now in that, to convert this war into a war of conquest, whether what is sought to be acquired by force is territory or wealth; nor should the struggle be prolonged for a single day, once the conditions of a permanent peace can be secured, merely for the sake of extending the boundaries of any State. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that, not only restitution and reparation, but also certain territorial readjustments are required, if a renewal of armaments and war is to be avoided. These readjustments must be such as can be arrived at by common agreement on the general principle of allowing all peoples to settle their own destinies and for the purpose of removing any obvious cause of future international conflict.

The British labor movement emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammeled independent sovereignty, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

The British labor movement reaffirms its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly torn from France in 1871, a political blunder the effects of which have contributed in no small degree to the continuance of unrest and the growth of militarism in Europe; and, profoundly sympathizing with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who have been subjected to so much repression, asks, in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that they shall be allowed, un-

der the protection of the supernational authority, or league of nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

The Balkans and Italy

The British labor movement suggests that the whole problem of the reorganization of the administration of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula might be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives, or by an authoritative international commission, on the basis of (a) the complete freedom of these people to settle their own destinies, irrespective of Austrian, Turkish, or other foreign dominion; (b) the independent sovereignties of the several nationalities in those districts in which these are largely predominant; (c) the universal adoption of religious tolerance, the equal citizenship of all races, and local autonomy; (d) a customs union embracing the whole of the Balkan States; and (e) the entry of all the Balkan National States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common concern.

The British labor movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it has no sympathy with the far-reaching aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Principle of Self-Determination

With regard to the other cases in dispute, from Luxemburg, on the one hand, of which the independence has been temporarily destroyed, to the lands now under foreign domination inhabited by other races—the outstanding example being that of the Poles—the British labor movement relies as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement on the application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny.

The Jews and Palestine

The British labor movement demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return, and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

The British labor movement condemns the handing back to the universally execrated rule of the Turkish Government any subject people. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralized, and placed (together with both shores of the Dardanelles and possibly some or all of Asia Minor) under the same impartial administration.

With regard to the colonies of the several belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, the British labor movement disclaims all sympathy with the imperialist idea that these should form the booty of any nation. It is suggested that the interests of humanity would be best served by the full and frank abandonment by all the belligerents of any dreams of an African empire; the transfer of the present colonies of the European powers in tropical Africa, however the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed supernational authority, or league of nations, herein suggested.

The British labor movement declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all

foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven.

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. Within each country the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for any one until all have bread."

The British labor movement holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations.

The British labor movement will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war.

It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

Labor Party's Reconstruction Program

Conscription of Wealth

THE British Labor Party followed up its war aims memorandum by issuing on Jan. 3, 1918, a report of its general policy for "reconstruction" after the war. It was prepared by a subcommittee of the executive for discussion by the constituent organizations and for eventual submission to the party conference to be held next June. The four pillars of reconstruction are specified thus:

(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;

(b) The Democratic Control of Industry;

(c) The Revolution in National Finance; and

(d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Labor Party states its general principles of reconstruction in these terms:

> The individualist system of capitalist production * * * may, we hope, have received a deathblow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself we must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that gen-

eral consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

As regards the first "pillar," the party holds that the minimum wage of 30 shillings ($7.50) a week should be the very lowest base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation in the United Kingdom. It calls for suitable provision against the disorganization of the labor market that must follow when millions of soldiers are demobilized and suddenly turned adrift to find employment. The party insists that the obligation to find suitable employment for these men and women will rest with the Government, and it demands that the Government should bind itself not to attempt to lower the standard of wages. To this end it calls for a specified program of public construction enterprises, which shall be used to tide over the period of readjustment.

Control of Industry

The party declares against the continuance of the Military Service acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. It stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals and their union, along with harbors and roads, and the posts and telegraphs, as well as the great lines of steamers, in a united national service of communication and transport, to be worked exclusively for the common good.

The party opposes the return of the railways to the shareholders, declaring that the railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public alone. Both in the railways and nationalized mines the party suggests a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the employes, and aims at household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp. It is further asserted that health insurance will never be put on a proper footing, or the Friendly Societies secure a clear field, until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies.

The assumption by a State Department of the whole business of life insurance is urged, and the party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. Localities should have conferred upon them facilities

(a) To prohibit the sale of liquor;
(b) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and
(c) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

The party holds that the Government has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering," work which must not end immediately on the declaration of peace. "The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the Government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. The question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector."

Revolution in National Finance

On the question of national finance the report has the following, among other passages:

The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor Party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, while three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. Innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns

Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, with the members of the Railroads' War Board, since replaced by the Advisory Board. From left to right: Julius Kruttschnitt, Howard Elliott, W. G. McAdoo, John Barton Payne, Samuel Rea, and Hale Holden.

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LEON TROTZKY

The People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in the Russian (Bolshevist) Administration. He was prominent in the Russian Revolution of 1905, but was in the United States when the Czar was overthrown in March, 1917.

(© *International Film Service.*)

nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before.

Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of £7,000,000,000, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which for local as well as central government must probably reach £1,000,000,000 a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided. The Labor Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation of whatever kind which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and supertax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances, and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to 16 or even 19 shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income.

But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor Party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires. Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought.

Surplus for Common Good

The fourth pillar is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good. It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization, and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers.

It is from the same source, says the report, that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents, and of adults, in which the Labor Party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public pro-

vision that the Labor Party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature, and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor Party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production.

It is the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor Party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

Finally, the report proposes "home rule all round" in the empire, disclaims any intention to dispossess or impoverish any other State, opposes the idea of an "economic war," likewise of a protective tariff, and advocates a league of nations, to be provided for in the treaty of peace.

British Labor's Message to the Bolsheviki

Indorses "No Annexations" Plan

AGAIN the British Labor Party placed itself on record regarding war issues on Jan. 15, 1918, in a message to the Russian people and an appeal to the peoples of Central Europe. The message was prepared by the Labor Party in conjunction with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The text reads:

We have reached a crisis in the war. The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk have been interrupted because the Germans have refused to admit the principle of self-determination of peoples and the doctrine of no annexations. In thus acting, the Central Powers are speaking clearly in the name of a militarist State.

In this crisis the British people must speak, because the Russians can only succeed in their great and perilous task if supported by the people everywhere. The British people must proclaim to Russia and the Central Powers that its aim is identical with Russia's; that we, too, see no solution for the evils of militarism except self-determination and no indemnities.

In applying this Russian principle to our own case we are conscious of the problems raised, but we do not shrink therefrom. The British people accepts the principle of no annexations for the British Empire. This applies in our case to the Middle East, Africa, and India.

We wish to remind the Russian people that Great Britain, taught by the loss of the American colonies in the eighteenth century, was the first modern State to grant complete self-determination to any group of its inhabitants, for example, the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. We accept the principle also for India and other dependencies of the British Empire, though we believe that the record of the British Government here gives little occasion for reproach.

We intend to meet this by more rapid development of self-government. We respect the sovereign independence of the Turkish people in their national home, but we believe that the domination of their Government over other peoples is a hindrance to their own national development. Our Government is pledged to some of those peoples—Arabs, Palestinians, Armenians—that the Ottoman rule shall not again be imposed on them. This responsibility should be undertaken by the peace conference and a permanent international organization that we hope will be there constituted.

In tropical Africa we repeat our renunciation of annexations. Nobody contends that the black races can govern themselves. They can only make it known that the particular Government under which they have been living is bad in some or all respects and indicate the specific evils from which they desire liberation. We believe that the peace conference would be well advised to place all tropical Africa under uniform international control.

We adjure the peoples of Central Eu-

rope to declare themselves or make their Governments speak for them in answer to Russia and ourselves. We call on them to renounce annexations in Europe with the same good faith in which we are renouncing them in Asia. We call on them to give the same self-determination to the French, Alsatian, Italian, Polish, and Danish members of their States as Russia has given to Finland, Courland, Lithuania, and Russian Poland. * * *

The family interests of dynasties or the desire of the German, Austrian, and Magyar governing classes to dominate other classes and nationalities must no more be suffered to prevent self-determination in Central Europe, and thereby imperil it in Europe as a whole, than the interests of British imperialism or British capitalism must be suffered to do elsewhere.

Peoples of Central Europe, this catastrophe of the human race, this fatal schism in the civilized world, can only be ended by the defeat of militarism on both sides and by the victory on both sides of moral and intellectual fair dealing. If the world is to be saved, it must be saved by good faith and reciprocity on the part of all. Do not fail us now. Do not let your Governments drive the British people, as they are driving the Russian people, into the terrible choice between continuing the war and abandoning the only principles that can save the world.

If this choice is forced upon us, we shall choose as Russia chose. We shall continue, but the responsibility will be yours.

French Socialists' Protest to Russians

Appeal Against Separate Peace

THE Socialist group in the French Chamber of Deputies published on Dec. 19, 1917, a long open letter to their fellow-Socialists in Russia, in which they recalled the enthusiasm and hope with which French Socialists had welcomed the Russian revolution, and in which they pleaded with the revolutionaries not to betray their allies by making a separate peace. They pointed out that such a peace between Russia and Germany would revive autocracy and be a moral disaster for which socialism would have to bear the blame. The full text of the latter half of the message is as follows:

How can the democracies of the West, whose long historic struggle the Russian democracy has no right to despise, even if it has not yet produced socialism; how can the great American democracy, whose idealistic force no one can deny; how can these nations act if they realize that they are threatened by the feebleness and desertion of their great northern ally? How will they be able to strengthen themselves for a prolonged struggle if they do not wish to see dominate the political, military, and economic hegemony of those who at the last moment unchained the catastrophe?

Has not Germany, followed by her allies, until now declined to make known her war aims? The laboring classes of the Central Empires have not won their political liberty. Even their sacrifices have not yet established the certitude of absolute universal suffrage, nor a supreme and responsible Parliament. Thus the people of the enemy countries have not affirmed by their acts their anti-imperialistic will, nor their unison with the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, nor with the principle of the society of nations which is destined to guarantee it.

There is in war a terrible logic. The Soviets realize this, for, while affirming their desire for a general peace, they said: "Let us ask Germany to make her war aims known and the German Socialists to have a revolution, just as we have."

The Soviets obtained neither one answer nor the other. Nevertheless, peace can be nothing but just, nothing but lasting. It can be both only by the democratic will of the people. A separate peace cannot be that. Thus concluded by the Russian revolution it would constrain Russian socialism to repudiate its own principles, renouncing the right of the people to dispose of themselves, and reckon as nothing the fate of the violated and pillaged little nations.

It would be a moral disaster the burden of which would be borne everywhere by international socialism as a perfectly natural consequence. Russian Socialists will not assume this responsibility. According to them, Russia will ascend from the abyss into which Czarism had thrown it. But for that supreme effort all Russian Socialists ought to be together and united. Divisions which were already sapping it before the war now paralyze its work of reorganization. From afar, we, its friends, have suffered in realizing so many cynical differences and rivalries. These

threaten the possible return of a reactionism from which the whole world would suffer.

But most of all, Russia should find, at the earliest possible moment, a stable Government whence shall arise the new life. A Constituent Assembly alone can furnish it; it alone can end the conflicts which unseat dictators without giving them authority and security for the morrow; it alone can say that it governs for the people by the people; it alone will offer other nations of the world guarantees and covenants which Russia is called to undertake in the international movement of events.

By casting aside a separate peace, revolutionary Russia will preserve her honor; she will refuse to deliver up to German imperialism the democracies which struggle against it. By uniting all Socialist elements, she will cement her forces of organization. By creating a republican administration with all the Regular Reds, she will indestructibly lay the foundations of Russian liberty, she will serve the progress of socialism throughout the world.

And we French Socialists who find in the seriousness of events and in the consciousness of our responsibilities the inspiration for these friendly declarations, we do not hesitate to say to you: We also realize the extent of our duties. French Socialists will do nothing to weaken the resistance of the army and people of France, but rather strengthen the morale of both, and forcefully implore the allied Governments that they clearly indicate by actions their oft-repeated declarations that they are fighting because they are attacked and that they would obtain no peace other than that of right.

Thus would a promise of a revision of the aims of war be imposed on the Governments. To the Governments of the Central Empires our Governments should categorically say: Only the desire for a general peace, which is the will of all peoples as it is of the Russian people, and the realization of international justice, can prevent the prolongation of the war.

The sacrifices which the allied peoples still consent to bear and on which the security of the Russian revolution and the path to reorganization rest may possibly, in spite of appearances, so bring home this supreme necessity to the peoples of the Central Empires that they, too, may be moved to realize that the sole safety of humanity must be democratic in its results, democratic in its methods, and democratic in its guarantees.

There follow twenty-eight signatures of Deputies, among which are those of Albert Thomas, Bedouce, Bracke, Cachin, Compère-Morel, Dejeante, Doizy, Goude, Groussier, Jules Guesde, Hubert, Trouger, de la Porte, Lauche, Lebey, Longuet, Mayeras, Mistral, Moutet, Ellen-Prèvot, Renaudel, Sembat, and Varenne.

Zimmerwald Socialist Manifesto

Peace by Means of a World Strike

THE Zimmerwald international organization of the extreme anti-war Socialist groups in the belligerent and neutral nations, which held its third conference at Stockholm on Sept. 5-7, 1917, issued a manifesto at that time, the text of which has at length reached the United States. The Zimmerwalders first organized in the little Swiss town of Zimmerwald, near Berne, Switzerland, in September, 1915. They have always advocated the forcing of peace by the direct pressure of the proletariat on the warring Governments through mass strikes as well as politically, but their Russian adherents are the only ones who thus far have acted upon this plan. Lenine and Trotzky have always been supporters of the Zimmerwald program. There have been some signs recently of serious attempts by Socialist minorities both in Germany and in Austria-Hungary to act along the same lines. In view of the growing part which organized labor is everywhere tending to take in the attempt to end the war this manifesto deserves to be placed on record.

The Stockholm conference which adopted this appeal was attended by representatives of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, of the opposition group in the Austrian Social Democracy, of nearly all the Russian Socialist organizations, of the regular Socialist parties of Finland, Rumania, Poland, and Switzerland, of the extreme groups of the Socialist parties of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and of the

Socialist Propaganda League and the International Brotherhood from the United States. The delegates from England, France, and Italy were prevented from attending by their Governments' refusal of passports.

Text of the Manifesto

The manifesto adopted at Stockholm is addressed to the proletarians of all countries and reads as follows:

The peoples are drifting unresistingly toward the fourth Winter of the war with all its horrors. Millions of men have been murdered, millions have been made cripples; other millions are being dragged to the slaughterhouse day after day. Hunger and misery are causing the decay of the men, women, and children who stay at home, not only in the belligerent but also in the neutral countries. This is the self-destruction of the peoples, as the result of the capitalist competition for power and booty.

In the face of this horror and torment there arises from the suffering peoples the ever-louder cry: "Bring us peace! Put an end to the international murder!" But thus far there is no sign of the dawning of peace. It is true that the rulers in both camps, under the pressure of their war-weary peoples, admit their readiness for peace, but behind their solemn protestations of a desire for peace their unsatisfied lust for the destruction of their opponents and for conquests and fresh possibilities of exploitation only hides itself with difficulty.

The capitalist Governments all fear being compelled to return from the battlefield without booty and laden only with debts running into billions and the curses of millions of widows and orphans. They tremble before the day of peace, which will be a day of reckoning. Therefore, they will not agree about peace as long as they still dispose of the least strength and the slightest prospect of the defeat of their opponents lures them on.

No less devoid of hopeful prospects is the so-called work of peace and mediation of the Government Socialists who have promised the proletariat decidedly to advance the cause of peace at Stockholm.

No bridges can be built between the Government Socialists of the two groups of power; they are nothing but the accomplices of their home Governments. The menial work they have done in helping maintain the political truce and in supporting the imperialistic war policy has robbed them of the ability to wage a revolutionary battle for interests of the proletariat.

In all countries the only ones able and called to do this work are the proletarian masses who have remained true to their Socialist ideas or are being rallied to them anew. Common ideas and the consciousness of common interests are welding these internationally minded proletarians together into a solid unit that is pressing irresistibly toward a common aim. And the development of things is also imperatively forcing them to a swift execution of their great life task.

Peace Only Through the Proletariat

Only a peace won and shaped by the Socialist proletariat through decisive mass actions can permanently prevent the renewal of the worldwide massacre. A capitalist peace, no matter how it might be shaped, would lead to the shifting to the shoulders of the working masses in every country of the immense war debts. The proletariat has sustained the war for years with the blood of its sons and with the vital strength of all its men and women. The capitalist gang has strengthened its blood-sucking powers through the easy acquisition of war profits. A capitalist peace would mean the sacrifice of the people's rights, but would make it easier for the capitalists to exploit the people's strength to the limit. In order to insure a permanent peace it is also necessary to democratize all the States from the ground up and to extirpate the privileges of the propertied classes. But the only guarantee against a return of the world war is the establishment of the social republic.

The conditions in Russia also are forcing the acceleration of the international proletarian battle. The Russian fighters for fredom, through their great revolution and the overthrow of Czarism, took a promising first step toward the forcing of peace and the liberation of the people. But in the world war the proletariat of a single country cannot force peace through its isolated efforts. Thus far the masses of the proletariat in the other countries have not followed their Russian brothers on the road to freedom. And this has aided in enabling the reaction to raise its head threateningly in Russia.

The international proletarian mass struggle for peace means at the same time the salvation of the Russian revolution.

There have been individual actions by the proletariat here and there already. Workingmen and workingwomen have raised the cry for bread, peace, and liberty in the street, in defiance of all persecutions. The masses of workers who lay down their tools in the face of war capitalism in order to guard their elementary rights as men are fighting the battles of the proletariat. And they have undertaken these strikes in spite of the surrender of their right of organization

by the Government Socialist, labor, and political leaders. All this is a sign not only of the war weariness of the proletarians in the different countries, but also of their recognition of the fact that only proletarian fighting methods can bring them peace.

Calls for an International Strike

But the longed-for goal cannot be reached through such individual battles, of which the proletarians of the other countries either never hear or learn of only after great delay. The hour has struck for beginning the great common battle in all countries for the bringing about of peace, for the liberation of the peoples through the Socialist proletariat. The means for this is the common international mass strike.

Our call is directed to the working class of every country. Its own fate is indissolubly connected with the fate of the world proletariat. The working people of any country who fail to join in the common struggle or who attack their brothers in the rear render vain the hope of peace, prolong the war and the exploitation of the people, and ruin their own future. It would be committing treason to the common cause of humanity. That must not be!

Proletarians of all nations! The hardest duty awaits you, but you are also encouraged by the loftiest aim, the final liberation of humanity.

Workingmen and workingwomen! Make propaganda for the international mass action in every factory where life throbs, in every foundry where it groans and creaks. The battle will be long and hard. The ruling classes will not yield to one blow, let alone capitulate. The harder the battle, the more determinedly must it be waged. We must win through fighting, for the continuance of unresisting forbearance is bound to bring the proletariat to its ruin.

Long live the international mass struggle against the war! Long live the Socialist peace!

War Aims and Pledges of France

M. Pichon, the New Foreign Minister, Defines France's Attitude Toward Russia and Other Issues

[*See other Peace-Aims Speeches, page* 257.]

DURING an important debate in the French Chamber, Dec. 28, 1917, regarding the separate peace negotiations of Russia at Brest-Litovsk, M. Pichon made his first speech as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Clemenceau Government. The discussion was started by the Socialists, some of whom desired that the Allies should recognize the Bolsheviki. M. Pichon, amid much cheering, declined to do anything until a legally constituted Government had been created, and once again he outlined the war aims of France. "Germany," continued M. Pichon, "is attempting to involve us in these Maximalist negotiations. We have suffered horrible losses, we have shown our heroism, and is it possible that we should agree to negotiate in such conditions?" In the midst of a striking silence the Minister said, "If there is a single Deputy who thinks it possible, let him say so." The Chamber, by its applause, proved its absolute agreement with the Minister and with the Government.

Following are some of the most significant passages in M. Pichon's speech:

"By the acts of the Bolsheviki Russia is completely disorganized. In order to escape a foreign war a great part of Russia is experiencing a more formidable internal tempest. Germany is trying to continue the work of destruction of the Russian military power, to dig an abyss between Russia and her allies, to take possession of her riches, to disintegrate and to split her up so as not to share the spoils, to recover her prisoners of war, and to arrange later on a revolution to establish an autocratic régime under Prussian hegemony. It is inconceivable that the entire Russian people is not revolted by this policy. As for us, it is our duty to remain in touch with all the sane elements in Russia; with all the groups which realize the need to be free. Amid the general disorganization we ought to

unite ourselves to them whether they may be Socialists, Liberals, or Revolutionists. We do not despair of our ancient ally; we are ready to resume with her our former relations, which it was not our fault were not maintained.

"Only our enemies have been able to impute intentions of conquest to us. Only they have accused us; they who prepared for forty years the monstrous aggression, who publicly preached the subjugation of the world, who hurled themselves upon unfortunate Serbia, who assailed Belgium, who took the initiative in the submarine war, who have devastated territories, and who have not made known their war aims except with equivocal reservations. We are not intervening in the internal policy of Russia, but we are taking the necessary measures to safeguard our considerable interests in the country to which we have been attached by alliance for a quarter of a century. In conformity with the principles of the Maximalists we are replying favorably to the populations which wish to maintain relations with us. We are not working for the breakup of Russia, but we wish to serve a policy which will regenerate Russia.

"I have been asked to define our war aims. They are public, and have been announced in the repeated declarations of our Ministers, in Orders of the Day in Parliament, and in speeches by the leaders of Governments. First, to conquer. Mr. Lloyd George again repeated yesterday that peace was only to be obtained by victory. In order to give the world a peace of justice and fraternity in conformity with the votes of the Chambers and the declarations of the allied Governments we aim at the restitution of the provinces which were torn from us by force, the reintegration of Alsace-Lorraine, a guarantee of a durable peace by agreement, and a general organization by a society of nations. We are in complete agreement with President Wilson. He said, 'Our present and immediate task is to win the war. Nothing will turn us from this task until it has been accomplished. We shall consider the war as won only when the German people tell us through their legally accredited representatives that they are ready to accept a peace based on justice and reparation for the wrongs done.'

"Since the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine we have not ceased to suffer in our hearts. Never was it a question of our annexing populations under any form whatever by right of conquest. In the Allies' reply to President Wilson's message it was no longer a question of the extermination of the German people and their disappearance from the map of the world.

"We spoke not only for Serbia and Belgium, but also for Poland. The Allies wish an independent and indivisible Poland, with all guarantees for its free, economic, and military development. The Armenian and Syrian peoples and all those who submit to the foreign yoke deserve our sympathy. Our enemies, on the other hand, through the mouth of Count Czernin, have proclaimed that the right of nationalities to settle their own destiny is a question of internal policy. What distinguishes us from our enemies is our will for a just and durable peace. It is easily understood why Germany and Austria refused to define their peace without annexation.

"The question of Alsace-Lorraine is not only a French question but a world question. It is a symbol of right. We are not only fighting for France. Nothing would be more false than to pretend that we are prolonging the war for egoistical reasons. There are, besides, other questions than those of Alsace-Lorraine which will have to be settled in the French sense or in the German sense. Will there be, or will there not be, a new Europe? Will there be, or will there not be, a durable peace for the nations? We considered as a deliverance the capture of Jerusalem, which is not a French victory or a British victory, but a victory for the civilized world and deliverance for the populations of Palestine, where will be instituted an international régime of justice and liberty.

"Germany is trying to draw us into the peace negotiations. After the horrible losses we have suffered, and after the heroism of our troops, can there be any question of a peace on terms of the

territorial status quo or the economic status quo? I have already said that on the day when we were informed directly of peace terms we should consider them with our allies, but such an indirect peace proposal does not deserve to be taken into consideration.

"Either the Russian negotiations will end in the capitulation of Russia or else they will break down. In either case for us the war will continue. The war has entered upon its most critical phase. Until further orders our ally is lacking to us, an ally who was on the point of bringing about decisive results. Incontestably, it is a great success for Germany and Austria-Hungary to have liberty of movement on our front, but if one ally fails us another has joined us, the United States, with all its commercial, industrial, economic, and military strength. The Allies are determined to pool all their resources in order to give their armies the maximum of power. Unity of action was settled at the last conference. Italy and the allied armies are fighting for the common welfare. Their close union will also be affirmed on the Macedonian front.

"Germany set out upon the impossible task of conquering the world. The world will conquer her. As Mr. Roosevelt said, France will have saved the soul of the world."

Field Marshal Haig's 1917 Report

Summary of Its Main Features

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, the British Commander in Chief in France and Belgium, issued an extended report in The British Official Gazette on Jan. 8, 1918. The report covered the Spring and Summer campaigns of 1917, beginning at the opening of the Arras offensive, April 9, and extending to the conclusion of the Flanders defensive in November.

At the outset of his report General Haig explains how the general allied plan of campaign for the year was settled at a conference at French Headquarters in November, 1916.

"The plan," the report says, "comprised a series of offensives on all fronts, so timed as to assist each other by depriving the enemy of the power of weakening any of his fronts to reinforce another."

This plan had to be modified on a wholesale scale from the very start, owing to a variety of unexpected developments, such as the Russian situation, the requirements of the Allies, and, particularly, in later months, to adverse weather conditions.

Notwithstanding these difficulties the whole story of the year's work is a steady continuation of British successes and German setbacks, which give General Haig ground for his optimistic conclusion.

"The Flanders offensive was maintained for three and a half months under most adverse conditions," he says. "The weather entailed almost superhuman exertions on the part of the troops of all arms. The enemy did his utmost to hold his ground, and in endeavoring to do so used up no less than seventy-eight divisions, of which eighteen were engaged a second or third time after being withdrawn to rest and refit.

"Despite the magnitude of his efforts, it was the immense natural difficulties, accentuated manifold by abnormally wet weather rather than the enemy's resistance, which limited our progress and prevented the complete capture of the ridge. What was actually accomplished under such adverse conditions is the most conclusive proof that, given a normally fine August, the capture of the whole ridge in a few weeks was well within the power of our men.

"They advanced every time with absolute confidence in their power to overcome the enemy, but physical exhaustion placed narrow limits on the depth to which each advance could be pushed. The

full fruits of each success consequently were not always obtainable.

"Time after time the practically beaten enemy was enabled to reorganize and relieve his men and bring up reinforcements behind the sea of mud, which constituted his main protection.

"Our captures in Flanders since the end of July amount to 24,000 prisoners, 74 guns, and 941 machine guns. It is certain that the enemy losses exceeded ours.

"The most important of all is that our new and hastily trained armies again have shown that they are capable of meeting and beating the enemy's best troops under conditions which favored his defense.

"In this respect I desire to emphasize the supreme importance of adequate training prior to placing troops in the line of battle. It is essential if sacrifice is to be avoided and success assured.

"The general conditions of the struggle this year have been very different from those contemplated at the conference in November, 1916. The great general and simultaneous offensive then agreed upon did not materialize. Russia, though some of her leaders made a fine effort, not only failed to give the help expected, but even failed to prevent the enemy from transferring forty fresh divisions from her front in exchange for tired ones used up in the west, or from replacing his losses on the west by drafts of fresh men from the east.

"The combined Franco-British offensive in the Spring was launched before Italy was ready, and the splendid effort made by Italy later was unfortunately followed by developments which resulted in the weakening of the allied forces in this theatre. In the circumstances the task of the British and French armies has been far heavier throughout the year than originally was anticipated, and the enemy's means of meeting our attack was greater than he or we expected.

"That under such circumstances we won the victories of Arras, Vimy, and Messines, and the French those at Moronvillers, Verdun, and Malmaison constitutes a record of which the Allies have a right to be proud. The British armies have maintained a vigorous and continuous offensive throughout the period covered by this dispatch. No other example of offensive action on so large a scale and so long and successfully sustained has been furnished by the war.

"In the operations at Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres, 131 German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British.

"Without reckoning the possibilities opened up by our territorial gains in Flanders, and without considering the effect which a less vigorous prosecution of the war by us might have had in the other theatres, we have every reason to be satisfied with the results achieved in the last year's fighting."

He sums up the report as follows:

"The additional strength which the enemy can obtain from the events in Russia and Italy already has been largely discounted, and the ultimate destruction of the enemy's field forces has been brought appreciably nearer."

The following is the closing sentence:

"During the year the United States have entered the war and taken up their part with all the well-known energy and ability of that great nation. Already many thousands of American soldiers are in France. Warm as is the welcome they received from the French people, nowhere will they find a mere genuine or friendly greeting than among the ranks of the other great English-speaking armies."

Investigation of the Cambrai Reverse

The report of General Haig does not embrace the Cambria offensive of late November, 1917, when the British troops made their most important advance of the year, going forward from three to seven miles. Nine days later the Germans delivered a sudden counterattack, forcing the British back two miles, and thus neutralized much of the fruits of their victory. The withdrawal provoked

much criticism in England, and resulted in the appointment of a commission to ascertain whether there had been a surprise due to blundering tactics.

Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in the House of Commons on Jan. 15, 1918, that as a result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry the General Staff, War Cabinet, and the Government considered that the British higher army command had not been surprised by the German attack in the Cambrai region Nov. 30, and that all proper and adequate dispositions had been made to meet it.

Bonar Law said Field Marshal Haig's inquiry was instituted before instructions had been received by him from the War Office. His report had been carefully examined by the General Staff, and the War Cabinet considered that it would be highly detrimental to the public interest to have a public discussion on the breakdown which undoubtedly had occurred. The Cabinet, added the Chancellor, was satisfied that proper measures had been taken to deal with any similar situation in the future.

Answering a question by Arthur Lynch, Nationalist member from West Clare, as to whether unity of command had been obtained on the western front in the sense that a Generalissimo had been appointed to direct operations, Bonar Law said "No," and made the same reply regarding the Italian front.

Asked by James Myles Hogge, Radical member for East Edinburgh, whether any one had been sent home as a result of the Cambrai incident, Bonar Law said that the answer he had given made it plain that the War Cabinet held the higher command blameless.

Noel Pemberton Billing, member for East Hertfordshire, asked the Chancellor if he could dispel the rumor that Field Marshal Haig was being relieved of his command in France. Bonar Law replied that it was quite unnecessary for him to do so.

Attack on General Robertson

A few days later an attack appeared in The London Mail directed against the Imperial General Staff, particularly its chief, Sir William Robertson, and Lord Derby, Secretary of War, which produced a political sensation and was regarded as the beginning of a campaign against the caste system in the old army, it being charged that officers of the territorial and new army battalions are confined to regimental duties, while staff appointments are regarded as the prerogative of the old regulars.

The question of the responsibility for the German success at Cambrai came up again in Parliament on Jan. 23. James Ian MacPherson, Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office, replying to criticisms, after protesting against what he termed the cruel charges against a most distinguished General at a time when he had no opportunity for defending himself, declared unhesitatingly that the Government had full confidence in the Field Marshal. Mr. MacPherson said he could not speak for the War Cabinet, but that he could speak for the War Office and the Army Council, and he asserted that from the time Field Marshal Haig took command up to the present moment he had never lost the confidence of those bodies.

The Secretary admitted that there was a breakdown at Cambrai, but he pointed out that the General Staff knew on Nov. 28 that an attack was intended for the 30th. He could not go beyond Bonar Law's statement, but he would repeat that the breakdown was not a fault of the General Staff.

The disposition of the troops, Mr. MacPherson added, was as good as could possibly have been made, and the War Cabinet came to the conclusion that nobody should be sacrificed for the reverse, which could not possibly have been avoided, owing to the nature of the circumstances, which could not be overcome.

The Secretary said that there was a breakdown at this particular point of the line, but there was no salient there. Inequality of forces existed at this particular spot, despite the fact that the General Staff took all necessary precautions. It has been asked why reinforcements were lacking, but, as a matter of fact, they were ready behind the lines in most perfect disposition. History

would show why they were there, and if they had not been there he was not sure what the result would have been.

There was no intention to publish the result of the inquiry, said Mr. MacPherson. There had been no withdrawals from the front of any persons from the higher command. He thought the War Cabinet already had shown that when necessary it would withdraw Generals, and, if in the present case the Cabinet had been assured that the higher command was not blameless, he made bold to say that it would have changed the higher command.

Mr. MacPherson announced that Lieut. Gen. Sir Herbert Alexander Lawrence had been appointed Chief of the General Staff in France, Colonel E. W. Cox to be a Brigadier General on the General Staff of the Intelligence Department, and General Travers E. Clarke Quartermaster General. These changes, Mr. MacPherson added, had nothing to do with the report to the War Council on the operations at Cambrai.

Attack on the American War Secretary

The criticisms against the American War Secretary, Newton D. Baker, assumed concrete form when Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, a consistent supporter of President Wilson and a leader in his party, declared in a public speech at New York Jan. 19, 1918, that "the "military establishment of America has "fallen down," and the reason it fell was "because of inefficiency in every "bureau and department of the Govern- "ment of the United States." The next day the Military Committee of the Senate reported for passage a bill to create a Minister of Munitions and another to create a super war cabinet of three, which would be independent of the Secretaries of War and Navy in the control of actual war operations.

President Wilson sharply resented the utterance of Senator Chamberlain and declared he would exert his full power to defeat the measures. In his statement the President declared:

> Senator Chamberlain's statement as to the present inaction and ineffectiveness of the Government is an astonishing and absolutely unjustifiable distortion of the truth.
>
> As a matter of fact, the War Department has performed a task of unparalleled magnitude and difficulty with extraordinary promptness and efficiency. There have been delays and disappointments and partial miscarriages of plan, all of which have been drawn into the foreground and exaggerated by the investigations which have been in progress since the Congress assembled—investigations which drew indispensable officials of the department constantly away from their work and officers from their commands and contributed a great deal to such delay and confusion as had inevitably arisen. * * *
>
> My association and constant conference with the Secretary of War have taught me to regard him as one of the ablest public officials I have ever known. The country will soon learn whether he or his critics understand the business in hand.
>
> To add, as Senator Chamberlain did, that there is inefficiency in every department and bureau of the Government is to show such ignorance of actual conditions as to make it impossible to attach any importance to his statement. I am bound to infer that that statement sprang out of opposition to the Administration's whole policy rather than out of any serious intention to reform its practice.

The controversy stirred up the first political strife that had arisen since war was declared.

The New German Troops in France

By Walter Littlefield

AFTER the collapse of the Russian fighting machine the German press proclaimed as a consequence an almost immediate German offensive in the west. The press of the Allies and even their statesmen were not slow to take alarm and to speculate on the number of men that would be moved from the east to the west and to attempt to designate where the threatened blow would fall. The invasion of Italy was pointed out as an illustration of how Germany could strike with secrecy and with large bodies of troops. As in certain allied quarters the supposed movement of enemy troops westward has been discussed by alarmists with seven figures as the basis of their calculation, it may be well to examine the actual facts in the light of Teutonic man power, means of transportation, and probable objectives.

Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Minister of National Service, analyzing the enemy's strength, told the House of Commons in January that the Germans would be able to withdraw 950,000 men from the eastern front, and that the Austrians would be able to release enough to make the total 1,600,000. But as he gave no period during which this feat could be accomplished, his words were a warning for the future rather than for the immediate situation. The Italian Embassy at Washington was informed a few days before the Teutonic stroke into the Regione di Veneto, that forty-seven Austro-German divisions had been released from the eastern front for service in the west, but the destiny of these divisions and their composition has only recently become known. From Teutonic prisoners taken in Veneto it has been learned that although the Austrian reinforcements there came from the eastern front, the five or six German divisions in Italy came from the western, and that the Germans withdrawn from the east filled their places. Nor were the forty-seven divisions removed en masse, but "in frame," as it were, their complement being made up by recruits already in the west. Moreover, the full force of a mobile German division today is no longer 20,000, but between 13,000 and 14,000. This is also true of an Austrian division.

While the foregoing movement of troops is theoretically confirmed as being the most economical in regard to transportation and supply—northern railways being used from east to west and southern lines from west to southeast, save in Austria, where the southern route via Vienna was evidently used from the Russian front to the Italian—it is also practically confirmed by information in the possession of the French General Staff. It is positively known, for example, that during October every company of the Woyrsch army contributed 20 men apiece, making 15,000 men in all, who were sent to bases in Belgium. On Oct. 16, 900 men of the 18th Landwehr Division also left for the same destination. On the 20th the 3d and 4th Landwehr Divisions each contributed 1,500 men.

Transfer a Slow Process

It is officially estimated that the movement westward amounted to a total of 10,000 Germans in October, 20,000 in November, and possibly 45,000 in December and January, with a declining ratio for the last month. To date, therefore, (Jan. 23, 1918,) the Germans have shifted about 75,000 men from the eastern to the western front. But they represent skeleton detachments of not more than fifty divisions, whose complement is now being provided by transfers and new recruits at their western posts, and which will ultimately reach a strength of probably not more than 650,000 or 750,000 men.

The German front in Russia, 450 miles long, was held by the Riga army with headquarters at Friedrichstadt, the VIII

Army, the X Army, the XII Army, the IX Army, and some Bavarian detachments encircling Pinsk—in all forty-eight divisions of infantry and ten of cavalry, with an aggregate maximum strength of 1,200,000 men. It is unnecessary, at this time, to give the strength of the Austrians, Bulgars, and Turks south on the remainder of the line, for only that of the Austrians is vital, and little of it will be left after deducting their engaged force in Italy from their total man power, in the proper place. Only one thing is certain, the 1,200,000 Germans on the Russian front have been reduced by 75,000 men, and can still further be reduced at a maximum rate of 20,000 or 25,000 men a month—a figure depending upon several elements, the attitude of Russia, the resources of transit, and the resources of food and munitions. There is no question of the west being well supplied with munitions, but how about the food daily required to support an additional army suddenly thrust upon it?

Two Concentration Areas

According to German strategy, which is necessarily based upon German tactics —for you have to get an army to a given place before it can be manoeuvred—there are two general points of concentration on the western front. These are from the North Sea to where the British link up with the main French army at St. Quentin, and the Verdun front, including the western side of the St. Mihiel salient. There is an exception, however, also one seeming paradox, both of which must be borne in mind. The railway facilities on the Lorraine front, between Metz and Strassburg, are nearly, if not quite, as great as those behind the Flanders and Aisne fronts, while the fact that from April 16 until the last of July, 1917, the Imperial Crown Prince employed seventy-one divisions in Aisne and Champagne would seem to show that the transportation service on the lower western front was of the best.

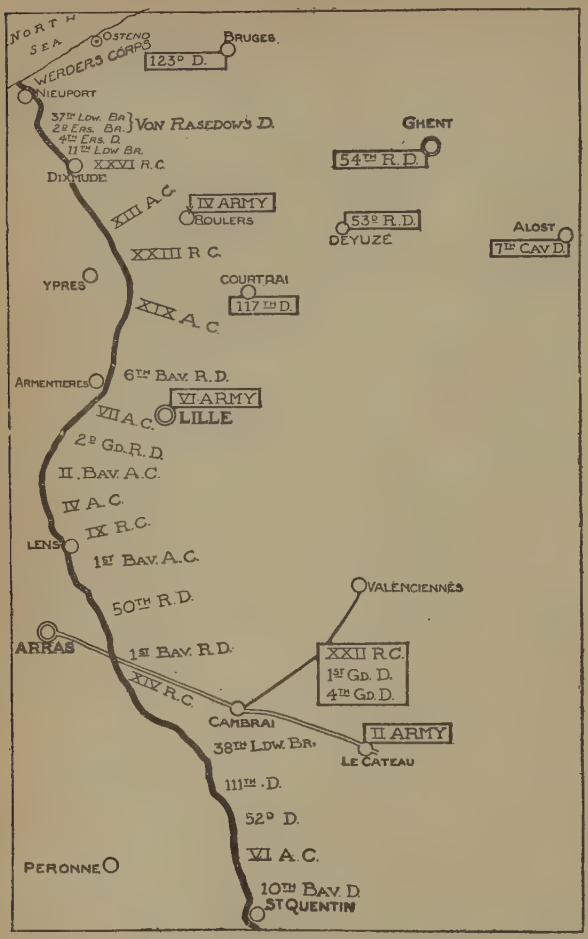
The fact is that nearly all these troops came from the northern part of the front, and their movements along the line were not dependent upon Germany's main railway systems. As to the Lorraine front, after September, 1914, German strategy has not, for very obvious reasons, seen fit to avail itself of the tactical advantages of this region. And to the southeast, in Alsace, with its mountains, we have a duplication in topography of the terrain of Ardenne, which is situated between the Departments of Aisne and Meuse, in the centre of which Verdun is situated.

Flanders and Verdun Fronts

Of the entire front, with all its salients of 460 miles, the British hold only about 135, but that 135 miles, save for the Verdun front from the Argonne Forest around to St. Mihiel, a distance of fifty-five miles, is more vitally exposed, both tactically and strategically, than the entire remainder of the front. The distribution of German railways and the casualties sustained in defensive operations prove this.

Now if we subtract from the entire line the vital front from the North Sea south to St. Quentin—held not only by the British Army but also for fifteen miles by the Belgian, and by some French detachments north of Ypres—plus the Verdun front, we have a remainder of 270 miles, which is normally held by the Germans at the rate of 5,000 men to the mile, making in all a total of 1,350,000 men, including reserves.

By drawing particular attention to the Flanders and Verdun fronts there is no desire to deprecate the front running through Aisne into Ardenne—north of the famous Chemin des Dames into Champagne—or that of Lorraine, but the strategy of the one and the tactics of the other have been fully indicated, and do not enter into the subject of the distribution of troops on a large scale, based on our present knowledge of Germany's plans. The Chemin des Dames seems to be as permanently lost to the Germans as is Verdun, while the tactical advantages of Lorraine have not, as has been said, since the beginning of the war appealed to German strategy. On the other hand, both the Flanders and the northern Aisne line and the line around Verdun can be in a few hours prodigiously reinforced from the great Rhenish depots of men and material—the for-



LOCATION OF GERMAN TROOPS TRANSFERRED FROM RUSSIA TO WESTERN FRONT. (JAN. 18, 1918.)

Key to abbreviations: A. C., Active Corps; R. C., Reserve Corps; I. D., Infantry Division; R. D., Reserve Division; Ldw., Landwehr; Ers., Ersatz, (Duplicate;) Bri., Brigade; Bav., Bavarian; Gd., Guard.

mer from Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Coblenz, Mainz, and Frankfort, and the latter from Mannheim, Metz, Karlsrhue, Stuttgart, and Strassburg, where the VII, IX, X, VIII, XIV, XIII, XVI, and XV Army Corps were so perfectly prepared for the war.

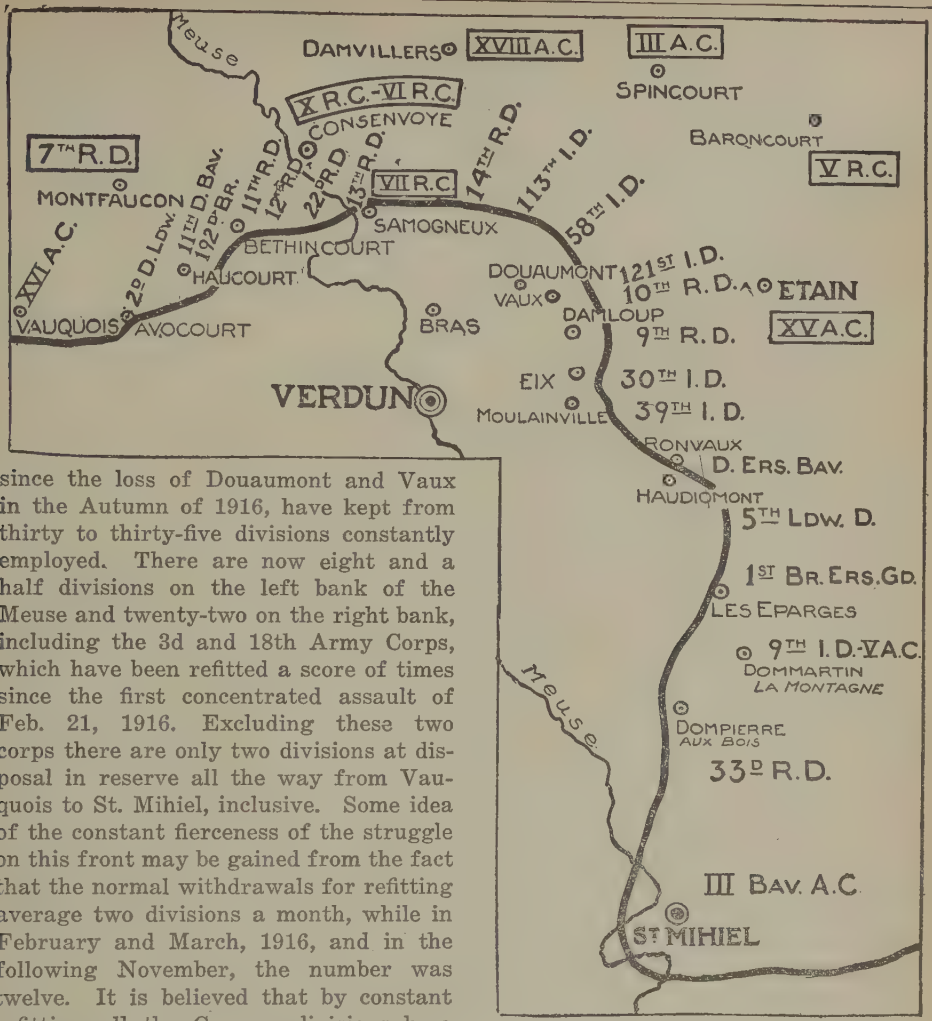
From the Sea to St. Quentin

The insignia on a prisoner's uniform reveals the number of his command, while his bases of supplies and concentration in the rear are known through letters found on him, by aerial observation, and through spies. It has thus been ascertained that the front from the sea to St. Quentin is held by the 4th, 6th, and 2d German armies, with headquarters respectively at Roulers, Lille, and Le Cateau, (the last formerly at St. Quentin.) These armies in the "ordre de bataille" given on the accompanying diagram are composed of forty divisions excluding cavalry. Now if these divisions are at full strength—as we must assume they are after a month or so of relative inactivity — they number not less than 800,000 of all ranks in the aggregate, and the number may represent in combatants 500,000 men and over 3,000 guns.

From north to south the German armies and special groupings include the Naval Corps, Werder's Corps, two and a half Landwehr and Ersatz (duplicate) divisions, facing the British naval battalions and the Belgians, and the 26th Reserve Corps facing the French north of Ypres. The remainder face the British. Toward the end of December the following troops were billeted in reserve: The 123d Division at Bruges, the 54th Reserve Division at Ghent, the 53d Reserve Division at Deynze, the 7th Cavalry Division near Alost, the 117th Division at Courtrai, and the 22d Reserve Corps, the 1st Guard Division, and the 4th Guard Division at Valenciennes and Cambrai. Another reserve division was stationed in the villages east of St. Quentin, but since the beginning of the year it has been transferred elsewhere. Thus, there are about 1,000,000 men on or within immediate striking distance of the front in question—a front of 135 miles mainly held by the British.

German Forces at Verdun

On the Verdun front the Germans,



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF GERMAN DIVISIONS SHIFTED FROM RUSSIA TO VERDUN SECTOR. (JAN. 18, 1918).

For key to abbreviations see opposite page.

since the loss of Douaumont and Vaux in the Autumn of 1916, have kept from thirty to thirty-five divisions constantly employed. There are now eight and a half divisions on the left bank of the Meuse and twenty-two on the right bank, including the 3d and 18th Army Corps, which have been refitted a score of times since the first concentrated assault of Feb. 21, 1916. Excluding these two corps there are only two divisions at disposal in reserve all the way from Vauquois to St. Mihiel, inclusive. Some idea of the constant fierceness of the struggle on this front may be gained from the fact that the normal withdrawals for refitting average two divisions a month, while in February and March, 1916, and in the following November, the number was twelve. It is believed that by constant refitting all the German divisions here are kept at their maximum, and that at present there are no fewer than 600,000 men on or near this sector of fifty-five miles.

To recapitulate the German forces on the western front:

Movement of 75,000 men from the east as basis for	700,000
From the sea to St. Quentin	1,000,000
At Verdun	600,000
Elsewhere on the front	1,350,000
Total	3,650,000

From this sum should be subtracted the 65,000 or 70,000 men taken for use in Italy, while to it may in the future be added on the average not more than 35,000 a month from the eastern front, military and transit conditions permitting, until the figure designated by Sir Auckland Geddes, 950,000, is reached. To what extent this figure may be later augmented in the west is not known—probably not in the proportion of from three to twenty-eight, which is characterizing present transits. And so the total of German man power immediately available for all military operations can hardly exceed the force on or near the western front, 3,650,000, plus the remainder on the eastern front, 1,125,000, which gives a total of 4,775,000 men.

Map of Germany's Railway System

FORCES BACK OF THE LINES.—GERMAN ARMY DIVISIONS FROM THE EASTERN FRONT WERE LOCATED AS FOLLOWS IN JANUARY, 1918: AT HAMM, THE 41ST DIVISION; AT ISERLOHN, THE 199TH AND 4TH CAVALRY DIVISIONS; AT DUESSELDORF, THE 108TH DIVISION; AT COLOGNE, THE 21ST ARMY CORPS; AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, THE 75TH AND 80TH RESERVE DIVISIONS; AT COBLENZ, THE 10TH LANDWEHR DIVISION AND 9TH LANDWEHR BRIGADE; AT SAARBURG, THE 89TH DIVISION AND 11TH LANDWEHR DIVISION; AT STUTTGART, THE 83D, 84TH, AND 86TH DIVISIONS.

SCALE OF MAP: 80 ENGLISH MILES TO THE INCH.

Total German Man Power

These are purely military figures. Let us see how they correspond with those of vital statistics obtained principally from German sources. The German man power available since the war began has been 14,000,000. There have been mobilized for active military service, including the entire class of 1919 recruits, 10,650,000; of these 4,000,000 have been definitely lost, as dead, prisoners, or permanently injured. (French and British experts say this figure will run into 6,000,000, but the minimum is here adopted.) The difference shows, in active service, 6,650,000 men. Now the difference between the military figure of 4,775,000 and the civil figure of 6,650,000, which is 1,875,000, is not so significant when we consider the military organization of the German Empire, and the fact that the military figure denotes the actual number of troops known to be on or near the various fronts, or preparing for them.

Recent Official Data

Colonel Repington of the British Army announces that "we must expect "half a million fresh German fighters "on the west front" and that "there are "now 150 German divisions, or about "2,250,000 men, on the west front, and "about 79 divisions, or about 1,185,000 "men, on the east. From the latter num- "ber all those between 19 and 35 are be- "ing withdrawn for service on the Fran- "co-British front."

Secretary Baker has information which has enabled him to announce that the German divisions on the western front in the middle of December numbered 154, or within one of the maximum of last July. The Italian General Staff has announced that there are fifty-two enemy divisions, of which seven are German, on the Italian front. In the rear there are said to be four Austro-Hungarian and four German divisions. This total of sixty divisions would give at full strength 1,200,000 men. Now this is hardly possible, as the French General Staff places Austria's total man power at only 1,239,000, thus distributed: One thousand one hundred and seventy battalions of infantry, 240 squadrons of cavalry, 2,950 field guns, 1,500 light howitzers, and 922 heavy guns.

German Railway Systems

Before the war Germany had in the west what may be described as two centres of railway concentration, one between the Rhine and the Belgian frontier, and the other between the Rhine and the Lorraine frontier, the latter flanked by Metz and Strassburg. Both terrains were a perfect network of strategic lines. Since the war began she had developed a third, between Metz and the Argonne. The character of this is unknown, but its availability is constantly being demonstrated on the Verdun front.

Between the two original terrains of railway concentration there is a wedge thrust between Belgium and France, whose vertex is at St. Quentin. Here also the railways have been greatly increased and expanded. The lines Cologne-Liége-Namur-Maubeuge-St. Quentin and Liége-Luxemburg-Diedenhofen each has four sets of rails, as also has the short line Treves-Luxemburg. The junctions at Metz, Mézières, Herson, and Marloie have greatly increased their number of sidings.

Aside from the foregoing systems or, in certain instances, included in them, there are five main arteries which are always kept open for military service. They radiate from the front to the great Rhine military stations, as follows: (1) Cambrai to Aix-la-Chapelle, via Valenciennes, Mons, Brussels, and Liége; (2) St. Quentin also to Aix, via Maubeuge, Namur, and Liége; (3) Laon to Aix, via Vervins, Givet, and Namur; (4) from beyond Rheims to Aix, via Rethel, Mézières, Givet, Dinant, and Namur; (5) from beyond Verdun at least three lines, probably more, which lead directly or indirectly to Coblenz, Mainz, and Frankfort. The central system of the trans-German lines from Russia is distributed at these three cities; the northern is concentrated at Cologne, which is connected with Aix by a four-rail line; the southern at some point between Saarbruck and the Rhine divides, and covers Strassburg and Metz.

Since the war began it is estimated that Germany's 37,441 miles of railway

have been increased to nearly 40,000. Of the total a mileage between 6,000 and 7,000 is available for military transportation east and west. Beyond the Russian frontier, 1,500 miles from the western front, the three systems reach Riga via Königsberg, and Grondo, Pinsk, and Lutzk via Warsaw.

In the first year of the war it was a comparatively easy matter to send troops from the west to East Prussia or Posen and back again, although each army corps required twenty-six trains; but now the Russian transit is added. Therein lies the great obstacle to a rapid movement of troops from the east to the west. The rate of 75,000 men in about four months' time is not likely to be increased, particularly as the worst part of the journey is from the Russian front to the Russo-German frontier, and as long as Russia is what she is the occupied territory must be held by a strong arm. After all, would Germany, as Sir Auckland Geddes says, actually reduce her army in Russia, in present conditions, to 250,000 men (1,200,000 minus 950,000)? It seems extremely unlikely.

A Thousand Ships in the United States Navy

Secretary Daniels, giving evidence before the House Sub-Committee on Naval Affairs on Dec. 19, 1917, stated that the navy has more than a thousand ships in commission, as against 300 two years ago; that 424 were in course of construction, this figure not including 350 submarine chasers, and that contracts were being let for hundreds of other craft.

Mr. Daniels explained that of 496 contracts made since April 1 last, only 62 had been on a basis of cost plus 10 per cent. Of $70,000,000 worth of contracts, exclusive of ships, $26,600,000 had been on the 10 per cent. plus basis and $43,400,000 in the usual way.

The Secretary praised the co-ordination between the personnel of the navy and the personnel of the Allies. One of the great problems, he said, was to furnish gun crews to merchant ships. "We made these reserve ships," said Mr. Daniels, "a school for gunners, and the efficiency with which these officers have taken hold of the young men and made the young men efficient is really one of the big things of the navy in this war. We have put guns on every ship going into submarine war zones that requested it."

Rear Admiral McGowan, Chief of the Naval Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, who also gave evidence, said that since April 1 last $317,000,000 had passed through his hands as Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts for supplies exclusive of battleships, armorplate, and the like. Of this amount all had been expended after competitive bidding except about $19,000,000. The present purchases of his bureau aggregated about a million a day, including Sundays. Excellent transportation facilities had been furnished by the railroads. While a fast freight service had not been maintained, there was a continuous service to the Government yards. This service was maintained because the railroads knew the navy had not abused the practice of marking trivial shipments "urgent." "We are still having our transportation handled expeditiously," he added. "We are getting 100 per cent. service from the railroads."

Military Events of the Month

From Dec. 18, 1917, to Jan. 17, 1918

UP to the latter half of January the Germans had given no sign of their supposed offensive on the western front, so generally advertised by their press when they began peace negotiations with the Russian de facto Government. The military operations of the month were principally confined to reconnoissance of various sorts on the part of the Allies—land and aerial raids, the searching out of German emplacements by mid-calibre gun-fire, and air excursions in force to the German military camps in the valleys of the Moselle and Rhine. On the other hand, there has been a certain concentration of movements on the part of the enemy on the Cambrai and Verdun sectors. As far as Cambrai is concerned both this activity and the British investigation of their recent defeat there prove that the preceding offensive was merely scotched and not paralyzed. Aerial observation at Verdun has shown that the Germans still maintain a potential offensive force there.

Alpine weather came to the Italian front just in time to prevent the enemy from deploying beyond the passes he had already captured and from taking new heights guarding others. The British and French, under Generals Plumer and Fayolle, have, meanwhile, left their prepared ground on the Adige and achieved important local results with the Italians on the Piave. The Austrian salient at Zenson on the right bank has been wiped out.

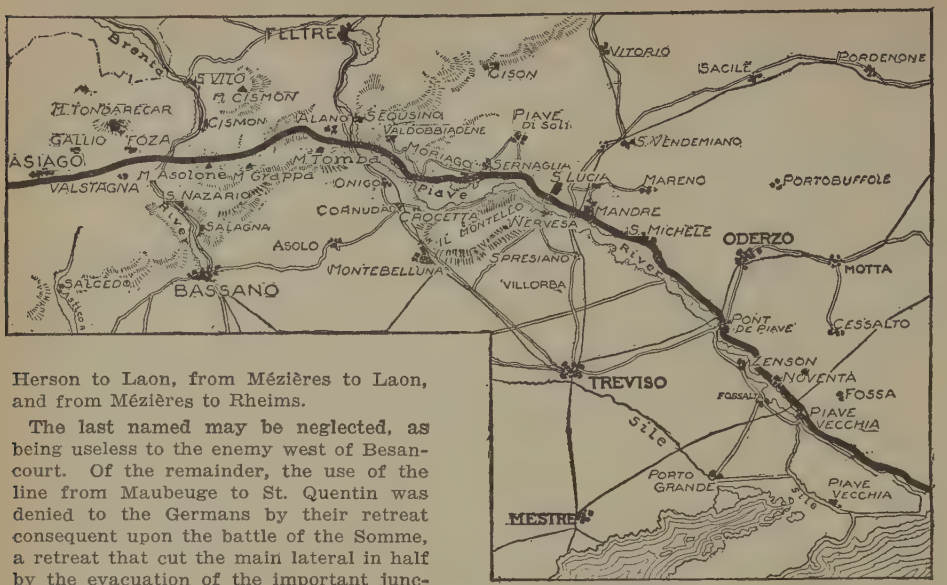
As for the more remote battle zones, save that in Palestine, the situation has shown little change. In the middle of January renewed activity by raid and artillery fire was reported from the Macedonian front, where Bulgar encampments northeast of Doiran and in the region of Monastir were attacked or bombarded. But so far Sarrail's successor has given no other sign.

As the British-Egyptian army under General Allenby, with its French, Italian, and Arab auxiliaries, advances north of Jerusalem on the road to Damascus and Aleppo, the resistance of the Turks becomes more pronounced. On Dec. 28 the elevations of Ras Arkus and Es Suffa, near the Jericho road, were taken only after stubborn fighting. Significant is the fact that between the time of the loss of Jerusalem and their retreat along the Jericho and Naballa roads, a dozen miles beyond the Holy City, in the middle of January, the Turks have lost over 3,000 in killed and severely wounded and less than 1,000 in prisoners.

The reports of war correspondents to the contrary notwithstanding, General Byng has been acquitted of all blame for events at Cambrai. Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, formally announced in the House of Commons on Jan. 15, that as a result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry the General Staff and Government considered that the British command had not been surprised by the German attack in the Cambrai region on Nov. 30, and that all proper and adequate dispositions had been made to meet it.

An interesting report on the strategic importance of Cambrai after the German recovery, has been penned by Major C. J. C. Sweet, R. G. A. It may serve to explain the paradox as well as the result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry. In part it reads as follows:

> Cambrai is a place of considerable strategic importance, not so much on account of its significance as a manufacturing town and as a point of concentration for German troops as because of its position upon the network of railways that lies behind the German front. * * * At the end of 1914 the railway line from Lille to Rheims was, except for a few miles from Barry-au-Bac to Rheims, entirely in German hands, and it formed the main lateral communication behind the enemy front. It was fed by no fewer than seven double lines of rail from Belgium and the German bases, lines which ran from Tournai to Lille, from Valenciennes to Douai, from Valenciennes to Cambrai, from Maubeuge to St. Quentin, from



BATTLE LINE IN ITALY, JANUARY, 1918

Herson to Laon, from Mézières to Laon, and from Mézières to Rheims.

The last named may be neglected, as being useless to the enemy west of Besancourt. Of the remainder, the use of the line from Maubeuge to St. Quentin was denied to the Germans by their retreat consequent upon the battle of the Somme, a retreat that cut the main lateral in half by the evacuation of the important junction of Tergnier.

The advance upon Cambrai not only cuts the main lateral again, but renders the feeder from Valenciennes practically useless to the enemy. It must be realized that the actual capture of a railway station is unnecessary, as an advance to within a few miles of it enables artillery to be brought up within range, and a sustained fire of heavy shell upon such a large target is easily sufficient to render it untenable. Efficient observation can be secured from kite-balloons, or the target can be engaged from the map if necessary, rendering the artillery independent of the weather.

The lines of supply to the German armies between Lille and Rheims are thus reduced to four, and their lateral communication is rendered useless from north of Cambrai to south of Tergnier. A long detour is necessary to traffic passing from the northern to the southern sector, or vice versa. Upon such strategic facts rests the real importance of an advance, such as the Cambrai success, rather than upon square miles of territory recovered from the enemy, or upon the number of prisoners and the quantity of stores captured.

On the last day of the old year heavy fighting was resumed on the Cambrai front, where a couple of miles south of Marcoing the Germans were driven out of some trenches they had recently occupied, and Berlin promptly acknowledged the touch. On the following day the Germans, having brought up more guns, attempted to shell the British out, but failed. On Jan. 4, however, they were more successful, particularly along the Canal du Nord, and the next day they ousted the British from some positions on the Hindenburg line, east of Bullecourt. On the 8th the British recovered all the positions they had lost earlier in the month.

And so it has been throughout the period covered by this review. And what has been true of Cambrai has also been true of other British salients—observation raids and a consolidation of positions, with the imperative conclusion that the British are beginning to practice French tactics by not keeping strong forces of men unnecessarily exposed on their first line.

By Dec. 29 all Belgium and Northern France were under deep snow with the thermometer considerably below freezing point. It was reported on Jan. 9 that Hindenburg had ordered the destruction of 130 villages in Aisne, principally east of St. Quentin. It had recently been learned that the Germans were experimenting with new direct fire 14-inch guns on roller tractors and that these guns had been placed along the Oise River and Canal and the Feronnelle River. The villages said to have been destroyed lie between their emplace-

ments and the front on the St. Quentin Canal.

As the French gradually advance their positions east of the Meuse, northeast of Verdun, the German salient with its vertex at St. Mihiel becomes more important, for its angle embraces the southern end of the Plain of the Woevre — the watershed of the Meuse-Moselle, which is flanked by Metz and Verdun. On Jan. 9, the French troops penetrated on a mile front the eastern leg of the salient north of Seichpray, demolished several German defenses recently erected, and returned with over 100 prisoners. Three days later the Germans tried a liquid fire attack against the French positions to the west, on the right bank of the Meuse, at Chaume Wood, but were dispersed by artillery fire. Another German assault was dispersed a couple of days later on the left bank, at the Côte de l'Oie.

In its general aspects there has been little change in the Regione di Veneto for a month. In the north, from the Setti Comuni, down the valley of the Brenta, through the passes of Monte Grappa between the Brenta and the Piave, the enemy is still trying to force his way to the plains. On the east he is still trying to secure further footing on the right bank of the Piave. The principal events of the month have been the great snowstorm, which lasted from Dec. 23 till Dec. 31, blocking the enemy's lines of communication not only with the Tyrol but also with the bases beyond the Isonzo; the activities of the French and British on the front, the former in the Monte Tomba region and the latter at Il Montello; and the driving across the Piave, particularly at Zenson, of the enemy from the right bank.

On Dec. 30 the French, after careful artillery preparation, gained Austrian positions between Osteria di Monfenera and Maranzine, and captured 1,348 men, sixty machine guns, seven field pieces, and a number of trench howitzers.

On Christmas eve the British in a raid directed across the Piave from Il Montello, captured their first Austrian prisoner.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From December 16, 1917, Up to and Including January 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

Congressional inquiries into the military and naval conduct of the war, and into shipping, railroad, and food problems, were held.

Announcement was made on Dec. 20 of the creation of a new American department in the French Government, headed by Jules Cambon, to give attention to the requirements of the American expeditionary forces and other American activities in France.

The Government assumed control of the railroads on Dec. 28. Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo was named by President Wilson as Director General. On Jan. 4 President Wilson addressed Congress on the Government's position and recommended legislation to finance the carriers and protect the stockholders during the war period. Immediately after his address the railroad control bill was introduced in both House and Senate.

Announcement was made on Dec. 30 that Mrs. Norman Whitehouse had been appointed by the Committee on Public Information to go to Switzerland and place before the people there America's side of the war.

Regulations governing the registration of German enemy aliens were issued by the Department of Justice on Dec. 30, and the week of Feb. 4 was set aside for the work.

Press censorship regulations issued by the Committee on Public Information, on Dec. 30, removed the ban on disclosing the identity of troops in the Pershing expeditionary force.

Major Gens. William L. Sibert, William A. Mann, and R. M. Blatchford were relieved of duty in France and assigned to commands at home.

Rear Admiral Fletcher was recalled from duty in the war zone. He was replaced by Rear Admiral Wilson on Jan. 4.

American aviators dropped bombs over the

German lines on Jan. 5, in reprisal for the killing of two American woodcutters in a German bombing expedition.

The United States Supreme Court, in a decision handed down on Jan. 7, upheld the constitutionality of the army draft law.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Jan. 8, outlining America's war aims.

Dr. H. A. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, issued an order on Jan. 16 directing all factories except those engaged in the production of foodstuffs to suspend operations for a period of five days beginning Jan. 18, and to remain closed on Monday of each week from Jan. 28 to March 25, inclusive.

Daniel Willard resigned as Chairman of the War Industries Board, Jan. 16.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The sinking of the American steamer Harry Luckenbach was announced on Jan. 7. Eight members of the crew were lost. The sailing vessel Monitor was sunk near the Canary Islands.

England's losses for the week ended Dec. 19 included fourteen ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Dec. 26, eleven; for the week ended Jan. 2, eighteen; for the week ended Jan. 9, eighteen, and for the week ended Jan. 16, six. The British armed steamer Stephen Furness was sunk in the Irish Channel on Dec. 22. Six officers and ninety-five men were lost. Three British torpedo-boat destroyers were sunk by torpedoes or mines off the Dutch coast on the night of Dec. 22, with the loss of thirteen officers and 180 men; on Jan. 4 the British hospital ship Riva was sunk in the British Channel. Three members of the crew were lost. A British torpedo-boat destroyer was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Jan. 7.

The Norwegian ship Ingrid II. was sunk on Dec. 24. Only four members of the crew were saved. Announcement was made on Dec. 27 that five Norwegian ships had been sunk and thirty sailors lost. The steamer Vigrid was sunk on Jan. 3, and five members of the crew were killed. Twenty-two Norwegian ships, with a tonnage of 32,755, were lost in December by submarines or mines.

The French cruiser Château Renault was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Dec. 14, and the submarine which attacked her was later destroyed. France lost nine ships of over 1,600 tons in the week ended Dec. 22 and ten in the week ended Dec. 29. Losses in other weeks amounted to only one or two ships.

French destroyers sank two submarines in the Gulf of Taranto on Dec. 20. An American liner sank two German submarines off the English coast on Dec. 27. A statement was issued by the British Admiralty on Dec. 20, announcing that the average rate of destruction of U-boats was 1.25 a day, or 38 a month, while the German rate of construction was .75 a day, or about 23 a month.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dec. 20—German troops in Lorraine repulsed with heavy losses in attack on French lines near Reillon; British lose advanced position northeast of Hargicourt.

Dec. 22—British repulse attacks near the Bapaume-Cambrai road and southeast of Armentières.

Dec. 23—Germans drive in British advanced posts on a 700-yard front northeast of Ypres.

Dec. 28—French repulse German surprise attack near Veho.

Dec. 30—Germans attack Welsh Ridge; are repulsed in the centre, but penetrate British lines north of La Vacquerie and south of Marcoing.

Jan. 1—British repulse German raid northeast of Loos.

Jan. 4—Germans force back four British advanced positions in the Cambrai region.

Jan. 5—British repulse German attacks east of Bullecourt.

Jan. 9—French penetrate German positions on a front of a mile and to a depth of half a mile in front of Flirey and westward to St. Mihiel; 130 villages, mostly in the vicinity of St. Quentin, reported razed by the Germans.

Jan. 12—Two German attacks, accompanied by liquid fire, driven back by French before Chaume Wood.

Jan. 16—Artillery fighting on the Alsatian front between the Thur and Doller Rivers.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Dec. 18—British seize high ground east of Abu Dis.

Dec. 20-21—British cross the Nahr el Auja and seize six villages near the mouth of the river, and capture Ras ez Zandy, two miles northeast of Bethany.

Dec. 28—British repulse Turkish attacks north and northwest of Jerusalem and advance two and a half miles on a nine-mile front.

Dec. 29—British drive back Turks two miles on a thirteen-mile front north of Jerusalem, taking Ras Arkus, Es Suffa, Anataerram, Kulundia, and Beitunia.

Dec. 30—British advance three miles along the Nablus road, and occupy El Bireh.

Dec. 31—British occupy Beitin, El Balua, El Burj, Janieh, and Ras Kerker, and reach Kuleh on the coastal sector.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 17—Austro-Germans repulsed near San Marino; British launch an attack south of Monte Fontana Secca, but are repulsed.

Dec. 19—Teutons storm Monte Asolone; Italian attacks east of Monte Solarolo break down.

Dec. 21-22—Italians retake ground lost in the region of Monte Asolone.

Dec. 24—Teutons pass Italian positions in the Asiago sector in the region of Buso Valbella, but are stopped at rear positions; Italians expel Austrians from their foothold on the Piave Vecchio, south of Gradenigo.

Dec. 25—Teutons capture Col del Rosso and adjoining heights on the Asiago Plateau.

Dec. 26—Italians recapture Col del Rosso and Monte Valbella, but are forced to give them up; Teutons advance beyond Sosso.

Dec. 31—French infantry, aided by British and Italian artillery and airplanes, successfully storm Monte Tomba positions between Osteria di Monfenera and Maranzine.

Jan. 2—Italians disperse flotilla loaded with Austrian troops attempting to cross the Piave River at Intestadura.

Jan. 5—Italians disperse Teuton troops in the Seren and Calcino Valleys.

Jan. 7—British patrols cross the Piave River at various points; Italians bombard enemy transports and moving columns on the Asiago Plateau.

Jan. 15—Italians deliver surprise attacks in the Monte Asolone region and east of Capo Sile.

Jan. 16—Italians repulse Austrian counter-attacks in the Monte Asolone region and east of Capo Sile.

AERIAL RECORD

London was raided by German airplanes on Dec. 18. Ten persons were killed and seventy injured. One German machine was brought down and another was believed to have been destroyed. Another raid occurred on Dec. 21, when one German machine was brought down.

Italian and British airmen destroyed eleven Austro-German airplanes in a fight near Treviso on Dec. 26.

Padua was bombarded on Dec. 28. Thirteen persons were killed and sixty injured. In a second raid, Dec. 30, three persons were killed and three injured, and two churches and many other buildings were damaged. A third raid was made on Dec. 31, when five persons were wounded, the façade of the Padua Cathedral was torn down, and the basilica of the Santo and the Municipal Museum damaged.

Eighteen patients were killed when the Teutons dropped bombs on two hospitals in Castelfranco, Veneto, Jan. 1.

The British bombarded Mannheim on Dec. 24. On Jan. 4 they dropped bombs on Denain, Ledeghem, and the Menin-Roulers railway station. Karlsruhe was bombarded on Jan. 14.

French aviators bombarded many factories in Alsace on Jan. 7.

Berlin announced that the Germans had lost eighty-two German machines in December and the Allies 119.

NAVAL RECORD

Sir Eric Geddes announced in the British House of Commons on Dec. 17 that one British and five neutral merchantmen, a British destroyer, and four armed trawlers were sunk in the North Sea on Dec. 12 by German destroyers.

Yarmouth was bombarded from the sea on Jan. 14. Five persons were killed and eight injured.

RUSSIA

A Government of Commissioners was formed for the Caucasus, and E. P. Gegeohkari, leader of the Social Democrats, was chosen President, Dec. 19.

Peace negotiations between the Central Powers and the Bolshevist Government were begun at Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 22. Count Czernin, in behalf of the Central Powers, proposed an immediate peace without forcible annexations and indemnities. A provisional agreement was reached on Dec. 30 on important points, including the liberation of prisoners of war, resumption of commercial relations and treaty relations, and the German naval delegation at Petrograd reached an agreement with the Bolshevist Government for raising the blockade of the White Sea. On Dec. 31, a hitch occurred in the negotiations when Germany refused to withdraw her troops from the occupied portions of Russia which sought independence. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, declared Jan. 3 that the Government of Russian workers would not consent to the German peace proposals, but the next day, accompanied by other delegates, he started for Brest-Litovsk and pourparlers were resumed on Jan. 11. On that day Baron von Kühlmann announced that, owing to non-acceptance by all the enemy powers, the Central Powers had withdrawn their offer to conclude a general peace without forcible annexations or indemnities. At the suggestion of Trotzky, the armistice was extended for another month, beginning Jan. 12, and on Jan. 14 the conference adjourned at the behest of von Kühlmann, the delegates of the Central Powers having finally refused to evacuate Courland, Lithuania, Riga, and the islands in the Riga Gulf. Turkey offered free passage of the Dardanelles to Russia, on Jan. 5, in return for Russian evacuation of Turkish territory and the demobilization of the Russian Black Sea Fleet.

Rumanians on the southwestern Russian front joined the Ukrainians in their opposition to the Bolshevist Government, and Lieut. Gen. D. G. Tcherbatcheff, commander of the Russian forces in Rumania, was appointed Commander in Chief of the whole Ukrainian front, Dec. 20. On the same day the Ukrainian Rada sent a negative reply to the Bolshevist ultimatum, demanding that the Ukrainians cease to assist General Kaledine. On Dec. 24, the Bolshevist Government com-

plied with the demand of the Ukrainian Government for the release of the Ukrainian revolutionary staff, which had been arrested on suspicion of being in a plot to give General Kaledine Red Cross supplies. A Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was established in Ukraine, in opposition to the Rada. It was supported by the Petrograd Council of People's Commissaries. On Jan. 3, the Ukrainian Government sent an ultimatum to the Bolsheviki demanding that they withdraw their troops. An armistice was declared on Jan. 6, and the opposing factions agreed to compromise their differences. Hostilities broke out again, however, and a pitched battle occurred in the streets of Odessa between Ukrainian and Bolshevist troops on Jan. 17.

Chinese troops occupied Harbin, Dec. 26, and imprisoned the Bolshevist force.

Private banks were seized by the Bolsheviki on Dec. 27.

General Kaledine was re-elected Hetman of the Cossacks, Dec. 30.

Rumanian troops were reported to have occupied the Bessarabian town of Loevo on Jan. 2, and to have arrested some Bolshevist leaders, and to have shot others. The Rumanian Minister, Constantine Diamamdi, was arrested in Petrograd on Jan. 14, together with his staff, but they were all released on Jan. 16 as the result of a protest by the entire diplomatic corps. The Bolshevist Government sent an ultimatum to Rumania demanding the release of the Bolsheviki arrested in that country for striving to cause disaffection in the Rumanian Army. On Jan. 16 it was reported Lenine ordered that King Ferdinand of Rumania be arrested and sent to Petrograd for imprisonment.

Premier Clemenceau refused to grant passports to Petrograd to Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies.

Bessarabia declared its independence as the Moldavian Republic to form part of the Russian Federated Republic, Dec. 30.

The republic of Finland was recognized by Denmark and Norway on January 10, and by Switzerland on Jan. 17.

Announcement was made on Jan. 13 of a revolt of the Black Sea Fleet at Sebastopol, in which four Admirals and fifty-six other officers were slain.

MISCELLANEOUS

A Union Government was returned and conscription confirmed in Canada by elections held on Dec. 18.

Swiss troops on duty on Lake Constance fired on the German lake steamer Kaiser Wilhelm, which entered Swiss territorial waters, on Jan. 2.

Secretary Lansing made public telegrams sent by Count von Luxburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to the Berlin Foreign Office, revealing German intrigue in Argentina. The messages exposed plans for a secret treaty with Chile and Bolivia and for concessions to Argentina in submarine warfare, and mentioned President Irigoyen as a friend of Germany.

Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss was appointed First Sea Lord in England on Dec. 26, to succeed Sir John Jellicoe. A Naval General Staff was created.

Earl Reading was appointed British High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States.

Announcement was made on Dec. 19 that General Sarrail had been recalled as commander of the allied armies at Saloniki. He was succeeded by General Guillaumat.

More than 300 members of the Minority Socialist Party were arrested in Germany on Christmas Eve.

Premier Lloyd George spoke in the British House of Commons on Dec. 20, announcing that complete restoration of the territories occupied by the Central Powers and full compensation for the losses caused were the fundamental bases for peace. On Jan. 5 he addressed the Trade Union Conference in London on war aims.

The Austrian lower House adopted a resolution introduced by the Czechs and South Slavs on Dec. 20, calling for a peace based on the principles of no annexations or indemnities and for the use of Russia's good offices in conveying the proposal to the Entente Governments.

On Dec. 21 a Government bureau for studying questions relating to peace was opened in Berlin, with Dr. Karl Helfferich at the head.

The German Social Democratic Party adopted a resolution indorsing the principle of self-determination and untrammeled expression of will.

President Wilson addressed the United States Congress on Jan. 8 on America's war aims. His statements were indorsed in a declaration issued by British labor representatives the following day.

The British Labor Party issued an appeal to the Russian people and to the people of Central Europe on Jan. 15, accepting the principles of self-determination of peoples and no annexations or indemnities for the British Empire.

Persia opened negotiations with both the Russians and Turks for the evacuation of the country, Jan. 6.

The Hungarian Cabinet resigned, Jan. 16, on account of failure to obtain necessary support for its military program.

Joseph Caillaux, ex-Premier of France, was arrested on Jan. 14. The next day Secretary Lansing made public intercepted dispatches of Count von Bernstorff showing Caillaux's treasonable relations with Germany. Two of his associates, Deputy Louis Loustalot and Paul Comby, a lawyer, were also arrested.

The Month's Submarine Warfare

[Period Ended Jan. 13, 1918]

BRITISH ADMIRALTY figures show that the German U-boat campaign has, with due allowance for weekly fluctuations, continued to maintain its average of destructiveness. Losses of British merchant vessels by submarine and mine during the last five weeks have been:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Dec. 16, 1917.14	3		1
Week ended Dec. 23, 1917.11	1		1
Week ended Dec. 30, 1917.18	3		—
Week ended Jan. 6, 1918.18	3		4
Week ended Jan. 13, 1918. 6	2		2
Total for five weeks...67	12		8
Total previous five weeks.55	27		5

Incomplete figures for French, Italian, and other sinkings indicate that these losses have been also about the average. In the week ended Dec. 30 nine French ships over 1,600 tons were destroyed. In the week ended Jan. 12 five French vessels were destroyed and two Italian.

The following figures in terms of tonnage were obtained from a reliable source in London:

Tonnage of British seagoing ships, over 1,600 tons, existing in August, 1914.....	16,841,519
Loss by enemy action and otherwise, less new construction, purchases, and captures.....	2,750,000
Remaining Jan. 1, 1918.....	14,091,519

These important figures tell the story accurately of the results of the submarine campaign against British shipping.

During the year 1917 there were 1,000 trawlers used as mine sweepers around the British Isles. They swept an average of 3,000 square miles daily, and during the year they netted 4,600 German mines.

The Navy Department on Dec. 29 made public full details of the sinking of a German submarine by the destroyers Fanning and Nicholson on Nov. 24, 1917. The report reads in part:

At about 4:10 P. M., while escorting a convoy, Coxswain David D. Loomis, lookout of the Fanning, sighted a small periscope some distance off the port bow, extending about a foot out of water and visible for only a few seconds. The Fanning immediately headed for the spot, and about three minutes after the periscope had been sighted dropped a depth charge. The Nicholson also speeded to the position of the submarine, which appeared to be heading toward a merchant vessel in the convoy, and dropped another depth charge.

At that moment the submarine's conning tower appeared on the surface between the Nicholson and the convoy, and the Nicholson fired three shots from her stern gun. The bow of the submarine came up rapidly. She was down by the stern, but righted herself and seemed to increase her speed. The Nicholson cleared, the Fanning headed for the U-boat, firing from the bow gun. After the third shot, the crew of the submarine all came on deck and held up their hands, the submarine surrendering at 4:20 P. M.

The Fanning approached the submarine to pick up the prisoners, with destroyers keeping their batteries trained on the boat. A line was got to the submarine, but in a few minutes she sank. The line was let go, and the crew of the U-boat jumped into the water and swam to the Fanning.

Sinking of the Jacob Jones

The detailed story of the sinking of the United States destroyer Jacob Jones by a German submarine on Dec. 6, 1917, was also given out by the Navy Department. Lieut. Commander David W. Bagley reported that the torpedo struck abreast of a fuel-oil tank, and immediately three large compartments were flooded, the deck over the fuel-oil tank blown off, and the ship and fittings damaged in other ways. The ship quickly settled by the stern, and the engine room was soon flooded. As the radio antennae and mainmast were carried away, and electric power failed immediately, it was not possible to use the radio apparatus. Two signal shots were fired from one of the guns. Immediately after the ship was torpedoed, and it was realized that she would sink, all efforts were bent toward launching rafts and boats, also splinter mats and lifebelts.

As the ship settled, the commanding

officer ran along the deck and ordered everybody to jump overboard. Most of the men who were not killed by the explosion got clear of the ship and reached rafts or wreckage, although a few were seen to be swimming at a considerable distance from the ship, having probably jumped overboard after the torpedo struck the vessel. Eight minutes after being struck the destroyer sank stern first. About fifteen minutes after the ship sank, the submarine came to the surface, approached within half a mile of the rafts, and picked up two survivors, although at the time only one was seen to be taken aboard. The submarine then submerged and was not seen again. Immediately after the sinking the commanding officer, who jumped overboard as the ship sank and was picked up by the motor dory, had efforts made to get all survivors on the rafts and get the rafts and boats together. He then began to make arrangements to reach the nearest land in the motor boat, so as to bring assistance to the survivors on the rafts.

After a very trying trip, during which it was necessary to steer by the stars and by the direction of the wind, the boat was picked up at 1 o'clock the next afternoon by a small patrol vessel. The senior officer of the station to which this patrol vessel belonged informed Lieut. Commander Bagley that the other survivors had all been rescued.

Nearly three months after the event, the story of a four-hour battle between a German submarine and the American steamer J. L. Luckenbach was given out by the Navy Department. The commander of the naval guard on the steamer reported that the Luckenbach, although hit several times by shells, reached port safely. The submarine fired 225 shots and the Luckenbach 202. In the midst of the battle wireless distress calls sent out by the Luckenbach were picked up by an American destroyer, which replied that it would take two hours to reach the scene, and advised the steamer not to surrender.

Two hours and twenty minutes later the destroyer had arrived close enough to fire its first shot at the submarine, which submerged ten minutes later and disappeared.

Plural Marriages in Germany

A New "Morality" Promulgated in Order to "Fill the Country's Empty Cradles"

THE world has been slow to accept the reports of the last year or more to the effect that the German Government was tacitly encouraging bigamy or polygamy for the purpose of increasing the future man power of the empire. The evidence on the subject, however, has now reached the point where it becomes tangible. In addition to numerous stories of refugees and letters from women in Germany there are several pamphlets and leaflets which have been widely distributed among the German soldiers without interference from their officers.

One of these pamphlets, in its second edition, bears the date 1917, and is published at Cologne by the firm of Oskar Müller. It is entitled "The Secondary Marriage as Only Means for the Rapid Creation of a New and Powerful Army and the Purification of Morality." The author, Carl Hermann Torges, says that he is well over 70 years old and has "traveled almost every sea, and worked through life with open eyes." So he "appeals for unprejudiced examination of his proposals, the adoption of which may be expected to lead logically to the desired improvements."

The pamphlet is based upon the future needs of the German Army, because "the military strength of a people depends in part upon the number of men able to bear arms." Germany's heavy losses in the war must be made good,

and at the same time every effort must be made to meet the decline in the birth rate, which was lamented before the war. The writer declares that "the bachelordom of today is a cancer which must be extirpated." He denies that the expense of married life is the main reason why men remain unmarried, and he deals at some length with the economic training of women for marriage. He then leads up to his main proposals with a chapter which declares roundly that "the conception of immorality is relative," and that "good morals are only what the upper classes of society approve." The "facts" are said to give Germany "the justification, in case of necessity, to put the stamp of morality upon what today seems immoral." "In any case, if the falling off in births is to be counteracted, bachelordom must be reduced to the minimum which the circumstances require."

The main proposals are stated as follows:

> Women in all classes of society who have reached a certain age are, in the interests of the Fatherland, not only authorized but called upon to enter into a secondary marriage, which is supported by personal inclination. Only a married man may be the object of this inclination, and he must have the consent of his married wife. This condition is necessary in order to prevent the mischief which otherwise might surely be expected.
>
> The offspring of these lawful secondary marriages bear the name of their mother, and are handed over to the care of the State, unless the mother assumes responsibility for them. They are to be regarded in every respect as fully equal members of society. The mothers wear a narrow wedding ring as a sign of their patriotism. The secondary marriage can be dissolved as soon as its object has been attained.

Elsewhere Herr Torges says that he thinks that the objects of his new institution can be fulfilled in twenty years, and that secondary marriages might then be abolished. He ends his pamphlet as follows:

> The difficulties consist solely in ethical scruples, which, notwithstanding the issue of the proper regulations by the State, will continue to operate until conscience has disposed of them. Thus this question becomes a religious question, which can be solved only with the help of the clergy. It rests, therefore, with the women and the clergy, assisted by the State, to determine whether Germany shall be able not only to maintain herself on her present pinnacle of morality, but by her own strength to stand up in the future as in the present to the pressure of enemies who are increasing numerically.

The leaflets distributed to the troops are more simple and direct in their appeal. One entitled "Empty Cradles, a Soldier's Duty," is translated as follows:

> Soldiers, a grave danger assails the Fatherland by reason of the dwindling birth rate. The cradles of Germany are empty today; it is your duty to see that they are filled.
>
> You bachelors, when your leave comes, marry at once the girls of your choice. Make her your wife without delay.
>
> The Fatherland needs healthy children.
>
> You married men and your wives should put jealousy from your minds and consider whether you have not also a duty to the Fatherland.
>
> You should consider whether you may not honorably contract an alliance with one of the million of bachelor women. See if your wife will not sanction the relation.
>
> Remember, all of you, the empty cradles of Germany must be filled.

The Aargauer Volksblatt, a Swiss Catholic organ, in December, 1917, published a strong denunciation of the pamphlet on "Secondary Marriages." It declared that several millions of copies of the pamphlet had been distributed *gratis* to the German soldiers in the trenches and to all classes of German women at home, and that the pamphlet had been in circulation for more than six months without a single German newspaper making any protest. The pamphlet was therefore described as a piece of official propaganda "against which the whole civilized world must rise up in indignation." Incidentally, the Aargauer Volksblatt regards this scheme for "breeding soldiers" as a peculiar insult to Catholicism.

The Swiss journal criticises the German pamphlet from every point of view—as utterly immoral, utterly anti-Christian, and as "a brutal insult to the dignity of women." It continues:

> We assert that if the German Nation, and all German women in particular, do not repudiate with furious indignation this filthy propaganda on the part of a State which is utterly materialized and has fallen away altogether from every kind of Christian civilization, they are assuming a disgrace that can never be wiped out. We note with satisfaction that the circulation of the pamphlet was im-

mediately forbidden in Austria, although Austria is hardly a garden of lilies and has lost far more men in this war than Germany has lost. * * *

It is deeply regrettable that a nation should think of having recourse to such methods in order to force its domination upon Europe—dedicating children yet unborn to a future massacre of the peoples. This theory proves better than anything else that those peoples are right who say that the German people must be freed from Prussian hegemony by a decisive defeat, and must be cut off from the possibility of bringing yet again such a terrible blood-bath upon mankind. Painful though it may be, such grave aberrations of an utterly Godless doctrine of power, parading under a mask of piety, compel one to draw hard and unflinching conclusions; for above the welfare of a nation stands, after all, the welfare of human society—above all, the moral order.

Before the war both the birth rate and the death rate in Germany were very high, but the net result was an annual addition of about a million to the country's population. In 1916, according to the figures given by the advocates of lateral marriages, there was an actual decrease of something like 300,000. The causes were not only death in battle, increased infantile mortality, and epidemics, due to underfeeding among adult civilians. There was a marked decrease in the marriage rate, which fell in 1916 by 40 per cent. of the pre-war figures, and has fallen continuously ever since the beginning of the war. Still another cause was the enormous decline in the birth rate, even among married couples who were not separated. The scarcity of food and the exacting kinds of manual labor demanded of women in wartime have had a serious effect upon the productive vitality of the whole nation. The imperialists' plan to revert to concubinage, however, is meeting with silent but determined opposition on the part of legal German wives.

The Caillaux Case in France

Evidence That Led to the Imprisonment and Trial of the Former French Premier

JOSEPH CAILLAUX, former Premier of France, who has long been under suspicion of treasonable activities against his country's prosecution of the war, was at length arrested in Paris on Jan. 14, 1918, and taken to the common prison known as La Santé. The event created an enormous sensation, and was regarded throughout the world as the most important act thus far in the vigorous war policy of the new Premier, M. Clemenceau, who had once served as Foreign Minister in Caillaux's Cabinet. The arrest was due in part to a cablegram from Mr. Lansing, American Secretary of State, furnishing evidence that as far back as 1915 M. Caillaux had been in secret communication with the Berlin Foreign Office.

Caillaux's political career had come to an end immediately after his wife, on March 16, 1914, had entered the office of the Paris Figaro and shot and killed the editor, Gaston Calmette. The sensational trial which followed, and which was said to mark the lowest point of political morals in modern France, ended in the acquittal of Mme. Caillaux. The great social and financial influence of M. Caillaux continued unbroken. He went into the war as an officer in the Paymaster's department, but within two months he had given grave offense of some kind to both the British and French commands, and was punished by two weeks' confinement in a fortress. Soon after his release, in Novemebr, 1914, he sailed for South America and spent most of the Winter in Argentina.

It was believed at the time that he was there on a mission for the French Government, as the possibility of the existence of a pro-German Frenchman had not yet dawned upon the mind of France. Even three years later, when the United States revealed the intercept-

ed dispatches of Ambassador von Bernstorff regarding Caillaux's activities in Argentina, their nature was a surprise. While these dispatches were not conclusive in themselves, they appeared to indicate that Caillaux was at that time in connection with the Berlin Foreign Office through Count Luxburg, the German Minister at Buenos Aires, with the object of concluding peace at any price, so as to permit the resumption of his business enterprises.

Luxburg's dispatches were not sent direct to Berlin, but came through Count von Bernstorff at Washington, who is supposed to have used the Swedish Legation for forwarding them in code. Following is the text of the chief message:

> Buenos Aires telegraphed the following: "Caillaux has left Buenos Aires after a short stay and is going direct to France, evidently on account of the [group undecipherable] scandal, which he regards as a personal attack upon himself. He speaks contemptuously of the President and the rest of the French Government, with the exception of Briand. He sees through the policy of England perfectly. He does not anticipate the complete overthrow of France. He sees in the war now a struggle for existence on the part of England. Although he spoke much of the 'indiscretions and clumsy policy' of the Wilhelmstrasse and professed to believe in German atrocities, he has in essentials hardly changed his political orientation.
>
> "Caillaux welcomed indirect courtesies from me, but emphasized the extreme caution which he is obliged to show, as the French Government, he said, had him watched even here.
>
> "He warns us against the excessive praise bestowed upon him by our papers, especially the Neue Freie Presse, and desired, on the other hand, that the Mediterranean and Morocco agreements should be adversely criticised. Our praise injures his position in France. Caillaux's reception here was cool. His report about Brazil had nothing new. On his return to France he will begin to reside in his own constituency. He fears Paris and the fate of Jaurés. BERNSTORFF."

Another message which von Bernstorff forwarded was from Havana and read:

> Tol, Rio de Janeiro, telegraphs:
>
> "Steamer Araguaya left Buenos Aires Jan. 30. The Captain is carrying important papers. Capture very desirable. Caillaux is on board. In case of capture Caillaux should in an unobtrusive way be treated with courtesy and consideration. Can you inform our cruisers?
>
> "BERNSTORFF."

The instructions of the German censorship to the German press on June 16, 1917, read:

> For political reasons, it is urgently requested that nothing be written about the former French Prime Minister Caillaux, and that his name be not mentioned under any circumstances.

Meanwhile M. Caillaux's close relations with German diplomatists in 1915 remained unknown to the world, and he returned to France to resume his work in the Chamber of Deputies, where he had a considerable following. The true nature of his anti-war activities did not become a subject of full-fledged public suspicion until his visit to Italy in December, 1916. The French Ambassador at Rome then communicated to M. Briand, Prime Minister, the fact that M. Caillaux was carrying on an active pacifist propagada among the Italian Government officials and at the Vatican. M. Briand telegraphed that the Italian Government should feel "absolutely free to act as it sees fit in order to put an end to these intrigues."

On Dec. 22, 1916, the French Naval Attaché at Rome sent his Government a long report of a conversation between Caillaux and an Italian Government official, in which Caillaux predicted that he would shortly be called to power in France and would then sign a peace with Germany. The Attaché's report continued:

> He promised that the whole world would be astonished by the advantages which Germany thought of giving to Italy and France; all the bill would be paid by Russia and the Balkans. What did Germany want? The Bagdad line, which she had conquered. She then wanted to make a greater Bulgaria and a great European Turkey. How did that disturb us? Our field of action was in Africa. Serbia would disappear, but that really was all she deserved. Rumania would also disappear, but, after all, it was better that she should pay the breakage bill than we.

The Naval Attaché also reported that M. Caillaux and his wife had been in secret conversation with several of the strongly pacifist prelates at the Vatican.

These dispatches were not given to the French public until the subterranean doings of M. Caillaux had continued another year. In the Summer of 1917 the in-

trigues of Bolo Pacha went on until his arrest in September. About the same time the French Army Intelligence Service uncovered the seditious activities of a pacifist paper called the Bonnet Rouge, which had been employed by Caillaux in times past. Miguel Almereyda, the editor, was arrested, and talked of dramatic disclosures that he might make concerning the "Oriental matter." Before he had a chance to make them some one murdered him in his cell. All this occurred while Malvy, Caillaux's old associate, was Minister of the Interior and charged with the duty of suppressing foreign intrigue. He had done nothing to stop it. His dereliction was a cause of the fall of the Ribot Ministry.

Gradually Caillaux's presumptive connection with all these disloyal activities began to be apparent, and M. Clemenceau came into power because he was believed to be the man to save France from the poison of German intrigue and the peril of defeat. A resolution to deprive M. Caillaux of his parliamentary immunity and place him on trial for high treason was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies, and on Dec. 22, 1917, it was finally passed by a vote of 417 to 2, amid scenes of intense public interest. A similar resolution was adopted with regard to Deputy Louis Loustalot. The vote against Caillaux was almost unanimous, despite the fact that he had just addressed the Chamber in his own defense, declaring: "Never have I tried, directly or indirectly, to come into contact with our enemies. Never have I used subterranean paths to succeed in a foreign policy." At the present writing (Jan. 20) the fate of M. Caillaux apparently depends upon whether he shall be tried before a civil or a military court.

American Soldiers' Graves in France

One of the illustrations in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *shows the graves of the first three soldiers of the American expeditionary force who fell on the French front. After a visit to this sacred spot, Henry Bordeaux, the French novelist, wrote in the Revue Hebdomedaire:*

Later on a monument will rise there; later on the name of that obscure village that I cannot reveal now will be known and will resound across the ocean. Pilgrims will come in throngs, even from over the seas, to contemplate the horizon and breathe the air impregnated with the atmosphere of sacrifice and glory that makes peoples strong and individuals audacious and persevering.

Those graves are situated along the stone wall of a little Lorraine village, a tiny village right up next to the front. It is nearly intact, and some of the inhabitants are still sticking to their firesides. The church clock marks the hour, though the church bell rings no more.

A shell bursts in the neighborhood from time to time and the peasants pause to listen to the explosion, then go on with their work. There are cows in the sheds and poultry scratching about the barnyard with assurance.

The church is on a hillside, near a cluster of farm buildings that seem to have been erected upon the site of an ancient stronghold. Stretching away from the buildings there is a high stone wall, alongside which is a line of graves marked with wooden crosses, from which fly the French Tricolor. They are the tombs of French soldiers killed, most of them, at the end of August, 1914, when the Germans, after the battle of Morhange, tried to invade this part of Lorraine, but were repulsed.

There are three more graves, isolated from the rest, in front of the wall where it rises before the buildings, freshly dug, with chrysanthemums not yet faded scattered over them. These are the tombs of the first American soldiers killed during the war on this front for the liberation of the world.

Corporal Gresham and Soldiers Enright and Hay were buried on Nov. 4 in the little village close to the scene of the fight.

Review of the Military Events of 1917

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusettts and of the United States Naval Institute

IN spite of the disastrous collapse of Rumania in the Fall of 1916, it may truly be said that the military situation was more favorable for the Entente Allies at the beginning of 1917 than at any time since the overturn in 1915. In December, 1916, there had been a change of Government in Great Britain, brought about by dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, especially the Somme offensive, in which the losses had been out of proportion to the gains. The Asquith Ministry had been superseded by the new War Council, headed by the energetic Lloyd George. Heavy artillery and great quantities of munitions had been prepared. The British military control was in accord with the French Staff, and unity of purpose was thus insured for 1917 on the western front.

"The Russian Army was better equipped in guns, in machine guns, in airplanes, and in munitions than it had ever been during the whole period of the war. For the first time in the whole course of the war the Russian gunners had plenty of ammunition—this year the Russian Army began and was ready with the best equipment any Russian army ever had, and naturally our expectation was that, with a well-equipped and powerful Russian Army pressing on the east, a well-equipped British and French army pressing on the west, and a well-equipped Italian army pressing in Italy, we should have been able to bring such pressure to bear upon the Prussian Army as to inflict a decisive defeat."

These quotations are from Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons Dec. 20, 1917, and they describe the high hopes in official circles at the beginning of 1917. Naturally, these views were shared by the peoples in the countries of the Entente Allies.

Profiting by the experience of the first unfortunate British expedition up the Tigris, an adequate British army was approaching Bagdad at the beginning of the year. At the same time, from the north, strong Russian forces were working down through Asia Minor and Persia, to co-operate with this British expedition. Bagdad was captured, without serious opposition, by General Maude's British army March 11, 1917, and, counting upon the expected junction with the Russian armies, it was thought that the German "bridge" to the East would soon be broken.

Suddenly the Russian revolution broke forth. The Czar was deposed March 15, and all Russia was paralyzed, so far as any military efficiency was concerned. The gravity of the Russian situation was not realized at first. After some rioting and fighting in the streets, there was very soon a semblance of a regular Government, which misled the officials of the Entente Allies, and many optimistically assumed that the revolution had been anti-German.

The Allied Offensive of 1917

Consequently, all eyes were fixed upon the western front, where in the same month (March) the long-prepared allied offensive was launched against the German positions. As a result of the costly Somme offensive, in the Fall of 1916, there were various awkward bends in the German positions, notably a vulnerable salient in the vicinity of Noyon. It had been planned to mass the new powerful artillery against these sectors from Arras to Soissons, and to make the great assault upon these vulnerable defenses.

Here a new and surprising situation developed, one of the most remarkable even in this war, which has broken away from all precedents. Hindenburg had anticipated that the attack of the Allies would be in this region, and he had with-

drawn to more favorable positions behind the exposed salients. He had left small parties in his trenches to keep up an appearance of defense, and he had moved back his men, his guns, and all his material safely to his prepared new positions before the serious assaults of the Allies had begun.

That the Germans were able to accomplish this, on a front of some sixty miles, unsuspected and unmolested, with the air full of hostile airplanes, is another proof of the fallacy of the belief that aircraft have put an end to surprises in war. Such movements on a large scale have happened so often in this war without being observed that the limitations of the present airplanes as scouts are now evident. Outside of the drawbacks imposed by unfavorable weather, the increased effectiveness of anti-aircraft guns, and camouflage, it must be remembered that, behind all positions in a modern fighting line, there are constant streams of transport trains moving back and forth, under cover of which advances and withdrawals of men and material may be concealed. It was by taking advantage of all these elements of concealment that the Germans were able to make this withdrawal in safety. An attack in force by the Allies while this movement was going on would have been dangerous for the Germans.

The Battle of Arras

But this manoeuvre was not suspected —and the British offensive was started as planned with a heavy bombardment and an advance of troops against the German positions. The easy gains at first aroused suspicions of a trap, but, as the advance went on, it became evident that the Germans had actually yielded terrain without an attempt at defense—leaving for the British a devastated shell-pitted territory. At first this retreat was misunderstood, and there was great exultation in England. Gradually the German defense stiffened, and early in April the British advance first met serious opposition.

To overcome this, a heavy concentration of British artillery and troops was made against the sector between Lens and St. Quentin. These assaults, which were begun on April 9 and kept up for weeks, have been known as the battle of Arras. At times there were conspicuous local successes, (Vimy Ridge, &c.,) but all the gains were at too great a cost, and this series of actions, like the battle of the Somme, faded away into raiding tactics before the month of May was over.

To co-operate with this British attack the French made a sudden and successful assault between Soissons and Rheims, (April 16, 1917,) and their troops scored a spectacular success, taking 17,000 prisoners and seventy-five guns in three days. This initial success was under command of the impetuous General Nivelle, but, when the balance was struck of gains and losses, the French losses were found to have been so great, in proportion to the gains, that General Nivelle was superseded by General Pétain, (May 15, 1917,) who is now in supreme command on the western front.

In the offensives of 1917 the Allies first encountered the so-called "elastic defense" of the Germans, where there were no longer set lines of trenches, but irregularly disposed pits and concrete shelters—the so-called "pillboxes." There is no denying the fact that this method of defense has proved very difficult to overcome, and it is probable that it has decreased the proportion of German losses. These defenses stretch back for miles in a succession of prepared positions, and it is only by applying a new meaning to the word "line" that this portion of the front can now be called the "Hindenburg line."

Blowing Up Messines Ridge

The only other attempt at an offensive by the Entente Allies on the western front, in the first half of the year, was blowing up the Messines salient just south of Ypres, (June 7, 1917.) The position included the towns of Wytschaete and Messines. It is said that preparations for this mine explosion had been going on for nearly two years. A million pounds of high explosives were detonated, and the German salient was blotted out of existence. But there was no serious massing of troops against this

GRAVES OF FIRST AMERICANS KILLED IN FRANCE

The French inscription reads: "Here lie the first soldiers of the illustrious Republic of the United States who fell on French soil for justice and liberty, Nov. 3, 1917." The graves are those of Thomas Enright and Merle D. Hay. The third of the three men who were killed was James B. Gresham.

(© *The New York Times.*)

AMERICAN SOLDIERS CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS

This photograph has been reproduced from a German magazine and shows some of the first American soldiers taken prisoner being cross-examined by German officers.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

point, and no real tactical result followed the first attack.

In May began a great effort of the Italians to follow up their victory of 1916 at Gorizia, and to win Trieste and the Trentino. Their armies made advances over the Isonzo and into the Carso, with offensives on the Asiago Plateau, which aroused great popular enthusiasm in Italy for "Nostra Guerra" to win "Italia Irredenta."

Disintegration in Russia

In the meantime, things had gone very badly in Russia. It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian armies were for four months a debating society, imposing rules and restrictions on orders for duty. In Petrograd there was still a semblance of an orderly Government, with the revolutionist Kerensky at its head. This man undoubtedly had great personal influence, and early in July he went out to the Russian armies, and inspired them to make a feverish offensive in Galicia. Helped by the surprise at such an unexpected attack, and probably also by withdrawals of Teutonic troops to other fronts, the Russians made great gains for awhile, including the capture of Halicz. But when Austro-German reinforcements were brought up against them, the Russian soldiers again became demoralized, and many of them refused to fight, marching away in Galicia without firing a shot. Since this time the Russian armies have been negligible as a factor in the military situation.

As in the French Revolution, only in much less time, the first orderly attempts at government in Russia were swept aside, and the extremists gained control. This ascendency of the Russian Reds, or Bolsheviki, completed the demoralization of the Russian armies from a military point of view. All ranks and authorities were abolished, and no such thing as discipline existed any longer.

Ruthless Submarine Warfare

On the sea Germany had cast away all respect for international law, and on Feb. 1, 1917, a campaign of unrestricted U-boat warfare was begun against enemies and neutrals alike. This had been carefully planned, and from the first of the lawless undertaking the submarines proved themselves the most dangerous commerce destroyers in all history. The methods which had been used against them in narrow waters by the allied navies, and too hastily assumed to be sufficient, were found of little value in checking the activities of the submarines on the high seas. Sinkings were recorded on a scale that threatened a great decrease of the merchant tonnage of the world, and it became evident that the U-boat was the most dangerous weapon possessed by the Teutonic Allies. To stop their ravages became the greatest task of the Entente Allies.

Yet this successful use of the U-boats, in defiance of the laws of humanity, soon became a boomerang, because it forced the United States to break off relations with Germany. The most hardened German advocates of ruthless submarine warfare cannot claim that anything has been accomplished by the U-boats sufficient to offset making an enemy of the United States. Soon after this enforced break the German Government was convicted, by the Zimmermann note, of deliberately plotting to disrupt the territory of the United States. This last outrageous act of the German Government united all Americans in the declaration of war against Germany which followed, (April 6, 1917.)

Our Position in the War

The position of the United States is perfectly clear. We had nothing to do with making the conditions which brought on the war. We had committed no hostile act, but had preserved a strict neutrality, and we had attempted to bring about peace between the warring groups. After long patience our nation has been driven into the war by the repeated hostile acts of the German Government, not only by brutal defiance of humanity on the seas, but by proved attempts to incite Mexico and Japan to war with us and take away our territory. Our aims have been so plainly stated that there is no question of selfish gain or conquest. For our entrance into the

war the German people must hold the German Government responsible.

Our first act in the war was to send the help of our navy to the campaign against the illegal submarine warfare, which had been the original cause of our entering the war. The services rendered by Admiral Sims and the American destroyers (in European waters May, 1917) were promptly recognized. A new stimulus was given to the defense against the submarines, and this was much needed.

In response to the urgent appeals of the special mission of the Entente Allies, American troops were sent to France in June, and there followed a steady stream of transports throughout the rest of the year. This dangerous transfer of troops has been wonderfully well handled by the United States Navy.

The Battle of Flanders

As the seriousness of the submarine danger developed, the value of the Belgian coast to the Germans became evident. Early in the war, in the exultation at keeping the Germans from Calais, the strategic value of this strip of coast as a base had not been realized. But, by the middle of 1917, Zeebrugge began to assume large proportions as a tactical objective. The scene of the allied offensive was transferred to Flanders. French troops were sent to this sector to reinforce the British, and on July 31 a new offensive was started on a twenty-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton. This has been called the battle of Flanders, and here some of the most desperate fighting of the year took place.

Ever since the advance along the Belgian coast, in 1914, the Germans have held fast to the position where their line stretches to the sea on the Yser, north of Nieuport. In fact, the only change in this region in 1917 was a German surprise attack, (July 10,) unsuspected by the British aircraft. By keeping their gain the Germans improved their position at this point.

In August the great offensive of the British and French in Flanders won only local successes. Their attacks did not endanger the German positions sufficiently to cause a retreat on the coast, and further south the Germans were able to hold Lens against all attacks. By the first week in September there was a lull in the battle of Flanders.

Italians in the Julian Alps

On the Italian front there had been much activity in the Summer of 1917, and on Aug. 18 began the "great Italian offensive" in the Julian Alps. Here early Italian successes were thought by the Italian people to be the precursors of great victories, and the ambition of the nation leaped toward renewed empire on the Mediterranean.

On the Russian front, throughout the Summer of 1917, the Germans had been chary of provoking hostilities on the southeastern front, but in the north they took advantage of the military and naval weakness of the Russians, easily capturing Riga, (Sept. 2, 1917,) and afterward Dagö Island and Oesel Island at the entrance of the Gulf of Riga, (October, 1917.) Occupying these points of strategic importance increased the German domination of the Baltic Sea.

There had been a lull in the battle of Flanders, but from Sept. 20 the Allies made repeated assaults beyond Ypres. As before, there were local gains. Langemarck, the Ypres-Menin road, &c., are familiar names. But the battle deteriorated into floundering through seas of mud, and the command of the Passchendaele "ridge" is the only strategic result that can be claimed.

The Invasion of Italy

On the Italian front the dreams of Italian conquests were suddenly destroyed by a Hindenburg drive, which was as much of a surprise as those earlier in the war. As in 1916, the collapse of the Russian armies had permitted reinforcement of the Austrian armies, and these replenished forces were launched against the Italians, (Oct. 24, 1917,) in an assault that won back the conquests of two years and a half in as many weeks. Not only were all the Italian gains swept away, but the drive continued far into Venetia.

The first reports of these overwhelming Italian defeats implied demoraliza-

tion of the Italian armies by German propaganda. But the real situation was stated in l'Homme Libre, the French Premier Clemenceau's paper, (Nov. 23, 1917,) with the evident intention of giving the truth to the French people. Under the circumstances, this article may be accepted as practically official. It described a faulty disposition of Cadorna's armies,* one facing north, the other facing east, with a gap between in the region of Tolmino. Against this undefended sector was directed the massed assault of the Austro-German armies. The consequent rout of both Italian armies is thus explained. There had been no preparation of positions for defense by the overconfident Cadorna, and the disastrous retreat continued across the Tagliamento, with constantly increasing losses in men and guns, to the Piave, where a stand was at last made. The awful toll of losses in this short campaign (Oct. 24-Nov. 15) rose to 250,000 prisoners and over 2,000 guns.

It is interesting to note that, in this Italian defeat, there was another case of a surprise concentration of great bodies of troops and artillery undetected by the airplane scouts, though the Italian air service is known to be one of the best.

Unity of Military Control

In this extremity Italy appealed for help to Great Britain and France, and both nations responded, after an agreement for "unity of control" had been reached. This agreement made Italy for the first time really one of the Entente Allies, and the operations of the British, French, and Italian Armies were coordinated.

It is now known that the strength of the Austro-German Army was much exaggerated in the first reports. It is doubtful if there ever was any great numerical superiority over the Italian armies. Evidently, after the stand of the Italians, with their right on the Piave and their left in the northern mountains, it was necessary for the Teutons to bring up reinforcements and also their heavy guns, which had been unable to keep up with the rapid advance. Here the season of the year became a great factor. Unusually mild conditions allowed the Austrians to increase their pressure on the Italians in the mountainous regions, and they won many Italian positions and took a toll of prisoners (17,000) in the first half of December. Then severe cold and heavy snows were reported, and the situation changed to the advantage of the Italian defense.

British Attack at Cambrai

In November the battle of Flanders had waned into raiding tactics, but the British had been preparing for a new offensive against the German positions near Cambrai. The plan of assault was novel and ingenious. Taking advantage of darkness and misty weather, a large number of tanks had been aligned for attack, unsuspected by the Germans. Artificial smoke had been added to the concealment of the mist, and in the early dawn of Nov. 20, without any warning from artillery preparation, the sudden British attack, with these tanks to break down entanglements for the infantry, scored a complete surprise and won German positions for a depth of five miles.

Unfortunately, there had been no provision for a strong mobile force to follow up any such success, and the result of the attack was to throw out a salient some twelve miles wide and five miles deep into the German positions. Of course, this salient was very vulnerable, and the question of just what terrain to hold should have been carefully considered. Instead of this, the British attempted to consolidate all their gains. They allowed themselves to be occupied by the attacks in the direction of Inchy and Bourlon, and the Germans in turn were enabled to make a surprise attack on the southern flank of the salient near Gonzeaucourt, (Nov. 30-Dec. 1.) Here the German troops even penetrated to places where construction was going on behind the lines in fancied security. It was at this point that American engineers, so occupied, were involved in the fighting.

As a result of this counterattack, and because of artillery concentrations on the exposed portions of the salient,

* "Nostra Guerra," CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, January, 1918.

(Bourlon Wood, &c.,) the British were compelled to relinquish a great part of their gains and to abandon any threat against Cambrai. The score was nearly even as regards prisoners and captured guns. So great an overturn from the first reports of victory aroused a popular demand for an inquiry, which was promised by the War Office. For the rest of the month of December there was no activity on the western front, except by artillery and airplanes.

Capture of Jerusalem

In the East the British expedition from Egypt had worked up through Palestine, and General Allenby's army captured Jerusalem, (Dec. 10, 1917.) Although this cannot be called of great tactical importance in a military sense, yet it must be remembered that Jerusalem is one of the sacred cities, and its capture has had a moral effect in the East.

On the seas the Germans persevered in their submarine campaign, and in spite of optimistic statements at different times by the British Ministers the U-boats continue to do great damage. It was only by increasing vigilance that sinkings could be kept from crippling ocean transportation. There was great dissatisfaction in Great Britain concerning naval conduct, resulting in changes in the British Navy. Sir Eric Geddes, a man of proved energy and resourcefulness, became First Lord of the Admiralty, (Nov. 1, 1917,) and Admiral Wemyss succeeded Admiral Jellicoe as First Sea Lord, (Dec. 26, 1917.) British naval critics express the conviction that these changes have been of great benefit to their navy.

Russo-German Armistice

A formal armistice was signed between the Teutonic allies and the Russian Bolshevist Government, to be operative from Dec. 17, 1917, to Jan. 14, 1918. As this article deals only with military events, it is only proper to comment on the armistice as regards its influence on the military situation. Most of the press characterized the Russian Reds as pro-German agents. This did not prove to be the case, and consequently the Russian situation took on a somewhat more favorable aspect in a military sense. In the conditions of the armistice the Russian revolutionists insisted that the Germans were "not to carry on operative military transfers on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea, except such transfers as were already begun up to the moment of signing this agreement." At first it was hastily assumed that this was inoperative, as great transfers of troops had already been started. The point was missed that, if the Bolsheviki had been pro-German agents, they would not have insisted on this condition in the armistice. Then, in the peace negotiations, the Russian Reds refused the German terms, which implied continued occupation of Russian territory—and riction followed between the Teutons and the Russians. This was a distinct improvement of the military situation, as it compelled the Teutonic allies to retain troops on the Russian fronts and delayed the release of prisoners held by the Russians.

Making America's Army Efficient

Secretary Baker's Statement

SEARCHING investigation of the work of the War Department began to engage the attention of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs during the first weeks of 1918. The criticisms made by Senators and by the press evoked from the Secretary of War a statement which, while a defense of his department, also threw light on the progress made in getting America's armies ready for active service. Appearing as a witness before the Senate committee on Jan. 10, Mr. Baker summarized the achievements of the War Department as follows:

1. A large army is in the field and in training; so large that further increments to it can be adequately equipped and trained as rapidly as those already in training can be transported.

2. The army has been enlisted and selected without serious dislocation of the industries of the country.

3. The training of the army is proceeding rapidly and its spirit is high. The subsistence of the army has been above criticism; its initial clothing supply, temporarily inadequate, is now substantially complete, and reserves will rapidly accumulate. Arms of the most modern and effective kind—including artillery, machine guns, automatic rifles, and small arms—have been provided by manufacture or purchase for every soldier in France, and are available for every soldier who can be gotten to France in the year 1918.

4. A substantial army is already in France, where both men and officers have been additionally and specially trained and are ready for active service.

5. Independent lines of communication and supply and vast storage and other facilities are in process of construction in France.

6. Great programs for the manufacture of additional equipment and for the production of new instruments of war have been formulated.

7. No army of similar size in the history of the world has ever been raised, equipped, or trained so quickly. No such provision has ever been made for the comfort, health, and general well-being of an army. The health reports for December, for a variety of reasons, became suddenly less favorable than for the preceding months; but the unfavorable conditions have been met and improvement is already apparent.

Army Numbers 1,539,485

In opening his statement the Secretary said: "In April, 1917, the regular army comprised 5,571 officers and 121,797 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service, approximately 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men, and the reserve, 4,000 enlisted men. At that time approximately 2,573 officers were in the reserve on inactive duty, so they could not properly be considered in estimating the strength of the army.

"On Dec. 31, 1917, the regular army consisted of 10,250 officers and 475,000 enlisted men, the National Guard of 10,031 officers and 400,900 enlisted men, the national army of 480,000 men, and the reserve of 84,575 officers and 72,750 enlisted men.

"In other words, in nine months the increase has been from 9,324 officers to 110,835 officers; from 202,510 to 1,428,650 men.

"During the war with Spain, the army of the United States at its maximum strength aggregated 272,000 men and officers. The army now in the field and in training is, therefore, roughly, six times as great as the maximum number under arms in the Spanish-American war. The number already in the military service is one and a half times as large as any force ever mobilized by this nation."

The Secretary of War spoke of the operation of the draft law, in creating the major part of the army, as having proved itself "the economical and efficient way of selecting soldiers." He continued:

"For the training of officers two series of training camps were held, from which about 45,000 officers were commissioned from civil life. This was nearly eight times as great as the number of officers in the regular army in April.

"For the training of the soldiers sixteen cantonments have been built, costing $134,000,000, with an average profit to

the contractors of 2.98 per cent. These cantonments contain water and sewage facilities, refuse disposal plants, laundries, storehouses, barracks, exchanges, Post Offices, and practically all necessary conveniences, comforts, and safeguards for soldiers.

"The death rate in our forces in the United States, from mid-September to the end of December, averaged 7.5 per thousand, and is slightly less than would have been the death rate of men of the same age at home. In 1898 the death rate per thousand was 20.14, or nearly three times as great. Our death rate in the army during the year 1916, just before the war, was 5 per thousand. Leaving out the deaths due to measles and its complications, our rate among all troops in the United States since Sept. 1 has been about 2 per thousand. That will be the average for the year."

Summary of Expenditures

Regarding the money put at the disposal of the War Department, the Secretary said that in 1915 Congress appropriated for the War Department $158,000,000; for 1916, $203,000,000; for 1917, $403,000,000; for 1918, $7,527,338,716. Of the appropriation for 1918, the Secretary said, $3,200,000,000 was for the Ordnance Department. Contracts had already been placed for $1,677,000,000. On April 1, 1917, the Ordnance Department comprised ninety-seven commissioned officers, while it now had 3,004 officers, and, besides, 26,120 enlisted personnel.

"In addition to the selection and training of this new force, the making of great contracts, and the follow-up necessary in the manufacturing processes, a continuous study of new weapons and instrumentalities had been kept up, a constant contact kept with trained men abroad studying the operation of ordnance material in battle and accordingly modifying designs and plans here by reason of observation and experience," the Secretary said. "The trench warfare material alone involves contracts of $282,000,000. Some of the contracts cover instruments so modern that our industries had to be adapted to their manufacture.

"For the Quartermaster General's Department in 1918 $3,018,000,000 was appropriated, or more than four times as much as the 1915 appropriations for all Governmental purposes. On April 1 there were 347 officers in the Quartermaster Corps, while on Jan. 1 last there were 6,431 officers.

"On the first day of January, 1918, nearly $2,000,000,000 of the appropriation had been obligated by contracts or disbursements. In the woolen goods section alone the co-operation of over 300 mills was involved. This section alone has purchased over 19,000,000 blankets, 20,000,000 yards of overcoating, and over 30,000,000 yards each of shirting flannel and suiting, involving an expenditure of over $345,000,000. In cotton goods the department has contracted for 250,000,000 yards of various cotton cloths."

Growth of Aviation Corps

The Aviation Division of the Signal Corps on April 1, 1917, Mr. Baker said, consisted of 65 officers and 1,120 men, while on Jan. 1 last it comprised 3,900 officers and 82,120 men. For this division an appropriation was provided aggregating $744,000,000 for this year.

The Engineer Department, for which, in 1917, $53,000,000 was appropriated, was allowed in 1918 an appropriation of $390,000,000, or about 700 per cent. increase. The Secretary added: "There have been organized, trained, and equipped technical troops of foresters, stevedores, and railroad construction and operation men, aggregating about 120,000, many of whom have been operating in France for some months."

Mr. Baker went into the reorganization of the War Department on Dec. 15, when the War Council was created. "The purpose of the council," he explained, "is that its members, being free from the burdens of detail administration, can take a large supervisory view of all questions of organization and supply, and give to the Government the highest value of their talents and experience." After going into the functions of the Council of National Defense, which he described as "a conciliation of conflicts and a survey of the national needs and resources," the Secretary said that the council's work

had been effective. "It has served and is still serving its purpose," he said. "The General Munitions Board and its successor, the War Industries Board, were organized by the Council of National Defense to:

"1. Assign priorities as among the several departments of the Government and the allied Governments in their demands upon the industries of the country.

"2. Advise as to supplies of materials and labor.

"3. Advise on questions of price.

"4. Secure industrial and labor co-operation.

"5. Avoid enhancement of prices, confusion of industry, exhaustion of labor, and generally to prevent all avoidable evils which might result from the speed and magnitude of the new operations.

"The initial rush needs of our army are substantially supplied," Mr. Baker went on. "The technical corps has been expanded and reorganized upon industrial and efficient lines. The co-ordination of ally needs with our own purchases has been effected. An agency exists to prevent conflicts and to adjust those which cannot be prevented. By the co-operation of all interests and all people in the country, the nation is now organized and set to its task with unanimity of spirit and confidence in its powers. More has been done than anybody dared to believe possible."

Reorganizing the General Staff

The creation of a Military War Council, announced on Dec. 15, 1917, was followed by further steps in reorganizing the direction of the army. The council consists of

The Secretary of War.

The Assistant Secretary of War.

The Chief of Staff, (General Tasker H. Bliss.)

The Quartermaster General, (Major Gen. H. G. Sharpe.)

The Chief of Artillery, (Major Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver.)

The Chief of Ordnance, (Major Gen. W. Crozier.)

The Judge Advocate General, who is also Provost Marshal General in Charge of the Selective Draft, (Major Gen. E. H. Crowder.)

Although General Bliss reached the retirement age on Dec. 31, the President decided that he should remain Chief of Staff of the Army, with Major Gen. Biddle as Assistant Chief.

Major Gen. George W. Goethals, it was announced on Dec. 18, was recalled to active duty and appointed Acting Quartermaster General in place of Major Gen. Sharpe. Major Gen. Weaver was relieved by Brig. Gen. Barrette, who became Acting Chief of Coast Artillery, and Brig. Gen. Charles Wheeler became Acting Chief of Ordnance, assuming the duties of Major Gen. Crozier. General Bliss, Chief of Staff, and Major Gen. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, other members of the council, retained their present posts.

The powers of General Goethals were enlarged by his appointment on Jan. 7 as Director of War Department Transportation and Storage in addition to his duties as Acting Quartermaster General. All War Department bureaus previously independent in regard to transportation were directed to co-ordinate their demands through General Goethals, who in turn was henceforth to deal with the Director of Railroads, the Shipping Board, and other centralized agencies for transportation or storage.

Ordnance Reorganization

The Ordnance Department was reorganized by consolidating the five separate organizations among which the functions of the department had so far been distributed, and assigning to the Chief of Ordnance an administrative advisory staff to assist him. This staff was divided into four operating branches, with the principal business functions handled by competent business men. The four divisions are in charge of procurement, production, inspection, and supply. Colonel Samuel McRoberts, formerly executive manager of the National City Bank of New York, was placed at the head of the Procurement Division. The new plan, under which it was proposed to make the bureau a great working unit, was modeled somewhat after the British Ministry of Munitions and represented one of the most radical changes in the administration of the War Department since America entered the war.

Important changes were also made in various commands. Secretary Baker formally announced on Jan. 2 the return

to the United States of Major Gens. William Mann, William L. Sibert, and Richard M. Blatchford, who had been in active command of troops of the American expeditionary army in France. General Mann was assigned to command the Eastern Department; General Sibert to the Southeastern Department, and General Blatchford to serve in the training camps. Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard succeeded General Sibert in command under General Pershing and Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher replaced General Mann in command of the "Rainbow Division." There were also numerous changes in the commands of the various cantonments, all with a view to increased efficiency.

Major Gen. Crowder on the Draft Law

The large reservoirs of man power available in the United States for use against Germany were disclosed in the first comprehensive report on the operation of the selective draft law, which was submitted by Major Gen. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, and made public on Jan. 3. The General stated his conviction that, in all probability, it would be possible to meet America's military needs by calling to the colors hereafter only the men included in Class 1 of draft registrants. He estimated that the men in this classification accepted for service would reach 1,000,000. By amending the draft law so as to include all men who reached their twenty-first birthday after June 5, 1917, General Crowder believed that at least 700,000 men could be added yearly to the available class. In the interest of fair distribution of the military burden he proposed that the quotas of States or districts be determined on the basis of the number of men in Class 1 and not upon population.

Class 1 comprises single men without dependent relatives, married men who have habitually failed to support their families, who are dependent upon wives for support or not usefully engaged, and whose families are supported by incomes independent of their labor, unskilled farm laborers, unskilled industrial laborers, registrants by or in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made, registrants who fail to submit questionnaire and in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made, and all registrants not included in any other division of the schedule.

General Crowder gave these figures of the draft results:

Registrants.	Number.	Ratio P. C.
Total	9,586,508	100
Not called by board	6,503,550	67.84
Called by boards	3,082,949	32.16

Of the men called by boards, 252,294 failed to appear, being 8.18 per cent. Commenting on these, General Crowder expressed the opinion that there were not more than 50,000 "real slackers." Up to late December only 5,870 arrests had been made of those who had sought to evade registration, and of that number 2,263 were released after having registered. There remained only 2,095 cases to be prosecuted.

A total of 1,057,363 men was certified for service and 687,000 were named in the first call. The Provost Marshal General was ready to supply percentages of this quota more rapidly than the War Department was able to clothe and equip the men.

Discussing the question of extending the age limits for compulsory military service, General Crowder said: "The two most important preliminary inquiries are: What are the numbers of available men in the additional age groups? Which groups can we least afford to draw from?" He stated the available numbers as follows:

MALE POPULATION AVAILABLE, 1918.

	Numbers.
31-45 years, both inclusive, (est.)	10,683,249
21-30 years, both inclusive, not yet called	6,503,559
18-20 years, both inclusive, (est.)	3,087,063
Arriving at age 21 between June, 1917, and June, 1918, (est.)	1,000,000

Inasmuch as most (96 per cent.) of the 18-20 group are not married and most (77 per cent.) of the age 31-45 are married, it will serve sufficiently the purpose

to estimate the number of single persons available in each of the groups, and then to take the probable number of acceptances as shown by the percentage of acceptances in the first draft. This estimated result is as follows:

PROBABLE ACCEPTABLE MEN IN AGE GROUPS

	Gross Number.	Prob. Per. C't of Acceptables.	Net Numbers.
Single males, 31-40, (estimated)	3,525,472	39.41	1,389,388
Single males, 21-30, not yet called	3,354,086	39.41	1,321,845
Single males, 18-20, (estimated)	2,963,581	39.41	1,167,947
Single males arriving at age 21, (estimated)	960,000	39.41	378,336
Total 10,803,139		....	4,257,516

Tables accompanying the report showed many striking results of the draft. Of the 457,713 called up for examination, 76,545 were certified for military service, having voluntarily waived their right to exemption as aliens. Even of the 381,168 exempted, 40 per cent. went out on other grounds than their alien status.

Of the men examined, 730,756, or 23.7 per cent., were rejected for physical reasons. That, it was pointed out, showed an encouraging improvement in the physical condition of the young men of the nation since the civil war days, for at that time the draft authorities rejected 32 per cent. of all men called on physical grounds.

About half of all the men called, or 1,560,570, claimed exemption. The claims of 78 per cent. of these were granted, showing in the opinion of officials that very few fraudulent claims were filed. Of those exempted, 74 per cent. were released because of dependent relatives, 20 per cent. because they claimed alien birth and nationality, and only 6 per cent. on vocational grounds.

Voluntary enlistment in the regular army of men within the draft age closed on Dec. 15, 1917. When the War Department began the enlistment of the regular army to war strength in April, it set out to obtain 183,898 men. With the close of recruiting offices on Dec. 14, it had obtained 337,247 men, or 153,349 more than war strength.

Except in the American expeditionary force under General Pershing, President Wilson has ruled that in all cases where a court-martial passes sentence of death the penalty is not to be carried out until it has been reviewed by the War Department at Washington.

Selective Draft Law Declared Constitutional

The United States Supreme Court on Jan. 7, 1918, passed upon seven cases arising under the selective draft law, and decided all, excepting those involving the charge of conspiracy, adversely to the men drafted or subject to draft. The constitutionality of the Draft act was sustained against every contention. The decision turned on the construction to be placed on the language of Article I., Section 8, of the Constitution, which provides that Congress has power "to declare war * * * to raise and support armies * * * to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces * * * to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers. * * *" Regarding the contention that Congress has no power to exact enforced military duty by the citizen, the opinion, which was written by Chief Justice White, said:

> This but challenges the existence of all power, for Governmental power which has no sanction to it and which can only be exercised provided the citizen consents is in no substantial sense such a power. It is argued, however, that, although this is abstractly true, it is not concretely so because, as compelled military service is repugnant to a free Government and in conflict with all the great guarantees of the Constitution as to individual liberty, it must be assumed that the authority to raise armies was intended to be limited to the right to call an army into existence, counting alone upon the willingness of the citizen to do his duty in time of public need—that is, in time of war. But the premise of this proposition is so devoid of foundation that it leaves not

even a shadow of ground upon which to base the conclusion.

It may not be doubted that the very conception of a just Government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right to compel it. To do more than state the proposition is absolutely unnecessary in view of the practical illustration afforded by the almost universal legislation to that effect now in force.

The history of draft laws in England and in the American Colonies was given briefly to lead to the statement that one of the first necessities on account of which the Constitution was formed was to provide means of raising armed forces. The decision continued:

The seceding States wrote into the Constitution which was adopted to regulate the Government which they sought to establish in identical words the provision of the Constitution of the United States. And when the right to enforce that instrument, a selective draft law which was enacted not differing in principle from the one here in question, was challenged, its validity was upheld, evidently after great consideration by the courts of Virginia, of Georgia, of Texas, of Alabama, of Mississippi, and of North Carolina, the opinions in some of the cases copiously and critically reviewing the whole grounds which we have stated.

The argument based on the Fourteenth Amendment was disposed of by the court in the following language:

To avoid all misapprehension we direct attention to that amendment (Fourteenth) for the purpose of pointing out how completely it broadened the national scope of the Government by causing citizenship of the United States to be paramount and dominant.

The contentions that the Draft act delegated to State officials Federal powers, that it vested administrative officers with legislative discretion, and that it conferred judicial powers were all brushed aside by the courts as being wholly without merit. The argument as to religious convictions being a plea against the operation of the draft law was not honored with any discussion by the court, and was simply stated as being a part of the argument for the drafted men. The opinion concluded:

Finally, as we are unable to conceive upon what theory the exaction by the Government from the citizen of the performance of his supreme and noble duty by contributing to the defense of the rights and honor of the nation as the result of a war declared by the great representative body of the people can be said to be the imposition of involuntary moral servitude, in violation of the prohibitions of the Thirteenth Amendment, we are constrained to the conclusion that the contention to that effect is refuted by its mere statement.

An American Camp in England

The principal camp of the United States Army in England is located in one of the most ancient cities of the British Isles. It is a "passing" camp, so called because our men go there after landing on British soil and undergo a sort of quarantine for a week or so; then, their whole unit having been assembled, they depart to be trained in France. The camp is policed by United States marines. The Colonel commanding is an old West Pointer, and his adjutant, a Captain of Marines, is from Annapolis. A number of British officers and soldiers have been assigned to assist the Americans. The camp is described as follows by a British observer:

As the visitor strolls through the sinuous streets of an ancient city of England he at once notices that a change has come over this quiet place, for it is full of bustle and animation, and the English that is spoken is not uttered with the local intonation. Strange to say, the voices are those of Southerners, and the ear soon becomes accustomed to the "drawl" of the Marylander, of the Alabaman, of the Tennessean, and of the Virginian. Here and there one can detect the "burr" of the Iowan and of the Ohioan. It is but seldom that the peculiar sound of the New Englander's speech strikes the ear. Sauntering along lazily are the "liberty" men—liberty men in

another sense, also, for they come to fight for liberty. They are all young men, clean shaved, clad in well-fitting uniforms, their chinstraps being worn at the back of their heads, if it is permissible to record such a jest. If anything, these lads look solemn, and their features seldom relax into a smile. Whatever their thoughts, they seem to be in dead earnest and in a contemplative mood. Occasionally there goes by an older man who recalls the pictures representing Roman centurions.

If you address them, they answer briefly and to the point. A few "regulars" there are—very few; they belong to that corps d'élite, the United States Marines. Some of them have already seen service in France, and they are employed as police. Their duties are light, it is pleasing to be able to record, for very few "Sammies" take advantage of the fact that "firewater" can be had in the town. At the entrance to the camp three marines are pacing the road, swinging their clubs with all the zest and with the artistic dexterity of a New York east side policeman. The camp is merely a "passing" one; men come there after landing on British soil, and undergo a sort of quarantine for about a week, when they depart to be trained on French territory.

"We don't mind staying here for the Winter, but next Spring must see us off. We don't want to miss the big drive, and a big drive it is going to be next Spring. Cuba, the Philippines, won't be in it with that drive," says a fine Marylander, a Sergeant in the aforesaid marines. Police duty is not to the liking of the American "Cheeks"; he is a "fighter from Fight-town," he complacently remarks. Another thing noticeable in the town is the complete entente which visibly exists between the Americans, the townspeople, and the British Tommies. While mentioning this fact, it may be added that the American officers are emphatic and sincere in their praise of their British confrères, who have helped and are still helping them with zeal and chivalry. Our officers are known as liaison officers; to the British Tommies they are "Elizas"—their best attempt at pronouncing the French word. It is one more word to be added to what may be called the "Napoo" language, or, rather, dialect. The officers of both nationalities have a mess in common, and young America asks a British Major if it is not a good thing to take hot-water bottles into the trenches as a protection against cold feet. The wily Major is not to be trapped, and so he solemnly asserts that "Personally, I prefer a hot brick; but you have to bring your own heater with you."

A stroll through the lanes of the cantonments compels the visitor to admire the way in which the British authorities have paved the way for our latest allies. A "pharmacy," where the boys can get a pill every day if they want one—"for in wartime a man can have a pill for a sore throat, a broken leg, or any other thing he thinks he has got," remarks the guide—an isolation ward, two or three hospitals, "dry" canteens, messrooms, bathrooms, banks, an express company, clubs, chapels, everything has been provided. The principal medical officer in charge relates an interesting bit of statistics. "I saw long ago that we were going to come in, and so I went to work at once—2,000 of us, that was the number then; 20,000 of us now." In a way, the camp looks something akin to a mining town in Colorado, with its huts as "banks." The only bank not to be found is one wherein poker chips or dice are rattled.

"We are up against a new problem," continues the P.M.O. "We have to think in large numbers now." There is a deal of meaning in that pithy sentence. And, to crown all, he pays our authorities the following compliment, or rather tribute: "Your people have done more than well by us. The camp they have handed over to us is more compact, better built, and healthier than any of our camps at home. The sanitation is absolutely perfect." "That's so," remarks the Colonel. Praise from Sir Hubert indeed!

Railroads Under Government Control

Story of the Drastic Remedy Adopted to Relieve an Impossible Situation Imperiling Our War Activities

THE inability of the railroads of the United States to meet the requirements of the nation's war program under existing conditions led, on Dec. 26, 1917, to the Federal Government's abrupt assumption of full control, and to the adoption of immediate measures to unify the many competing lines in a single national system, to make good the deficiencies in equipment, and generally to secure the free flow of vital freight through the arteries of trade and industry.

The railroad system of the United States is the largest in the world. It is owned by 441 distinct corporations, comprising about 650,000 shareholders. In round numbers, it consists of 260,000 miles of railroad, representing a property investment of $17,500,000,000, in the operation of which an army of 1,600,000 employes is engaged. The outstanding capital is approximately $16,000,000,000, of which over $8,000,000,000 is represented by funded debt. The rolling stock comprises 61,000 locomotives, 2,250,000 freight cars, 52,000 passenger cars, and 95,000 service cars. This great property passed under the nation's control by the President's simple act of issuing, on Dec. 26, a proclamation taking possession of the railroads and vesting their control in the Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, as Director General.

The President derived his power from Section 1 of the act of Aug. 29, 1916, which says:

> The President, in time of war, is empowered, through the Secretary of War, to take possession and assume control of any system or systems of transportation, or any part thereof, and to utilize the same, to the exclusion as far as may be necessary of all other traffic thereon, for the transfer or transportation of troops, war material and equipment, or for such other purposes connected with the emergency as may be needful or desirable.

The proclamation stated that possession was taken of the railroads as from noon on Dec. 28, 1917, and that it applied to

> each and every system of transportation and the appurtenances thereof located wholly or in part within the boundaries of the continental United States and consisting of railroads, and owned or controlled systems of coastwise and inland transportation, engaged in general transportation, whether operated by steam or by electric power, including also terminals, terminal companies and terminal associations, sleeping and parlor cars, private cars and private-car lines, elevators, warehouses, telegraph and telephone lines, and all other equipment and appurtenances commonly used upon or operated as a part of such rail or combined rail and water systems of transportation.

The President further directed

> that the possession, control, operation, and utilization of such transportation systems shall be exercised by and through William G. McAdoo, who is hereby appointed and designated Director General of Railroads. Said Director may perform the duties imposed upon him so long, and to such extent, as he shall determine, through the boards of Directors, receivers, officers, and employes of said systems of transportation.

Until the Director General provided otherwise, these Directors and officers were to continue doing their work as usual, and all laws and regulations, Federal and State, were to remain in force. Street car and interurban systems were exempted by the proclamation. The property rights of stockholders and others interested in the systems taken over remained unimpaired. The payment of regular dividends and interest on bonds was permitted until the Director General should make new arrangements.

President Wilson's Explanation

Accompanying the proclamation President Wilson issued an explanatory statement, in the course of which he said:

> This is a war of resources no less than of men, perhaps even more than of men, and it is necessary for the complete mobilization of our resources that the transportation systems of the country should

be organized and employed under a single authority and a simplified method of co-ordination which have not proved possible under private management and control.

The Committee of Railway Executives who have been co-operating with the Government in this all-important matter have done the utmost that it was possible for them to do; but there were differences that they could neither escape nor neutralize. Complete unity of administration in the present circumstances involves upon occasion and at many points a serious dislocation of earnings, and the committee was of course without power or authority to rearrange charges or effect proper compensations and adjustments of earnings. Several roads which were willingly and with admirable public spirit accepting the orders of the committee have already suffered from these circumstances, and should not be required to suffer further. In mere fairness to them the full authority of the Government must be substituted.

The public interest must be first served and, in addition, the financial interests of the Government and the financial interests of the railways must be brought under a common direction. The financial operations of the railways need not then interfere with the borrowings of the Government, and they themselves can be conducted at a great advantage. Investors in railway securities may rest assured that their rights and interests will be as scrupulously looked after by the Government as they could be by the Directors of the several railway systems. Immediately upon the reassembling of Congress I shall recommend that these definite guarantees be given.

The Secretary of War and I are agreed that, all the circumstances being taken into consideration, the best results can be obtained under the immediate executive direction of the Hon. William G. McAdoo, whose practical experience peculiarly fits him for the service and whose authority as Secretary of the Treasury will enable him to co-ordinate as no other man could the many financial interests which will be involved and which might, unless systematically directed, suffer very embarrassing entanglements.

Message to Congress

The Government plan was further outlined by President Wilson in an address to Congress in joint session on Jan. 4, 1918, recommending legislation to put into complete effect the new system of control and to guarantee to the holders of railroad stocks and bonds that their properties be maintained in as good repair and with as complete equipment as before. The President recommended as a basis for compensation the average net income of the three years ended June 30, 1917, which, computed from the returns of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was $1,049,974,977. This basis was assumed in the Administration Railroad bill introduced in both houses immediately after the President's address. It was estimated to amount to about 5½ per cent. yearly dividends.

Following are the more important passages in President Wilson's address to Congress:

It was in the true spirit of America, and it was right, that we should first try to effect the necessary unification under the voluntary action of those who were in charge of the great railway properties, and we did try it. The directors of the railways responded to the need promptly and generously. If I have taken the task out of their hands, it has not been because of any dereliction or failure on their part, but only because there were some things which the Government can do and private management can not. We shall continue to value most highly the advice and assistance of these gentlemen, and I am sure we shall not find them withholding it.

The common administration will be carried out with as little disturbance of the present operating organizations and personnel of the railways as possible. Nothing will be altered or disturbed which it is not necessary to disturb. We are serving the public interest and safeguarding the public safety, but we are also regardful of the interest of those by whom these great properties are owned, and glad to avail ourselves of the experience and trained ability of those who have been managing them.

It is necessary that the transportation of troops and of war materials, of food and of fuel, and of everything that is necessary for the full mobilization of the energies and resources of the country, should be first considered, but it is clearly in the public interest also that the ordinary activities and the normal industrial and commercial life of the country should be interfered with and dislocated as little as possible, and the public may rest assured that the interest and convenience of the private shipper will be as carefully served and safeguarded as it is possible to serve and safeguard it in the present extraordinary circumstances.

While the present authority of the Executive suffices for all purposes of administration, and while, of course, all private interests must for the present give way to the public necessity, it is, I am sure

you will agree with me, right and necessary that the owners and creditors of the railways, the holders of their stocks and bonds, should receive from the Government an unqualified guarantee that their properties will be maintained throughout the period of Federal control in as good repair and as complete equipment as at present, and that the several roads will receive under Federal management such compensation as is equitable and just alike to their owners and to the general public. I would suggest the average net railway operating income of the three years ending June 30, 1917. I earnestly recommend that these guarantees be given by appropriate legislation, and given as promptly as circumstances permit.

I need not point out the essential justice of such guarantees and their great influence and significance as elements in the present financial and industrial situation of the country. Indeed, one of the strong arguments for assuming control of the railroads at this time is the financial argument.

It is necessary that the values of railway securities should be justly and fairly protected, and that the large financial operations every year necessary in connection with the maintenance, operation, and development of the roads should, during the period of the war, be wisely related to the financial operations of the Government.

It is an obligation of public conscience and of public honor that the private interests we disturb should be kept safe from unjust injury, and it is of the utmost consequence to the Government itself that all great financial operations should be stabilized and co-ordinated with the financial operations of the Government.

No borrowing should run athwart the borrowings of the Federal Treasury, and no fundamental industrial values should anywhere be unnecessarily impaired.

In the hands of many thousands of small investors in the country, as well as in national banks, in insurance companies, in savings banks, in trust companies, in fiancial agencies of every kind, railway securities, the sum total of which runs up to some ten or eleven thousand millions, constitute a vital part of that structure of credit, and the unquestioned solidity of that structure must be maintained.

It is probably too much to expect that even under the unified railway administration, which will now be possible, sufficient economies can be effected in the operation of the railways to make it possible to add to their equipment and extend their operative facilities as much as the present extraordinary demands upon their use will render desirable without resorting to the National Treasury for the funds. If it is not possible, it will, of course, be necessary to resort to the Congress for grants of money for that purpose.

Features of Railway Bill

The administration measure as presented in the Senate and House was prepared by the Department of Justice and members of the Interstate Commerce Commission. A hint of Government ownership was seen in the last section, which provided that "the Federal control of transportation systems, herein and heretofore provided for, shall continue for and during the period of the war and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise." Ample provision was made for financing the railroads and guaranteeing them a net annual income equal to the average net income for the three years ended June 30, 1917.

In addition to providing ways for compensation of owners and financing the roads, the bill called for an appropriation of $500,000,000 as a "revolving fund," to be used for expenses of control, for buying equipment and putting the railroads on an efficient basis as well as building barges and boats for inland and coastwise waterways to be used, if necessary, to supplement railroad transportation. A method was defined as to how the net railway income of the railroads was to be established. During Federal control, depreciation and maintenance of the railroad properties was to be included as part of the operating expenses. Should the railroads refuse to accept the compensation stipulated in the bill it was provided that they could present their claim for additional compensation to a board of three, to be appointed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. If the report of this board did not satisfy the carriers, they might appeal to the Court of Claims.

While the carriers were under Federal control, dividend-paying roads could not increase their dividends above the average of the regular dividends of the three-year period ended June 30, 1917. Railroads which paid no dividends during the stipulated period might pay dividends if the President approved. This section was interpreted as preventing the declaring of extra dividends, such as some railroads

had been accustomed to distribute as a "melon" to stockholders.

Effect on Stock Market

The stock market greeted President Wilson's plan for Government operation of the railroads during the war period with the wildest trading in railroad shares on Dec. 27 that had been witnessed in many years. There was a stampede of speculators to buy back stocks which they had previously sold short, the like of which old-time traders said they had never seen before in a railroad bull market. Initial sales in such conservative issues as Baltimore & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, Delaware & Hudson, and the Union Pacific were made at prices from 4 to nearly 16 points above the final quotation on the preceding day, and while more order marked later business, the entire stock list ended the day with net gains running from 3 to more than 11 points. In the space of a few days the market value of stocks alone was written up by more than $350,000,000 as a response to the guarantee of pre-war earnings.

The taking over of the railroads was favorably received in banking circles. The President's action was hailed as the turning point in the Government's attitude toward railroad corporations and holders of railroad securities. J. P. Morgan said:

> In my opinion the President's action should be a great relief to the situation. The railroads, with every desire to help as much as possible in winning the war, have found themselves hampered by division of authority and by the competitive policy imposed on them by law. As this situation could only be relieved by Federal action it is a great satisfaction to see that action taken.

Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank and Chairman of the National War Savings Committee, said in a speech on Jan. 7:

> I do not regard the breakdown of the railroads as an indictment of private ownership of railroads. Rather than that, it is an indictment of Government control of railroads in the form that we have had it. The breakdown did not come on Dec. 28; it started far back of that in the unfair treatment that railroads have had.
>
> It lies in the impossible situation in which the railroads were placed, with increasing costs of operation, rapidly increasing wages, higher cost of living in every particular, without any adequate increase in their income. It looks as if the railroads have passed permanently from private control in the form that we have known it. Whether or not that is a good thing must now remain to be seen.
>
> The great thing that has been accomplished up to this moment is to wipe out the prohibitions that have been laid upon the railroads. These prohibitions, compelling competition, preventing co-operation, made them less efficient than they otherwise would have been, probably very much less efficient. We shall see how much more efficient they are with those prohibitions removed.
>
> We have come into a new world, absolutely a new world, in which we have cut loose from experience, from all lessons of precedents. We are seeing the development of a type of State socialism the world over. We see not only our railroad control, but price-fixing, and fuel administration, the hand of the Government reaching into business in innumerable novel ways, the outcome of which no man can tell.

Imperative as a War Measure

The decision by President Wilson to extend the Government functions to cover the operation of the carriers was reached only because the vigorous prosecution of the war could not be effected while congestion in the country's principal arteries of trade was becoming daily more pronounced. The great increase in activity which the industrial centres of the East experienced as a direct result of the expenditures here by the Allies of more than $3,000,000,000 for war supplies, accompanied by some marked shifting of the points of greatest density in traffic and by a very large addition to the normal passenger movement, put an extraordinarily large increase upon the Eastern roads, and, as nearly all the war freight was intended for shipment through a few points on the Atlantic seaboard, serious congestion had arisen at these terminals before the United States declared war. So heavy was the tonnage offered the lines reaching the principal ports that from time to time embargoes had to be laid through sheer inability of the carriers to accommodate all the thousands of loaded cars which were backed up awaiting transfer of their contents to ships. The unavoidable consequence of this con-

dition was the withdrawal of many thousands of cars from lines in other sections of the country which became locked in the traffic blockade for weeks at a time, and inability of the railroads to withdraw cars for the usual repairs.

Complications and the Remedy

Up to early Summer of 1917 the situation was uncomfortable but not dangerous. The railroads were handling a vastly augmented volume of business, and had they been able to get trains unloaded promptly at points of destination they would have been able to move new business about as fast as it was offered. The declaration of war by the United States suddenly added tremendous new burdens. It was not long before the railroads were called upon to carry thousands of carloads of lumber for the construction of cantonments; raw materials to mills and factories that were being turned to war work; finished products to the various Quartermasters' Departments, and thousands of men to the various training camps.

To meet the new difficulties the railroads named a War Board, to have headquarters in Washington, and agreed to abide by its orders. From that there soon grew up the evil of priority tags, every Government official attempting to speed up materials required for his department by obtaining preference for them over ordinary commercial freight. The priority freight soon far exceeded in volume that over which the freight handlers could exercise their own discretion, with the result that a much more serious transportation deadlock developed.

Numerous conferences were held in Washington between railway executives and Government authorities, which developed, first, the fact that railway men themselves could not agree on a way to increase the freedom of train movement by pooling facilities—at least while the old limitations of law and regulation were maintained—and, secondly, that they could not reach an understanding with the Administration. The President cut straight through the greater part of all artificial barriers by announcing his reluctant decision to have the Government take over complete control of all the roads.

Director General's First Acts

Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads, issued his first order on Dec. 29, pooling all terminals, ports, locomotives, rolling stock, and other transportation facilities. This order was addressed to the railroad executives and employes who were called upon to co-operate. In a supplemental statement Mr. McAdoo announced the selection of Walker D. Hines of New York, Chairman of the Santa Fé, as assistant pro tempore to the Government's Director General. Alfred H. Smith, President of the New York Central, also was named as an assistant in charge of transportation in the Eastern and Northern districts.

The further specific announcement was made by Mr. McAdoo that immediate action must be taken to end congestion of traffic in the great railroad terminals in New York City and Chicago, because that situation had proved one of the most embarrassing to the railroads. All lines entering these centres or contributing to the traffic into them would henceforth, as part of the national system, have equal rights to the use of any trackage or water terminal facilities. Passenger as well as freight traffic was included in the plan to be put in operation at once, thus wiping out the identity of the great Pennsylvania terminal station in New York and placing at the disposal of all railroads which had in the past appeared as competing lines the use of the Pennsylvania tubes under the Hudson River.

Another important development was the abolition on Dec. 31 of the Railroads' War Board and the appointment by the Director General of an advisory board, or cabinet, to assist him. Mr. McAdoo announced the following as the personnel of the board:

JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS, Controller of the Currency.

HALE HOLDEN, President of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

HENRY WALTERS, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Coast Line.

EDWARDS CHAMBERS, Vice President of the Santa Fé Railroad and head of the Transportation Division of the United States Food Administration.

An armed guard supplied by the navy for the protection of merchant vessels at practice.

(© *Committee on Public Information.*)

Crew of a German submarine surrendering to the U. S. destroyer Fanning, Nov. 24, 1917.

(© *Committee on Public Information.*)

AMERICAN WOMEN DOING WAR WORK

Operating a bolt-threading machine in a railroad workshop.

(Photo Paul Thompson.)

Sewing linen over the frame of an airplane wing.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)

Car conductors who have replaced men on the Broadway street cars in New York City.

(Photo Western Newspaper Union.)

WALKER D. HINES, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Santa Fé and Assistant to the Director General of Railroads.

Mr. Williams was assigned to deal with the financial problems involved in Government direction of the railroads, while specific duties involving traffic, transportation, and other phases of the problem were allotted to the other members. Mr. McAdoo announced that until further notice Mr. Holden would take over the office files and assume direction of the committees and sub-committees until then a part of the staff of the Railroads' War Board, including the Committee on Car Service of the American Railway Association. Mr. Holden was the only member of the Railroads' War Board appointed to the new cabinet of the Director General. The others, executive heads of great railroad lines, returned to their headquarters and assumed the duties they carried on before the Railroads' War Board was formed. They were Fairfax Harrison, President of the Southern Railway; Howard Elliott of the New Haven lines; Julius Kruttschnitt, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Pacific, and Samuel Rea, President of the Pennsylvania.

Adjusting the Wage Problem

The labor phase of the great change was the subject of a conference on Jan. 4, 1918, between Mr. McAdoo and representatives of the four railroad brotherhoods as to the relations of the workers to the railroads while under Government control and demands for higher wages In a statement, issued after the confer ence, Mr. McAdoo said:

> As a result of the discussion I have determined to appoint a committee of four representative men, whose reputations will be a guarantee of fair dealing to all, to make a full investigation of the whole matter and report their findings and conclusions to me at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the committee makes a report the Director General will render a decision which will be effective as to wages from Jan. 1, 1918. Every railroad employe is now in effect a Government employe, and as much in duty bound to give his best service to his country as if he wore the uniform of the United States Army and occupied the trenches at the front.

Mr. McAdoo's comment in giving out the statement was: "I am going to give them a square deal, and that is all they want and all that I can give."

Practical Effects of Change

Government control of the railroads began to make its effects manifest from the first moment. In addition to the order issued by the Director General pooling facilities, vigorous measures were taken to relieve congestion, which was especially bad in the Eastern States. Traffic was ordered to be moved by the shortest routes regardless of shippers' desires or the profit or convenience of individual lines. Coal was given the right of way, furnishing immediate relief to New York City, the New England States, and other sections which were suffering from a severe fuel shortage. Priority orders were annulled, many long-haul passenger trains were taken off to prevent interference with freight traffic. More than 250 passenger trains were cut out of the schedules of the Eastern roads. The Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, tube under the Hudson River, and station in New York were thrown open to traffic from roads that had been competing rivals, and hundreds of coal cars were rushed through the passenger tube to relieve a temporary fuel crisis.

Another far-reaching order issued by Mr. McAdoo was that dated Jan. 6 to the effect that after Jan. 21 consignees permitting freight to remain on cars beyond a certain time and thus adding to congestion at terminals would be subjected to demurrage rates more than double those formerly in effect. Orders were also sent by Assistant Director Smith, in charge of the Eastern district, for all empty box cars to be sent to wheat producing centres in order to move wheat without delay to the Atlantic seacoast for shipment to England and France, so as to meet the food shortage in those countries.

Speeding Up the Shipbuilding Program

TO speed up the construction program of the United States Shipping Board and provide housing accommodation for the large numbers of workers employed at Government and private yards, the Secretary of the Treasury on Jan. 4, 1918, sent a request to Congress for an additional appropriation of $800,000,000, making the total amount authorized $2,100,000,000.

Previously to this step the Commerce Committee of the Senate had begun on Dec. 21, 1917, to investigate the serious delays which had retarded the work of the board and its subsidiary organization, the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the board, the man on whom the nation depends to carry out the new program, appeared before the Senate committee. He admitted that there had been delays, but declared that the reorganization of the board's Emergency Fleet Corporation for the first time gave the Chairman of the board proper authority and fixed responsibility where it belonged. The dual organization of the board and the corporation had been done away with, and the present General Manager of the corporation answered directly to the Chairman. In response to the committee's request for all data possessed by the Shipping Board on contracts and construction, Mr. Hurley presented a great mass of documents. The contents of these he summed up in a statement which he read to the committee soon after taking the stand.

Mr. Hurley's Statement

"When Admiral Capps and I joined the Emergency Fleet Corporation on July 27, 1917," said Mr. Hurley, "there were under contract 840,900 tons of wooden ships, 207,000 tons of composite ships, and 587,000 tons of steel ships. Since then additional contracts amounting to 3,378,200 tons of steel ships and 504,000 tons of wooden ships have been placed.

"In addition, the Fleet Corporation has rendered financial aid to and is directing the work of extension and development in forty-two yards. The remaining new yards are being constructed by private capital. A portion of the contracts placed since July 27 were prepared and practically closed by our predecessors.

"It must be borne in mind that this vast program of construction undertaken in the last nine months was superimposed on a navy program which was the equivalent in dollars, and therefore in shipbuilding effort, of the construction of 2,500,000 tons of merchant shipping. The navy program absorbed practically 70 per cent. of the eighteen prominent yards in existence at the beginning of the war with Germany, the remaining 30 per cent. of these yards being taken up with construction of merchant shipping for both foreign and American account, which was requisitioned under the order of Aug. 3. This tonnage is now being completed under the supervision and control of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

"When we compare the total tonnage under construction for both the navy and the Shipping Board with the greatest annual output of American yards prior to the war, which Homer Ferguson in a recent article puts at 615,000 tons, some conception of the magnitude of our undertaking will be had.

"The contracts of the Emergency Fleet Corporation have been let to 110 shipyards, of which thirty-six existed Jan. 1 and seventy-four have been created since. In addition the Emergency Fleet Corporation has requisitioned the vessels which are building in twenty-two yards in addition to the above, so that the Fleet Corporation is at present controlling work in 132 yards, of which fifty-eight are old and seventy-four are new.

"The big problem is to secure an adequate supply of experienced labor and competent shipyard organizations to direct it."

Creating New Shipyards

Mr. Hurley gave a list of the yards in existence on April 27, the capacity of which had largely been absorbed by the needs of the Navy Department for de-

stroyers and mine sweepers. He then proceeded with his statement.

"It was therefore necessary to meet the needs of the program to construct not only new yards for building wooden ships, but also to construct additional yards for the construction of steel ships. The plan developed by our predecessors to standardize ship design and to build these standard ships in large numbers in specially equipped yards, in which the assembly of material fabricated in structural steel and machine shops could be carried on is sound, and will give a tremendously increased ship production at relatively small expense for new construction, and without carrying with it excessive labor congestion at the yards.

"A considerable portion of the effort thus far has been toward completion of these fabricated and other newly organized plants, the sum expended for this purpose up to Dec. 1 being $9,651,000. Progress of yard construction is such that we can promise fairly full operation during the Spring of 1918. The fact that hulls have actually been completed within sixty-four days on the Pacific Coast gives bright promise of the large capacity which these fabricated yards are bound to turn out.

"As an indication of the progress being made in explaining the shipbuilding capacity of the country, reports from various shipbuilding concerns for nine weeks beginning Oct. 6 show that out of 109 plants reporting the total number of employes for the week ended Oct. 13 was 102,769; for the week ended Dec. 8, 149,270, an increase of 45.2 per cent. during the nine weeks.

"It must be borne in mind that all shipbuilding effort is not confined to shipyards, but that a large portion of propelling machinery, winches, steering gears, and other accessories are built in manufacturing establishments, and these contribute thousands of operatives to the very respectable totals above. This increase in labor indicates the success we are having in adding a second and even a third shift to existing shipyards formerly running on a single turn.

"According to the figures of the construction department of the Fleet Corporation, 1,427 ships of 8,573,108 deadweight tons are under construction or contract. Of these, 431 ships of 3,056,000 tons were already under construction or order by private or foreign owners when the commandeering order went into effect, Aug. 3, 1917. The new tonnage of steel ships ordered is represented by 559 ships of 3,965,200 deadweight tons. The wooden ships contracted for represent 379 bottoms of 1,344,900 deadweight tons, and there are in addition fifty-eight composite ships of 207 deadweight tons. The output of various yards will increase progressively as experience grows and man power is increased.

"As a record of accomplishment, let me add that since the commandeering order went into effect forty-nine vessels, of a total of 300,865 deadweight tons, have been completed and put into service."

Average Cost Per Ton

In addition to presenting this statement, Mr. Hurley gave the committee a tabulation showing the executed contracts, with the number of ships, their character, tonnage, total cost, and cost per deadweight ton. Taking up the fifty-eight composite ships, which are steel framed with wooden covering, Mr. Hurley showed that they would give 207,000 tons at a cost of $27,732,000, or an average of $133.97 a ton.

The data on 557 steel ships, of 3,914,200 tons, show that their total cost will be $651,627,046, or an average price of $166.48 a ton.

Sixty-five wooden ships are contracted for with concerns which furnish their own machinery. These ships will total 243,900 tons, at a total cost of $34,070,000, or an average per ton cost of $139.69.

Wooden ships to the total number of 298, of a tonnage of 1,045,000, and costing $88,691,000, or an average of $84.87 a ton, come under that class for which the Fleet Corporation is obligated to furnish the machinery.

Mr. Hurley declared that the United States lost at fewest fifteen ships, and probably more, through the Denman-Goethals conflict. He said General Goethals was about to issue the commandeer-

ing order on July 13, under which ships then under construction for private or foreign owners would be seized and completed for the United States. But the controversy with Mr. Denman became acute about that time, and General Goethals did not issue the order. The result was that the fifteen ships being built on foreign account were completed and delivered before Mr. Hurley took charge and issued the order, which was dated Aug. 3.

Mr. Hurley said there was not an idle yard or vacant way in the country. Lack of man power had been the chief cause of delay, with shortage in material second in importance, which in turn was due largely to the transportation situation. Housing still presented a problem, because, when new shipyards arose, there was no place for the workers.

Asked how many vessels had been completed for which contracts were let by the board, Mr. Hurley said only one had been finished. Forty-nine vessels, he said, had come from yards already established since construction was commandeered Aug. 3.

"When will the last ship called for in your program of 8,000,000 tons contracted for be delivered?" asked Senator Jones.

"I cannot say," Mr. Hurley replied. "That depends entirely on conditions. The first contract ship was finished a short time ago, within sixty-four days after construction was begun. The fabricated steel ship construction when fully under way will give a tremendously increased production."

Chief Causes of Delay

The inquiry was continued on Dec. 22, when Mr. Hurley was cross-examined. He said that Admiral Capps delayed the award of contracts approved by his predecessor for more than two months. These contracts provided for the fabrication plants, and while the country was demanding speedy construction of ships, Admiral Capps consumed two months in altering the plans that were ready for award by General Goethals when he resigned as the result of the controversy with Mr. Denman. Other delays in carrying out the ship program resulted from changing the specifications for wooden ships, on the basis of a report of a special committee headed by Charles A. Piez, the present General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Raymond B. Stevens, another member of the Shipping Board, testifying on Dec. 26, attributed the delay of several months in the Government's shipbuilding to strikes in shipyards and the reorganization of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. He also thought part of the delay was caused by "an excessive caution against profiteering." He said that wage increases, totaling as much as 40 per cent. over those of one year ago in several instances, were made to settle the strikes. The Shipping Board also had resorted to a war premium of 10 per cent. as an inducement to get shipyard workers to put in six full days a week. Questioned in regard to the proposal to conscript labor for shipbuilding and munition making, Mr. Stevens said that such a step would be un-American and would bring about industrial slavery, which would not be tolerated by American workingmen.

Mr. Stevens admitted that strikes in shipyards had resulted in the loss to the Government of 536,992 working days, or the services of 20,000 men for a period of thirty days. Thirty of the 106 companies building ships for the Government were affected by these strikes, and agreements with the Longshoremen's and Seamen's Unions, which ended these troubles, had been signed by the Shipping Board. Sailors on merchant vessels were getting nearly double what they did before the war. Members of the committee dwelt at length on the war premium of 10 per cent., which Mr. Stevens said was being tried on the Pacific Coast to induce workingmen to put in a full week of six days, and thereby hasten production. This premium would become a permanent wage on Feb. 1, 1918, and an additional 10 per cent. premium would be offered if it developed that it could further stimulate production. To complete the shipping program for next year, 400,000 workmen would be required, as against 150,000 now engaged in this line of work.

WAR AIMS OF THE NATIONS

Definite Terms Stated by Leading Spokesmen of the Belligerent Powers—A Comparative Synopsis

THE beginning of the year 1918 *was marked by an unprecedented clarification of the issues at stake in the world war. The foremost spokesmen of the warring groups made more definite statements than ever before as to the territorial and other adjustments on which an acceptable peace could be based. These speeches are here recorded practically in the order in which they were delivered, beginning with one by Count Czernin in December and followed by the Christmas peace proposal of the Central Powers. The demands of the Russian Bolsheviki in their negotiations at Brest-Litovsk will be found in the article on the Russian peace parleys. On the side of the Entente Allies the most important utterances were made by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George.*

For the convenience of the reader the text of these addresses is prefaced by a comparative synopsis of the American, British, and Russian peace programs, in which it will be seen that the three Governments are in substantial agreement; in other words, that the Allies, including Russia, present practically a united front to the Central Powers, so far as their peace terms are concerned.

American, British, and Russian War Aims Compared

President Wilson, Jan. 8, 1918	Premier Lloyd George, Jan. 5, 1918	Bolshevist Proposals to Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, Dec. 2, 1917
I. Open covenants of peace and no more private international understandings.	We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators, trying to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation.	Peace conditions to be settled at a congress composed of delegates chosen by a national representative body, the condition being stipulated by the respective Parliaments that the diplomatists shall sign no secret treaty; all such secret treaties are declared null and void.
II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except when closed by international action.	[Not mentioned.]	The freedom of commercial navigation; canceling all charters during wartime of enemy ships that torpedo commercial ships on the high seas; such acts to be forbidden by international agreement.
III. The removal of economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions.	Economic conditions at the end of the war will be in the highest degree difficult. There must follow a world shortage of raw materials, and it is inevitable that those countries which have control of raw materials will desire to help themselves and their friends first.	All belligerents to renounce commercial boycotts after the war or the institution of special customs agreements.

(Wilson continued)	(Lloyd George continued)	(Bolsheviki continued)
IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will reduce to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.	The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation—these are blots on our civilization, of which every thinking individual must be ashamed.	Gradual disarmament on land and sea and the establishment of militia to replace standing armies.
V. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, with the interests of the population concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government.	The German colonies are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants and to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or Governments.	Restoration of the German colonies.
VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of political development.	The present rulers of Russia are now engaged in separate negotiations with their common enemy. Great Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions taken in her absence and concerning which she has not been consulted or her aid invoked.	Evacuation of all Russian territory now occupied by Germany, with autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces.
VII. Belgium must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit her sovereignty.	The complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces. This is no demand for a war indemnity, such as that imposed on France by Germany in 1871.	The restoration of Belgium and indemnity through an international fund for damages.
VIII. All French territory to be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine righted.	Reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871.	Settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine problem by a free plebiscite.
IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.	The legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue to be satisfied.	Autonomy for the Italian population of Trent and Trieste pending a plebiscite.
X. The people of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.	Genuine self-government on true democratic principles for those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it.	Complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Wilson continued)	(Lloyd George continued)	(Bolsheviki continued)
XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored, and Serbia accorded access to the sea; the relations of the Balkan States to be determined along lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of these States.	The restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania. The complete withdrawal of the Teutonic armies, and the reparation for injustice done. Justice to the men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.	Restoration of Sérbia and Montenegro with indemnity through an international fund for damages, Serbia gaining access to the Adriatic. Other contested Balkan territory to be temporarily autonomous, pending plebiscites. Restoration of Rumanian territory with autonomy for the Dobrudja; the Berlin Convention concerning equality for the Jews to be put into full effect.
XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty, but other nationalities now under Turkish rule to be assured opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles opened as a free passage to all nations.	The maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine to have recognition of their separate national conditions.	Autonomy for Trukish Armenia. Neutralization of all maritime straits leading to inland seas, including the Canals of Suez and Panama.
XIII. An independent Polish State to include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, with access to the sea.	An independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it.	Autonomy for Poland.
XIV. A general association of nations to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.	Equality of right among the nations, small as well as great. The sanctity of treaties to be re-established; territorial settlement, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and some international organization to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war.	[Not mentioned.]
[Persia not mentioned; Greece covered by reference to the Balkans.]	[Persia not mentioned; Greece covered by plan of Balkan settlement.]	Restoration of Persia and Greece.
[Not mentioned.]	It [the demand for reparation] is not an attempt to shift the cost of warlike operations from one belligerent to another. Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury, done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality.	All belligerents to renounce indemnities; contributions exacted during the war to be refunded.

Count Czernin on Austria's War Aims

President Wilson's Views Discussed

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, delivered a noteworthy speech to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Delegation at Budapest, which was reported as follows in a telegram to Amsterdam on Dec. 7, 1917:

EMINENT Hungarian party leaders have addressed questions to me which I should like, as far as possible, to answer immediately. Count Andrassy spoke with the warmth one might expect from him of the alliance with Germany, and he asked whether and how far we are at one with Germany in our war aims. I can answer this question positively. We are at one with Germany on the basis which holds good for Germany and Austria-Hungary; on the basis of a defensive war, which here in this exalted assembly found undivided approval, which was laid down in the German Reichstag as the guiding line for our war aims, and which, in my opinion, Baron von Kühlmann in his last speech very clearly and exactly stated when he said: "There is no other obstacle to peace than Alsace-Lorraine." Of course, when we compare our situation with that of our German allies, we should not forget one thing; that in certain respects we are in a better position than they are; we have practically our entire territory in our hands, whereas Germany's colonies are today in the hands of the enemy.

When I am now reproached from many sides with weakness in my policy, which is said to be in tow of Germany—whatever these phrases may be—when it is said that this policy forces us to continue the war longer than would otherwise be the case, and that we are even forced to fight for German aims of conquest, I say emphatically no. We are fighting for the defense of Germany, just as Germany is fighting for our defense. In this respect I know no territorial boundaries. If any one should ask whether we are fighting for Alsace-Lorraine, I would reply yes; we are fighting for Alsace-Lorraine, just as Germany is fighting for us and fought for Lemberg and Trieste. I know of no difference between Strassburg and Trieste.

A "Bad Peace" for Italy

Count Andrassy questioned me about Italy, and I would like to reply quite frankly. Since the outbreak of war Italian policy has been going down an inclined plane. Gentlemen, you know that before the war Italy might have negotiated with us, because we were greatly interested in avoiding this unnecessary war. Italy could have concluded an agreement with us which today even in her wildest dreams she can hardly hope to attain. Since then, in twelve battles, Italy has lost hundreds of thousands of dead, milliards in treasure, and large tracts of her territory which are today in our hands. At the most, Italy can today only hope to reach the status quo ante bellum.

I must, however, go a step further, which brings me to what Count Karolyi said. If I understood rightly, he gave me to understand at the conclusion of his speech that I ought in all circumstances to be a pacifist à outrance. In connection with that idea he devoted some well-meaning words to my Budapest speech, but to my astonishment he referred only to the first portion of it, while he entirely passed over the second part. This second part, however, modifies the entire character of the speech. What Count Karolyi desires of me is that I should go security for the Italian adventure. In Count Karolyi's view I should today say to the Italians: "Continue the war as long as you like. Attack us as often as you will. Prolong the war according to your good pleasure. We guarantee that nothing shall happen to you."

Now, gentlemen, I am very far from taking this standpoint. I say quite

frankly, and so that Rome may hear it, that if Italy wantonly continues the war she will later get a bad peace. We owe that to the troops and to the people at home. Count Karolyi may rest assured that I have one aim, namely, the speediest possible conclusion of an honorable peace, but at the same time I refuse to give our enemies a premium on the prolongation of the war.

America's War Declaration

One gentleman asked me what I thought of the American declaration of war. The unconfirmed news leaves the possibility open that America may declare war upon us as well as upon our two allies, Turkey and Bulgaria; should that eventually occur, we shall, nevertheless, not regret anything we have done in the past.

Speaking of America, I would like to draw your attention to the speech by President Wilson, which in many respects is incomprehensible and unclear, but yet contains a noteworthy step forward. In one passage the President said: "We owe it, however, to ourselves to "say that we do not wish in any way to "impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hun-"garian Empire. It is no affair of ours "what they do with their own life either "industrially or politically. We do not "purpose or desire to dictate to them in "any way. We only desire to see that "their affairs are left in their own hands "in all matters, great or small."

If we compare this conception with that of the Entente regarding the monarchy which is described by the catchword the right of nations to govern themselves, which, they claim, will be realized at the peace conference with the help of the Entente, I see in the statement of the President of the United States a great and important advance, an advance which we recognize and which it is greatly to our interest to nail down. If I may seize the opportunity to say one more word about that catchword—the right of nations to govern themselves—I would explain my standpoint on the subject as follows: The phrase the right of nations to govern themselves appeared rather late in this war in the discussion of war aims. It is impossible to give a universally accepted definition of this catchword, as almost every one of the statesmen who are using it has based it on a different meaning, so that one can say that there are as many interpretations of this catchword as there are utterances on the subject.

Self-Rule of Small Nations

If we inquire into the origin of this phrase we find that it is connected with the war aim of the protection of small nations, which has been professed by the Entente from the beginning of the war—the small nations, that is, the small States which are alleged to have been the victims of violence on the part of the Central Powers, namely, Serbia, Montenegro, &c., for whose protection and salvation the Entente professed to have taken up arms. That was what he described as the right of small nations to govern themselves. In his note of Dec. 18, 1916, addressed to the belligerents, President Wilson still described as one of his principal peace aims the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of small States. Subsequently this was supplemented by President Wilson by the brutal formula that they are waging war also for the liberation from foreign domination of Italians, Serbians, Rumanians, Czechs, and Slovacs. The protection of small States receded into the background, while the forcible separation from the monarchy of certain nationalities stood in the foreground, namely, forcible separation, without the grant of the right of nationalities to govern themselves.

In his message of Jan. 22, 1917, President Wilson made some approach to the Entente standpoint in calling for internal reforms in certain States, thus drawing the internal political conditions of certain States into international discussion. At the same time he declared that none had the right to hand over nationalities from one Government to another as if they were the latter's property. In this message of the President of the United States the idea is expressed that the cession of parts of one State to another must not be brought about by force, and that the acceptance

by the peoples of their Governments is necessary.

A Complicated Question

The right of peoples to govern themselves is, therefore, here already rather a complicated mixtum compositum because of the right of a State to govern itself on account of its territory and, at the same time, however, the right of its nationalities to have a voice under international protection in their interpolitical relations. On April 11, 1917, the Russian Provisional Government declared that it disavowed any intention to dominate over other peoples or to take from them their national heritage. It vindicated the right of the belligerent States themselves to decide at the conclusion of peace the destiny of their peoples. That is, the right of States to govern their own nationalities.

I do not hesitate to declare that within my right I shall most decidedly reject all foreign influence on the arrangement of our internal conditions, and, on the other hand, I shall also reject the idea which might arise that certain internal questions might find an international solution. The relations of the component parts of the Hungarian Monarchy to each other are based on legal principles. The possibility of a change in those relations is provided in our constitutional institutions. Whenever wishes for such a change arise they must be solved in a constitutional manner, with the co-operation of the constituent bodies which guarantee the right of self-determination to the nations within both States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. I am unable to recognize the possibility of a different solution.

Central Powers' Terms for a General Peace

Czernin's Statement at Brest-Litovsk

Count Czernin, the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, acted as spokesman of the Central Powers in offering terms for a general peace at the first session of the Russo-German conference in Brest-Litovsk, Dec. 25, 1917. *His statement was intended as a basis upon which the Entente Allies were to join in the peace negotiations then about to be undertaken with Russia. The Allies refused to take any notice of the offer, so when the conference met again, on Jan.* 10, *Dr. von Kühlmann announced that the Christmas peace terms of the Central Powers had been withdrawn and were henceforth null and void. Following is the text of Count Czernin's statement:*

THE delegations of the allied (Teutonic) powers, acting upon the clearly expressed will of their Governments and peoples, will conclude as soon as possible a general peace. The delegations, in complete accord with the repeatedly expressed viewpoint of their Governments, think that the basic principles of the Russian delegation can be made the basis of such a peace.

The delegations of the Quadruple Alliance are agreed immediately to conclude a general peace without forcible annexations and indemnities. They share the view of the Russian delegation, which condemns the continuation of the war purely for aims of conquest.

The statesmen of the allied (Teutonic) Governments in programs and statements have emphasized time and again that for the sake of conquest they will not prolong the war a single day. The Governments of the Allies unswervingly have followed this view all the time. They solemnly declare their resolve immediately to sign terms of peace which will stop this war on the above terms, equally just to all belligerents without exception.

It is necessary, however, to indicate most clearly that the proposals of the Russian delegation could be realized only in case all the powers participating in the war obligate themselves scrupulously

to adhere to the terms, in common with all peoples.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance now negotiating with Russia cannot, of course, one-sidedly bind themselves to such terms, not having the guarantee that Russia's allies will recognize and carry out those terms honestly without reservation with regard to the Quadruple Alliance. Starting upon these principles, and regarding the six clauses proposed by the Russian delegation as a basis of negotiations, the following must be stated:

Clause 1. Forcible annexation of territories seized during the war does not enter into the intention of the allied powers. About troops now occupying seized territories, it must be stipulated in the peace treaty, if there is no agreement before, regarding the evacuation of these places.

Clause 2. It is not the intention of the Allies to deprive of political independence those nations which lost it during the war.

Clause 3. The question of subjection to that or the other country of those nationalities who have not political independence cannot, in the opinion of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, be solved internationally. In this case it must be solved by each Government, together with its peoples, in a manner established by the Constitution.

Clause 4. Likewise, in accordance with the declaration of statesmen of the Quadruple Alliance, the protection of the rights of minorities constitutes an essential component part of the constitutional rights of peoples to self-determination. The allied Governments also grant validity to this principle everywhere, in so far as it is practically realizable.

Clause 5. The allied powers have frequently emphasized the possibility that both sides might renounce not only indemnification for war costs but also indemnification for war damages. In these circumstances, every belligerent power would have only to make indemnification for expenditures for its nationals who have become prisoners of war, as well as for damage done in its own territory by illegal acts of force committed against civilian nationals belonging to the enemy. The Russian Government's proposal for the creation of a special fund for this purpose could be taken into consideration only if the other belligerent powers were to join in the peace negotiations within a suitable period.

Clause 6. Of the four allied powers, Germany alone possesses colonies. On the part of the German delegation, in full accord with the Russian proposals regarding that, the following is declared:

The return of colonial territories forcibly seized during the war constitutes an essential part of German demands, which Germany cannot renounce under any circumstances. Likewise, the Russian demand for immediate evacuation of territories occupied by an adversary conforms to German intentions. Having in view the nature of the colonial territories of Germany, the realization of the right of self-determination, besides the above outlined considerations, in the form proposed by the Russian delegation, is at present practically impossible.

The circumstance that in the German colonies the natives, notwithstanding the greatest difficulties and the improbability of victory in a struggle against an adversary many times stronger and who had the advantage of unlimited import by sea, remained in the gravest circumstances faithful to their German friends, may serve as proof of their attachment and their resolve by all means to preserve allegiance to Germany, proof which by its significance and weight is far superior to any expression of popular will.

The principle of economic relations proposed by the Russian delegation in connection with the above six clauses are approved wholly by the delegations of the allied powers, who always have denied any economic restrictions and who see in the re-establishment of regulated economic relations, which are in accord with the interests of all people concerned, one of the most important conditions for bringing about friendly relations between the powers now engaged in war.

The Aims of the German Imperialists

THE WAR AIMS OF THE GERMAN IMPERIALISTS, AS INDICATED IN THE PROPOSALS MADE AT BREST-LITOVSK TO THE RUSSIAN PEACE COMMISSIONERS AND IN VARIOUS UTTERANCES OF LEADING STATESMEN ARE ILLUSTRATED BY THIS MAP. THE MOST IMPORTANT EXTENSION OF GERMAN TERRITORY WOULD BE AT THE EXPENSE OF RUSSIA, SINCE GERMANY DESIRES TO RETAIN PERMANENTLY ITS CONTROL OVER POLAND AND THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA, NAMELY, COURLAND, LIVONIA, AND ESTHONIA.

President Wilson's Proposed Settlement of the War

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROGRAM of WORLD PEACE IS SHOWN IN THE ACCOMPANYING MAP. AS WILL BE SEEN, IF THIS PROGRAM IS CARRIED OUT, SEVERAL LARGE AREAS IN EUROPE AND ASIA WOULD CEASE TO BE UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE GERMAN, AUSTRO - HUNGARIAN, AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS, AND WOULD COMMENCE CAREERS EITHER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OR OF AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT. THIS PROGRAM IS ALSO PRACTICALLY THAT OF THE BOLSHEVIKI AND TO A LESS EXTENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AS EXPRESSED BY PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE.

Britain's War Aims Newly Defined

Address by David Lloyd George

[By Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES]

Premier Lloyd George's London address of Jan. 5, 1918, before the Trade Union Conference on man power, was regarded by all the belligerent nations as the most specific utterance of the Allies' war aims yet made, clarifying the issues that must still be fought out before peace could come. It was received with enthusiasm by the labor delegates. It unified Great Britain anew and won the workingmen's support for the Government's plan to mobilize 100,000 more men for the shipyards and 500,000 more for military service. President Wilson sent the Premier a telegram of congratulation and support. M. Clemenceau voiced the approval of France in an official dispatch of the same tenor. Pending an official reply by the Central Powers the German press comment was typified by the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger's remark: "The answer to this will be spoken by our armies in the west and by our U-boats." There was a worldwide feeling, however, that Lloyd George's speech had placed the onus on the enemy—that there must be a reply from the Berlin Government—and this was strengthened three days later by President Wilson's speech. Following is the full text of the Premier's address:

WHEN the Government invite organized labor in this country to assist them to maintain the might of their armies in the field, its representatives are entitled to ask that any misgivings and doubts which any of them may have about the purpose to which this precious strength is to be applied should be definitely cleared. And what is true of organized labor is equally true of all citizens in this country, without regard to grade or avocation.

When men by the million are being called upon to suffer and die, and vast populations are being subjected to sufferings and privations of war on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world, they are entitled to know for what cause or causes they are making the sacrifice.

It is only the clearest, greatest, and justest of causes that can justify the continuance, even for one day, of this unspeakable agony of the nation, and we ought to be able to state clearly and definitely not only the principles for which we are fighting, but also their definite and concrete application to the war map of the world.

We have arrived at the most critical hour in this terrible conflict, and before any Government takes a fateful decision as to the conditions under which it ought either to terminate or to continue the struggle, it ought to be satisfied that the conscience of the nation is behind these conditions, for nothing else can sustain the effort which is necessary to achieve a righteous end to this war.

Consulted Many Leaders

I have, therefore, during the last few days taken special pains to ascertain the view and attitude of representative men of all sections of thought and opinion in the country.

Last week I had the privilege not merely of perusing the declared war aims of the Labor Party, but also of discussing in detail with labor leaders the meaning and intention of that declaration.

I have also had opportunity of discussing this same momentous question with Mr. Asquith and Viscount Grey. Had it not been that the Nationalist leaders are in Ireland engaged in endeavoring to solve the tangled problem of Irish self-government, I should have been happy to exchange views with them, but Mr. Redmond, speaking on their behalf, has, with his usual lucidity and force, in many of his speeches made clear what his ideas are as to the object and purpose of the

war. I have also had an opportunity of consulting certain representatives of the great dominions overseas.

I am glad to be able to say, as a result of all these discussions, that, although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I purpose using, there is a national agreement as to the character and purpose of our war aims and peace conditions, and in what I say to you today, and through you to the world, I can venture to claim that I am speaking not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the empire as a whole.

We may begin by clearing away some misunderstandings and stating what we are not fighting for.

We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people. Their leaders have persuaded them that they are fighting a war of self-defense against a league of rival nations, bent on the destruction of Germany. That is not so. The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us from the first day of this war to this day.

Most reluctantly, and indeed quite unprepared for the dreadful ordeal, we were forced to join in this war, in self-defense of the violated public law of Europe and in vindication of the most solemn treaty obligations on which the public system of Europe rested and on which Germany had ruthlessly trampled in her invasion of Belgium. We had to join in the struggle or stand aside and see Europe go under and brute force triumph over public right and international justice.

As to Democracy in Germany

It was only the realization of that dreadful alternative that forced the British people into the war, and from that original attitude they have never swerved. They have never aimed at a break-up of the German people or the disintegration of their State or country. Germany has occupied a great position in the world. It is not our wish or intention to question or destroy that position for the future, but rather to turn her aside from hopes and schemes of military domination.

Nor did we enter this war merely to alter or destroy the imperial Constitution of Germany, much as we consider that military and autocratic Constitution a dangerous anachronism in the twentieth century. Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic Constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that her old spirit of military domination has, indeed, died in this war and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad, democratic peace with her. But, after all, that is a question for the German people to decide.

We are not fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish.

It is now more than a year since the President of the United States, then neutral, addressed to the belligerents a suggestion that each side should state clearly the aims for which they were fighting.

We and our allies responded by the note of Jan. 10, 1917. To the President's appeal the Central Empires made no reply, and in spite of many abjurations, both from their opponents and from neutrals, they have maintained complete silence as to the objects for which they are fighting. Even on so crucial a matter as their intention with regard to Belgium they have uniformly declined to give any trustworthy indication.

Vague Terms of Central Powers

On Dec. 25 last, however, Count Czernin, speaking on behalf of Austria-Hungary and her allies, did make a pronouncement of a kind. It is, indeed, deplorably vague.

We are told that it is not the intention of the Central Powers to appropriate forcibly any occupied territory or to rob of its independence any nation which has lost its political independence during the war.

It is obvious that almost any scheme of conquest and annexation could be perpetrated within the literal interpretation of such a pledge. Does it mean that Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania will be as independent and as free to direct their own destinies as Germany

or any other nation? Or does it mean that all manner of interferences and restrictions, political and economical, incompatible with the status and dignity of free and self-respecting people, are to be imposed? If this is the intention, then there will be one kind of independence for the great nation and an inferior kind of independence for the small nation.

We must know what is meant, for equality of right among the nations, small as well as great, is one of the fundamental issues this country and her allies are fighting to establish in this war.

Reparation for the wanton damage inflicted on Belgian towns and villages and their inhabitants is emphatically repudiated. The rest of the so-called offer of the Central Powers is almost entirely a refusal of all concessions. All suggestions about the autonomy of subject nationalities are ruled out of the peace terms altogether. The question whether any form of self-government is to be given to the Arabs, Armenians, or Syrians is declared to be entirely a matter for the Sublime Porte. A pious wish for the protection of minorities, "in so far as it is practically realizable," is the nearest approach to liberty which the Central statesmen venture to make.

On one point only are they perfectly clear and definite. Under no circumstances will the German demand for the restoration of the whole of Germany's colonies be departed from. All principles of self-determination, or, as our earlier phrase goes, government by the consent of the governed, here vanish into thin air.

Not a Foundation for Peace

It is impossible to believe that any edifice of permanent peace could be erected on such a foundation as this. Mere lip-service to the formula of no annexations and no indemnities or the right of self-determination is useless. Before any negotiations can even be begun the Central Powers must realize the essential facts of the situation.

The days of the Treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators trying to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation.

The settlement of the new Europe must be based on such grounds of reason and justice as will give some promise of stability. Therefore, it is that we feel that government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war. For that reason, also, unless treaties be upheld, unless every nation is prepared, at whatever sacrifices, to honor the national signature, it is obvious that no treaty of peace can be worth the paper on which it is written.

Belgian Restoration First

The first requirement, therefore, always put forward by the British Government and their allies, has been the complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.

This is no demand for a war indemnity, such as that imposed on France by Germany in 1871. It is not an attempt to shift the cost of warlike operations from one belligerent to another, which may or may not be defensible. It is no more and no less than an insistence that before there can be any hope for stable peace, this great breach of the public law of Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired.

Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury, done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality.

Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania. The complete withdrawal of the allied (Teutonic) armies, and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace.

Must Reconsider Wrong of '71

We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand it makes for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any

regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire.

This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and, until it is cured, healthful conditions will not have been restored. There can be no better illustration of the folly and wickedness of using a transient military success to violate national right.

I will not attempt to deal with the question of the Russian territories now in German occupation. The Russian policy since the revolution has passed so rapidly through so many phases that it is difficult to speak without some suspension of judgment as to what the situation will be when the final terms of European peace come to be discussed.

Russia accepted war with all its horrors because, true to her traditional guardianship of the weaker communities of her race, she stepped in to protect Serbia from a plot against her independence. It is this honorable sacrifice which not merely brought Russia into the war, but France as well.

France, true to the conditions of her treaty with Russia, stood by her ally in a quarrel which was not her own. Her chivalrous respect for her treaty led to the wanton invasion of Belgium, and the treaty obligations of Great Britain to that little land brought us into the war.

The present rulers of Russia are now engaged, without any reference to the countries whom Russia brought into the war, in separate negotiations with their common enemy. I am indulging in no reproaches. I am merely stating the facts with a view to making it clear why Great Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions taken in her absence and concerning which she has not been consulted or her aid invoked.

Prussian Designs Upon Russia

No one who knows Prussia and her designs upon Russia can for a moment doubt her ultimate intention. Whatever phrases she may use to delude Russia, she does not mean to surrender one of the fair provinces or cities of Russia now occupied by her forces. Under one name or another (and the name hardly matters) those Russian provinces will henceforth be in reality a part of the dominions of Prussia. They will be ruled by the Prussian sword in the interests of the Prussian autocracy, and the rest of the people of Russia will be partly enticed by specious phrases and partly bullied by the threat of continued war against an impotent army into a condition of complete economic and ultimate political enslavement to Germany.

We all deplore the prospect. The democracy of this country means to stand to the last by the democracies of France and Italy and all our other allies. We shall be proud to stand side by side by the new democracy of Russia. So will America and so will France and Italy. But if the present rulers of Russia take action which is independent of their allies, we have no means of intervening to arrest the catastrophe which is assuredly befalling their country. Russia can only be saved by her own people.

We believe, however, that an independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe.

Similarly, though we agree with President Wilson that a break-up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on true democratic principles is granted to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for a removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which have so long threatened the general peace.

Turks May Keep Constantinople

On the same grounds we regard as vital the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations. If these conditions are fulfilled, Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of being merely an instrument to the pernicious military autocracy of Prussia that uses

the resources of its allies for the furtherance of its own sinister purposes.

Outside of Europe we believe that the same principles should be applied. While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.

What the exact form of that recognition in each particular case should be need not here be discussed beyond stating that it would be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have already referred.

Much has been said about the arrangements we have entered into with our allies on this and on other subjects. I can only say that as the new circumstances, like the Russian collapse and the separate negotiations, have changed the conditions under which those arrangements were made, we are, and always have been, perfectly ready to discuss them with our allies.

Colonies to Settle Own Future

With regard to the German colonies, I have repeatedly declared that they are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. None of those territories are inhabited by Europeans. The governing consideration, therefore, must be that the inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or Governments.

The natives live in their various tribal organizations under chiefs and councils who are competent to consult and speak for their tribes and members and thus to represent their wishes and interests in regard to their disposal. The general principle of national self-determination is, therefore, as applicable in their cases as in those of the occupied European territories.

The German declaration that the natives of the German colonies have through their military fidelity in war shown their attachment and resolve under all circumstances to remain with Germany is applicable, not to the German colonies generally, but only to one of them, and in that case, German East Africa, the German authorities secured the attachment, not of the native population as a whole, which is and remains profoundly anti-German, but only of a small warlike class, from whom their askaris, or soldiers, were selected. These they attached to themselves by conferring on them a highly privileged position, as against the bulk of the native population, which enabled these askaris to assume a lordly and oppressive superiority over the rest of the natives.

By this and other means they secured the attachment of a very small and insignificant minority, whose interests were directly opposed to those of the rest of the population and for whom they have no right to speak. The German treatment of the native populations in their colonies has been such as amply to justify their fear of submitting the future of those colonies to the wishes of the natives themselves.

Finally, there must be reparation for the injuries done in violation of international law. The peace conference must not forget our seamen and the services they have rendered to and the outrages they have suffered for the common cause of freedom.

One omission we notice in the proposal of the Central Powers which seems to us especially regrettable. It is desirable and essential that the settlement after this war shall be one which does not in itself bear the seed of future war. But that is not enough. However wisely and well we may make territorial and other arrangements, there will still be many subjects of internationl controversy. Some, indeed, are inevitable.

Economic conditions at the end of the war will be in the highest degree difficult owing to the diversion of human effort to warlike pursuits. There must follow

a world shortage of raw materials, which will increase the longer the war lasts, and it is inevitable that those countries which have control of raw materials will desire to help themselves and their friends first. Apart from this, whatever settlement is made will be suitable only to the circumstances under which it is made, and as those circumstances change, changes in the settlement will be called for.

So long as the possibility of a dispute between nations continues—that is to say, so long as men and women are dominated by impassioned ambition and war is the only means of settling a dispute—all nations must live under a burden, not only of having from time to time to engage in it, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak.

The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation—these are blots on our civilization of which every thinking individual must be ashamed. For these and other similar reasons we are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish, by some international organization, an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

After all, war is a relic of barbarism, and, just as law has succeeded violence as a means of settling disputes between individuals, so we believe that it is destined ultimately to take the place of war in the settlement of controversies between nations.

If, then, we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply, as we have often replied, We are fighting for a just and a lasting peace, and we believe that before permanent peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled: First, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; secondly, a territorial settlement must be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and, lastly, we must seek, by the creation of some international organization, to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war. On these conditions its peoples are prepared to make even greater sacrifices than those they have yet endured.

Ex-Premier Asquith's Restatement of Britain's Aims

Mr. Asquith, in commenting on one of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches in Parliament about the middle of December, 1917, took occasion to define anew the end for which Great Britain was fighting.

We are all agreed [he said] that we must equip ourselves by every appropriate means to resist the new dangers which threaten us both on sea and on land—on sea the submarine menace; on the land, the power of Germany which she had not in such a degree a year ago before the defection of Russia. I do not believe there is any faltering, or any disposition to falter, in giving the Government all the necessary power and resources for the purposes. But I think it right to say what I think it is most important to say at this moment, that we ought at the same time to make it increasingly clear by every means in our power and by every agency that we can employ that the end and the only end for which we are fighting is the attainment of security—not an apparent or ostensible security, but the attainment of security for liberty and justice in the world, through the free confederation of States, great and small, standing on a level footing and possessing equal rights.

That may seem to be a reannouncement of what has become almost a commonplace. But why do I attach so much importance to restating it now? For this reason. No one who has followed closely what has been and is going on in Russia can have any doubt, I think, as to the urgency and, indeed, the primary necessity for a moral to accompany a material campaign. No doubt there has been a lavish expenditure of gold in the actual and direct work of corruption. That will not carry you very far. Far

more effective and important—I am speaking not only of Russia, but of Italy and of the neutral countries—has been the enemy's insidious and unscrupulous, adroit, and persuasive propaganda. Every artifice, literary, historical, pictorial, histrionic, has been employed to blacken our record, to distort our aims, and to represent the cause of the Allies in this war as the cause of plutocracy and imperialism. Partly as the result, the successful result, of the labor of these missionaries of mendacity, partly from sheer ignorance there is among the democracies of Europe, and not only in neutral countries, widespread misconception which is often honestly entertained of our real and ulterior purposes.

It is true that the spokesmen of the Allies have made and repeated an explicit declaration from the very beginning of the war which, if listened to and believed, ought to clear the way of doubts and suspicions. These were the admirable series of propositions which the Prime Minister himself enunciated only a few months ago in Glasgow. I myself have been, and I am, doing what I can in that direction. As far back as the month of September, 1914, I made a statement of allied aims at Dublin, and I used words which I venture to cite again, as they are just as true today. After saying that the idea of the cause of the Allies was to translate the idea of public right from abstract into concrete terms, explaining in several sentences how that was to be done, I used this language: "It means finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps by a slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, the substitution for all these of a real European partnership, based on the recognition of equal rights, and established and enforced by common will."

That was the League of Nations—with this amplification, which we must now make since the United States have joined, that it is not a European, it is a world-wide partnership. A League of Nations was no new idea, engendered in the stress and strain of the war. It was not a belated afterthought of statesmen who thought it expedient in order to deceive the world, to varnish selfish and ambitious purposes with a veneer of idealism. It was the avowed purpose from the very first so far as we here are concerned, of the Government, the people of the United Kingdom, and of the empire. It was the purpose for which we entered the war, the purpose for which we are continuing the war, the purpose for which we shall prosecute the war to its due end. I wish it were possible, I hope it may be possible to bring home to the minds of all peoples—Allies, neutrals, and the enemy—to make them realize that it is that, and nothing less than that, but nothing more than that, we are fighting for. It is because we know we are fighting for that, neither more nor less, that we go on with a clear conscience, with clean hands, and with an unwavering heart.

Italian Premier's Statement of Issues

Vittorio Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy, delivered a speech in the Chamber on Dec. 12, 1917, *in which he said:*

The Central Empires say that they desire peace, but they keep their peace conditions hidden in a cloud through which one catches sight of appetites more or less insatiable.

The rest of the world has a single program, representing at the same time a maximum and a minimum. It does not wish to be the prey of these appetites nor the marked-down victim of these threats. It does not desire any vain and apparent, if not actually dishonorable, peace, but a struggle for a final peace which shall forever make impossible the renewal of the acts of violence and atrocities which have threatened humanity with a return to barbarism, for a peace which in the future organization of Europe will assure to all peoples, whether great or small, social and economic conditions in the inviolable unity of their national conscience. On these bases we are ready for peace, as we have always been.

President Wilson's War Aims Speech

Text of Address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918, Defining Objects for Which We Are Fighting

The terms upon which Germany could obtain peace were given to the world by President Wilson on Jan. 8 in a memorable address before the United States Congress. With scant preliminary notice—barely enough to enable the two houses to assemble in joint session—the President appeared at the Capitol and set forth a program of fourteen conditions that must be complied with before the United States would cease fighting. In conjunction with Premier Lloyd George's similar utterance, it laid the war aims of the Entente Allies for the first time clearly before the world. It was followed by an almost unprecedented outpouring of favorable comment in all the allied countries, and was attacked with equal unanimity by the press of the Central Powers. Following is the complete text of the speech:

GENTLEMEN of the Congress:—Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program for the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all, either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the population with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

Incident Full of Significance

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Powers speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective Parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan States, which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held with open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German

Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

Issues of Life and Death

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

Days of Conquest Gone By

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular Governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us

to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are, in effect, partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

Fourteen Peace Conditions

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea,

and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

Partnership with the Allies

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight, and to continue to fight, until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world —the New World in which we now live— instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Comment in Allied and Enemy Countries

THE President's message was cabled officially to all the great news-distributing centres of the civilized world. For several hours on the day of its delivery five men were kept locked up in a small room on the third floor of 20 Broad Street, New York, waiting for the release of the speech. The room was the office of Walter S. Rogers, Director of the Foreign Press Division of the Committee on Public Information, and the five men were two navy officers of the Press Bureau, two telegraph operators, and a stenographer. When the signal of release came they began cabling the message to news associations in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and South America. In addition, it was sent to American Ministers at many places where it was more convenient that the diplomatic authorities make it public.

In the United States the members of Congress, with scarcely an exception, took their stand with President Wilson, and the press throughout the land supported his ideas with striking unanimity.

Leaders of thought in all circles of American life took the same attitude in their comments.

In Great Britain the President's address was greeted with enthusiasm as putting the seal of American approval upon the war aims of the European Allies and as showing virtually the same spirit as the recent speech of Premier Lloyd George. The President's words concerning freedom of the seas in war as well as in peace times were generally treated in the manner of The Westminster Gazette, which declared that this idea had no terrors for England provided Mr. Wilson's project for a satisfactory league of nations were first realized; but that under present conditions it would mean the disarming of sea power without any corresponding diminuation of military power on land, to the great advantage of the militarists and the great disadvantage of all other powers, America included.

British labor organizations surprised the world, and the Central Powers most of all, by the promptness with which they indorsed President Wilson's message and declared their unqualified support of a continuation of the war on these lines. Arthur Henderson and other leaders, representing the whole body of organized labor in England, drew up a manifesto next day declaring that the democracies of the world now had a program to which they could subscribe.

France applauded the message as a masterly expression of French war aims, and Le Temps and other leading papers expressed their gratitude to President Wilson for "presenting the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine as a necessary condition for a general peace, and not merely as a special claim for the French people." La Liberté declared that President Wilson's words would make his name popular to the remotest villages of France.

In Petrograd the President's utterance was published in full and widely commented upon. The press of the various revolutionary factions was divided on the subject. The Pravda, the official organ of the Bolshevist Party, denounced President Wilson as a representative of American capitalism, and threw suspicion upon all the friendly words in his message. Lenine, however, telegraphed the message to Trotzky at Brest-Litovsk, where it undoubtedly had some influence upon the attitude of the Russian leader in his negotiations with the Germans. In contrast to the hostile comment of the Pravda there was praise in the less radical revolutionary organs. The Izvestia, official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, regarded the American document as a recognition of the Bolshevist efforts for a general peace and a great victory on the way toward democratic amity.

Italy evinced practically complete adherence to President Wilson's peace program, though there were a few guarded reservations by those who thought that Italy's aspirations for control of the Adriatic were not sufficiently supported. The Osservatore Romano, organ of the Vatican, conceded the importance of the speech and regarded it as a further step along the way which had been indicated by the Pope.

German comment on the President's address was almost universally hostile, with the exception of Socialist organs, such as Vorwärts, which gave it qualified approval on certain points. The annexationist press was bitter and printed only selected portions of the text, garbling the remainder. The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger called the message "a peace program of hypocrisy," and added that if President Wilson desired to be really just he should also have demanded the freedom of Ireland, India, Egypt, Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Morocco, and Tripoli. The Mittags Zeitung reflected the attitude of the whole Pan-German press by saying:

> We shall never permit that President Wilson, through an unjust and frivolous declaration of war, should have obtained the right to play the rôle of arbiter in Europe at the conference table. We would object to this all the more, as he is only England's second. There can be no difference among us as long as the enemy keeps on talking about the surrender of German territory, be it Alsace, Posen, or Danzig. The sword is still talking. Yet a little while and the London and Washington programs will rid themselves of

those undebatable points which today make controversy wholly superfluous.

The Vienna press was equally hostile, resenting President Wilson's attitude on Poland as violently as Germany rejected his words regarding Alsace-Lorraine.

"With Iron Fist and Shining Sword"

The Kaiser's Address to His Troops

Emperor William addressed the German Second Army on the French front, Dec. 22, 1917, saying that if the Allies would not accept peace as offered by Germany they would have to be made to accept it with iron fist and shining sword. The speech as cabled from Amsterdam was as follows:

IT has been a year full of events for the German Army and the German Fatherland. Powerful blows have been delivered, and your comrades in the east have been able to bring about great decisions. There has been no man, no officer, and no General on the whole eastern front, wherever I have spoken to them, who has not frankly admitted that they could not have accomplished what they have if their comrades in the west had not stood to a man. But for the calm and heroic warriors on the western front the enormous deployment of German forces in the east and in Italy never would have been possible. The fighter in the west has exposed heroically his body so that his brothers on the Dvina and the Isonzo might storm from victory to victory. The fearful battles on the bloody hills around Verdun were not in vain. They created new foundations for the conduct of the war.

The tactical and strategical connection between the battles on the Aisne, in the Champagne, Artois, and Flanders and at Cambrai, and the events in the east and in Italy is so manifest that it is useless to waste words on it.

With a centralized direction, the German Army works in a centralized manner. In order that we should be able to deliver these offensive blows, one portion of the army had to remain on the defensive, hard as this is for the German soldier. Such a defensive battle, however, as has been fought in 1917 is without parallel. A fraction of the German Army accepted the heavy task, covering its comrades in the east unconditionally, and it had the entire Anglo-French Army against itself.

In long preparation the enemy had collected unheard-of technical means and masses of ammunition and guns in order to make his entry into Brussels over your front, as he proudly announced. The enemy has achieved nothing.

The most gigantic feat ever accomplished by an army and one without parallel in history was accomplished by the German Army. I do not boast. It is a fact and nothing else. The admiration you have earned shall be your reward and at the same time your pride. Nothing can in any way place in the shade or surpass what you have accomplished, however great and overwhelming it may be.

The year 1917 with its great battles has proved that the German people has in the Lord of Creation above an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely rely. Without Him all would have been in vain.

Every one of you had to exert every nerve to the utmost. I know that every one of you in the unparalleled drumfire did superhuman deeds. The feeling may have been frequently with you: "If we only had something behind us; if we only had some relief!" It came as the result of the blow in the east, where it is seen that the storms of war are at present silenced. God grant that it may be forever!

Yesterday I saw and spoke to your comrades near Verdun, and there, passing through all minds like the scent of

the morning breeze was the thought: "You are no longer alone." The great successes and victories of the recent past, the great days of battle in Flanders and before Cambrai, where the first crushing offensive blow delivered upon the arrogant British showed that despite three years of war and suffering our troops still retained their old offensive spirit, have their effect on the entire Fatherland and on the enemy.

We do not know what is still in store for us, but you have seen how in this last of the four years of war God's hand has visibly prevailed, punished treachery, and rewarded heroic persistence. From this we can gain firm confidence that the Lord will be with us in the future also. * * *.

If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace.

"Forward with God!"

The Kaiser on Jan. 1, 1918, *addressed the following New Year order to the German Army and Navy:*

A year of heavy and important battles has come to a close. The gigantic battles which raged from Spring to Fall on Belgian and French soil were decided in favor of your glorious arms. In the east the offensive spirit of our armies, by powerful blows, achieved great successes. Our arms there are now at rest. Brilliant victories in a few days destroyed the Italian offensive preparations of years.

In co-operation with my army, my fleet has again proved its efficiency by daring enterprises. The submarines are unswervingly performing their difficult and effective work. Filled with pride and admiration, we survey the heroic band of our colonial troops.

The German people in arms has thus everywhere, on land and sea, achieved great deeds. But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!

Crown Prince Lauds Army

The German Crown Prince, in a New Year order to his army, said:

The year 1917 has gone down into history, and with it the deeds of arms of my army. The French Army stood ready on the Aisne and in Champagne to deliver a great, decisive blow. An overwhelming superiority of men, arms, and ammunition was counted upon to force a victory for the enemy.

The assault sanguinarily collapsed before your faithfulness and bravery. You thereby broke the enemy's strength and paved the way to victory for the German arms in Russia and Italy.

In a tenacious struggle, relying only upon your own strength and your self-sacrifice and courage, in difficult battles on the Chemin des Dames, in Champagne, and on the blood-sodden ground of Verdun you protected the rear of the advancing armies in the east and the south. In loyal comradeship you also fought in Flanders and near Cambrai for Germany's honor.

Proud, and with a thankful heart, I behold you, my brave, resolute leaders and my heroic troops. With an unstained shield and a sharp sword we stand on the threshold of the new year around the Imperial War Lord, ready to strike and win, God with us.

Russia's Parleys for Separate Peace

Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Conference and Text of Russian and German Peace Programs

THE Bolshevist Government at Petrograd with Nikolai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Foreign Minister, continued in control of Russia's foreign relations and had putative direction of the internal affairs of the distracted country during the period under review—the month ended Jan. 15, 1918. The chief activities of the Government as affecting world history were directed to the prosecution of peace negotiations with the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Domestic conditions throughout Russia grew rapidly worse from the day the Bolsheviki seized control. The reports were meagre and often contradictory, but it was clear that the Government, although it was forced to confront civil insurrection in the Ukraine and among the Don Cossacks, and was unable to repress the anarchy which ran riot in all populous centres, was concentrating its main thought on the peace negotiations, in the hope that if a satisfactory peace were obtained the domestic disorders would be controlled.

Protests of the Allies

When the Leninists had begun their move for a separate peace in the first days of December the allied representatives at Petrograd had filed emphatic protests. General Lavergne, head of the French mission at the Russian Staff Headquarters, addressed this note to the Bolshevist Government:

> The Premier and War Minister of France have charged me to make the following declaration to you: "France does not recognize the power of the Commissaries of the People. Trusting in the patriotism of the high Russian command, it counts upon the firm resolution of the military leaders to repel every criminal pourparler and to keep the Russian Army facing the common enemy." Besides, I am charged to call your attention to the fact that the question of an armistice is a Governmental question, whose discussion cannot be taken up without the previous consent of the allied Governments. No Government has the right to discuss separately the question of an armistice or of peace.

The protest of the United States was made by Colonel Quert, the American Military Attaché, and was addressed to General Dukhonin, Commander in Chief, in these words:

> Acting by virtue of instructions received from my Government and transmitted through the Ambassador of the United States at Petrograd, I have the honor to bring to your knowledge the fact that the United States, an ally of Russia, pursuing with her the war which is the struggle of democracy against autocracy, protests energetically and categorically against any separate armistice that might be concluded by Russia.

Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, while awaiting final instructions from his Government, published a declaration in which he brought out the fact that Trotzky's note had been delivered to the representatives of the allied powers nineteen hours after the order had been given to the Commander in Chief on the Russian front to open immediate negotiations for an armistice and for peace. "The allied Governments," he added, "thus find themselves in the presence of a fait accompli on a subject concerning which they have not been consulted. It is furthermore impossible for the embassy to reply to the notes of a Government which his own Government has not recognized."

In response to the Entente protests Trotzky issued a notice in which he said that the allied representatives had addressed their official words to an ex-commander, as Dukhonin had been deposed by the Council of Commissaries; that they had been urging the General to pursue a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Council of Commissaries, and that such a situation was intolerable.

The Bolshevist Government proceeded forthwith to send emissaries to the enemy

and arrange an armistice, which was signed on Dec. 15, 1917, at Brest-Litovsk. A liberal abstract from that document was given in these pages a month ago, but the full official text as finally promulgated is now presented below.

Text of the Armistice Between Russia and the Central Powers

PREAMBLE

The following is the text of the agreement concluded for an armistice between the plenipotentiary representatives of the chief army commands of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, of the one part, and of Russia, of the other part, for bringing about a lasting and honorable peace for all the parties:

TEXT

Article I.—The armistice takes effect from Dec. 17, 1917, at noon, (Dec. 4, 1917, at 2 P. M., Russian time,) and is to remain in force until Jan. 14, 1918, at noon, (Jan. 1, 1918, at 2 P. M., Russian time.) The contracting parties have the right on the twenty-first day of the armistice to give seven days' notice to terminate it, and if this be not done, then the armistice will automatically remain in force until one of the contracting parties gives such seven days' notice.

Article II.—The conditions of the armistice shall apply to all the land and air fighting forces of the said powers on the land front comprised between the Black Sea and the Baltic; and they shall likewise apply to the Russo-Turkish theatres of war in Asia.

RUSSIAN FRONT AT THE TIME OF THE ARMISTICE

The contracting parties undertake, for the period that the armistice is in force, not to reinforce the troops on said fronts or on the islands in Moon Sound; and this also refers and applies to their formation into military units. No regrouping in preparation for an offensive is permitted.

Further, the contracting parties undertake that until Jan. 14, 1918, they will not put into operation any transfer of troops from the front between the Black Sea and the Baltic—that is to say, such transfers as had not been begun before the time when the armistice agreement was signed.

Finally, the contracting parties undertake not to assemble troops in the Baltic ports east of 15 degrees longitude east of Greenwich, and in the ports of the Black Sea during the period in which the armistice remains in force.

Article III.—On the European front the most advanced entanglements on each side of the positions of each of the contracting parties shall be considered as the lines of demarkation. At such places where no closed-in positions exist the lines of demarkation on both sides shall be considered as existing midway between the most advanced occupied points on each side, and the intervening zone shall be considered as neutral. Moreover, navigable rivers which separate opposing positions shall be considered as neutral, and they shall not be navigated except for previously agreed traffic of a mercantile nature. In sectors where positions are separated from each other by a great distance, lines of demarkation shall be agreed upon by armistice commissions without delay, and they shall be made distinguishable.

In the Russo-Turkish theatres of war in Asia, the lines of demarkation, as well as traffic over them, shall be regulated by agreement between the high commands on both sides.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN TROOPS

Article IV.—For the development and strengthening of friendly relations between the nations of the contracting parties, organized intercourse between troops shall be permitted under the following conditions:

1.—Intercourse is permissible for pourparlers and for members of Armistice Commissions and their representatives. Each one of them having this object in view must be in possession of an order made out by a corps commander or a corps committee at least.

2.—On every sector of a Russian division, organized intercourse may take place at from two to three points. For this purpose centres for intercourse on divisional fronts are to be established between the lines of demarkation and are to be distinguished by white flags. Intercourse there is only to be allowed by day between sunrise and sunset. At the intercourse centres there must not be present at any one time more than twenty-five unarmed persons from each side. The exchange of news and newspapers is to be permitted. Open letters may be handed in for dispatch. The sale and exchange of wares of everyday use is to be permitted at the intercourse centres.

3.—The interment of the dead in the neutral zone is permissible. More precise details are to be arranged in each case by the divisional commanders on both sides or by the higher service field posts.

4.—As regards the return of men who have been discharged from military service in one country, and who have their homes beyond the lines of demarkation of the other country, this question can only be the subject of discussion at the negotiations for peace. This also applies to men belonging to Polish detachments.

5.—All persons who, contrary to the conditions contained in Clauses 1 to 4, shall cross the line of demarkation of the opposite side will be placed under arrest, and will be delivered up again only at the conclusion of peace or at the end of the period of armistice.

6.—The contracting parties undertake to bring to the notice of their respective troops by strict orders and detailed explanation the necessity for the observance of the conditions of intercourse and the consequences resulting from their contravention.

NAVAL PROVISIONS

Article V.—With regard to naval operations, the following conditions were agreed to:

1.—The armistice extends to the whole Black Sea and the Baltic Sea to the east of the Meridian 15 degrees east of Greenwich, namely, to all sea and air forces belonging to the contracting parties within these regions.

With regard to the extension of the armistice to the White Sea and to Russian coastal waters in the Northern Arctic Ocean, a special agreement will be established after consultations between the naval staffs of the contracting parties.

All attacks upon mercantile and naval vessels belonging to the contracting parties in the above-named seas shall cease at once as far as possible. In this agreement shall be included a special condition concerning the prohibition of naval attacks upon each other by the contracting parties in other seas.

2.—Attacks by sea and by air upon ports and coasts belonging to the contracting parties in all naval war zones shall be prohibited. Similarly ships of one of the contracting parties are prohibited from entering the ports and from approaching the coasts occupied by another contracting party.

3.—Flights are prohibited over the ports or over the coasts of both contracting parties in all the naval war zones. Flights over the line of demarkation are also prohibited.

4.—The line of demarkation is established as follows:

In the Black Sea: The line—Olinka Lighthouse, mouth of St. George's Channel of the Danube, Cape Geros.

In the Baltic Sea: Rogeul, on the western coast of the Island of Worms, Bogsher Island, Wenika, Hegarne.

A detailed line of demarkation in the region between the Islands of Worms and Bogsher must be established by the special commission for the armistice in the Baltic Sea.

Russian warships have the right of free navigation to the Aaland Islands in all weathers and under all ice conditions.

Russian warships may not pass the indicated demarkation line to the south, and the warships of the four Central Powers may not pass it to the north.

The Russian Government gives a guarantee that all the allied warships which are in, or will enter, the indicated region will be submitted to the conditions of this agreement.

5.—Commercial navigation is permitted in the region indicated by Clause 1. The establishment of safe navigation for merchant ships in this region is to be left to the special commission for the armistice in the Baltic and Black Seas.

6.—The contracting parties undertake during the armistice in the Baltic and the Black Sea not to prepare active naval operations directed against each other.

SPECIAL STIPULATIONS

Article VI.—In order to avoid accidents and misunderstandings on the front infantry firing practice is prohibited nearer than 5,000 yards from the demarkation line. The use of land mines shall be stopped. The air forces and observation balloons shall be kept 10,000 yards distant from the demarkation line. Work on positions behind the front-line entanglements is to be allowed, with the exception, however, of such work as might serve as preparation for an attack.

Article VII.—In order to give effect to their agreement and for the correct observance of the same from the moment of its application special commissions are established in the following places:

1.—At Riga for the Baltic.

2.—At Dvinsk for the front from the Baltic to the Dvina.

3.—At Brest-Litovsk for the front from the Dvina to the Pripet.

4.—At Berditcheff for the front from the Pripet to the Dniester.

5.—At Koloczvar, and 6.—At Fokshani } for the front from the Dniester to the Black Sea.

(The boundaries in the regions of the front between Sections 5 and 6 are fixed by mutual agreement.)

7.—At Odessa for the Black Sea.

The right of unimpeded and uncontrolled communication by telegraph is reserved to the commissions. Both contracting parties will construct cables to the middle of the neutral zone between the lines of demarkation.

In the Russo-Turkish theatre of war such commissions will also be established after an agreement by the Commanders in Chief on both sides.

Article VIII.—The agreement for the cessation of hostilities dated Dec. 5, 1917, and all other agreements concluded up to the present on separate sectors of the front, with regard to an armistice or a cessation of hostilities, are considered as annulled from the moment that the present agreement becomes effective.

Article IX.—The contracting parties immediately after the signature of the present armistice agreement will begin peace negotiations.

Article X.—Taking their stand upon the freedom and independence and territorial inviolability of the neutral portion of the Persian Empire, the Turkish and Russian High Commands are both prepared to withdraw their troops from Persia. They will immediately enter into communication with the Persian Government in order to arrange details for their evacuation, and also for the guaranteeing of the above-mentioned principle and for the establishment of other necessary measures.

SUPPLEMENT

Supplementary to, and in extension of, the armistice agreement, the contracting parties have agreed on the most speedy settlement for the immediate exchange of civilian prisoners and of prisoners of war who are unfit for further military service. The first question to be considered is the sending back to their homes of women and of children under 14 years of age. The contracting parties will at once institute practical means for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners of war on both sides. This must be one of the most agreeable tasks in which the Governments will engage.

In order to promote the negotiations for peace, and in order to heal the grievous wounds inflicted upon civilization by the war, measures will be devised for the re-establishment of cultural and economic relations between the contracting parties. To this end the following will contribute: The re-establishment of postal and commercial intercourse, the sending of books and newspapers and the like within the limits allowed by the armistice.

For the settlement of the details, a mixed commission consisting of representatives of all the contracting parties shall shortly meet in Petrograd.

Brest-Litovsk, Dec. 15, 1917.

Accepted in principle, under reserve of final formulation.

(Signed)

First Session of the Brest-Litovsk Conference

After the signing of the armistice preparations were made quickly for the peace parleys, but meanwhile some attention was given by the Government to the disorders throughout the country. The Foreign Minister, Trotzky, took offense at the efforts which were being made by the American Red Cross Mission to Rumania to relieve the distress in that country by sending them seventy-five motor car ambulances. The cars were ordered shipped via Rostoff-on-the Don, which is in the heart of the Cossack country, where civil war against the Bolsheviki was raging. Trotzky suspected that the automobiles were intended for General Kaledine, who was leading the revolt, and took occasion at a meeting of the Soviets to denounce the effort and likewise Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador, who was cooperating in it. This episode was used to create prejudice against the Allies and to strengthen the Bolshevist Government's apparent determination to force a separate peace. It was fully explained by the American Ambassador that the shipment had no relation to the internal affairs of Russia. The Bolshevist Government, however, made no disavowal of the charges.

Before the first peace conference assembled there was fraternization on all fronts between the Russian and German soldiers, and some trade sprang up. A delegation of German officials at once left for Petrograd, and many German military uniforms were seen on the

streets of that city, where conferences were begun looking to the resumption of commercial intercourse. The report of the first conference, however, threw a shadow across the deliberations; it appeared that the Germans were not finding the Russians as amenable to their demands as they had anticipated.

Meeting of Peace Conference

The official report of the conference at Brest-Litovsk, as given out through German sources, was as follows:

"Today, (Saturday, Dec. 22, 1917,) at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the peace negotiations were begun at a solemn sitting. The meeting was attended by the following delegates:

"Germany—Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, Foreign Minister; Herr von Rosenberg, Baron von Hock, General Hoffmann, and Major Brinckmann.

"Austria-Hungary—Count Czernin, Foreign Minister; Herr von Merey, Freiherr von Wisser, Count Collerda, Count Osaky, Field Marshal von Chisceries, Lieutenant Polarny, and Major von Gluise.

"Bulgaria—Minister Popoff, Former Secretary Cosseff, Postmaster General Stoyanovich, Colonel Gantjiff, and Dr. Anastasoff.

"Turkey—Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesimy Bey, Ambassador Hakki, Under Foreign Secretary Hekmit Bey, and General Zekki Pasha.

"Russia — Joffe Kamineff, Bisenko Pokrosky, Karaghan Lubinski, Weltman Pawlowich, Admiral Altvater, General Tumorrl, Colonel Rokki, Colonel Zeplett, and Captain Lipsky.

"Prince Leopold of Bavaria, as Commander in Chief of the German forces in the East, welcomed the delegates and invited Hakki Pasha, as the senior delegate, to open the conference. Hakki Pasha, after an expression of a desire for a satisfactory result, declared the negotiations formally open, and proposed Dr. von Kühlmann as the presiding officer. The German Foreign Minister was unanimously elected Chairman.

Kuehlmann Outlines Plans

"The most important speech before the delegates was made by Dr. von Kühlmann. He said:

"The purpose of this memorable meeting is to terminate the war between the Central Powers and Russia and re-establish a state of peace and friendship. In view of the situation it will be impossible in the course of these deliberations to prepare an instrument of peace elaborated in its smallest details. What I have in mind is to fix the most important principles and conditions upon which peaceful and neighborly intercourse, especially in the cultural and economic sense, can be speedily resumed, and also to decide upon the best means of healing the wounds caused by the war.

"Our negotiations will be guided by the spirit of peaceable humanity and mutual esteem. They must take into account, on the one hand, what has become historical, in order that we may not lose our footing on the firm ground of facts, but, on the other hand, they must be inspired by the great and new leading motive which has brought us here together.

"It is an auspicious circumstance that the negotiations open within sight of that festival which for centuries past has promised peace on earth, good-will to men. I enter upon the negotiations with the desire that our work may make speedy and prosperous progress.

"The German Foreign Minister proposed the following rules, which were adopted:

"Questions of precedence will be decided according to the alphabetical list of the represented powers.

"Plenary sittings will be presided over by the Chief Representative of each of the five powers in rotation.

"The following languages may be used in the debate: German, Bulgarian, Russian, and Turkish.

"Questions interesting only part of the represented powers may be discussed separately.

"Official reports of the proceedings will be drafted jointly.

"At von Kühlmann's suggestion the chief Russian delegate stated the main principles of the Russian peace program in a long speech, which coincided on the whole with the well-known resolutions of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates."

The Russian Peace Demands

In the German account of the conference as sent out—even in Germany—the real demands of the Russians were altered and considerably emasculated. The last nine paragraphs were not made public until several days later. The text of the whole fifteen demands of Russia is as follows:

1.—Evacuation of all Russian territory now occupied by Germany, with autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces.

2.—Autonomy for Turkish Armenia.

3.—Settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine problem by a free plebiscite.

4.—The restoration of Belgium and indemnity through an international fund for damages.

5.—Restoration of Serbia and Montenegro with a similar indemnity, Serbia gaining access to the Adriatic. Complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

6.—Other contested Balkan territory to be temporarily autonomous, pending plebiscites.

7.—Restoration of Rumanian territory with autonomy for the Dobrudja; the Berlin convention concerning equality for Jews to be put into full effect.

8.—Autonomy for the Italian population of Trent and Trieste pending a plebiscite.

9.—Restoration of the German colonies.

10.—Restoration of Persia and Greece.

11.—Neutralization of all maritime straits leading to inland seas, including the canals of Suez and Panama. The freedom of commercial navigation, canceling all charters during wartime of enemy ships that torpedo commercial ships on the high seas, which is to be forbidden by international agreement.

12.—All belligerents to renounce indemnities; contributions exacted during the war to be refunded.

13.—All belligerents renounce commercial boycotts after the war or the institution of special customs agreements.

14.—Peace conditions to be settled at a congress composed of delegates chosen by a national representative body, the condition being stipulated by the respective Parliaments that the diplomatists shall sign no secret treaty; all such secret treaties are declared null and void.

15.—Gradual disarmament on land and sea and the establishment of militia to replace the standing armies.

After the presentation of the peace demands as above, the plenipotentiaries of the Central Powers asked adjournment to consider the proposals.

German Counterproposals

The conference resumed its sessions on Tuesday, Dec. 25, when the counterproposals of the Central Powers were presented by Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. They were, in substance, as follows:

Article I.—Russia and Germany are to declare the state of war at an end. Both nations are resolved to live together in the future in peace and friendship on condition of complete reciprocity. Germany will be ready as soon as peace is concluded with Russia and the demobilization of the Russian armies has been accomplished, to evacuate her present positions in occupied Russian territory, in so far as no different inferences result from Article II.

Article II.—The Russian Government having, in accordance with its principles, proclaimed for all peoples, without exception, living within the Russian Empire the right of self-determination, including complete reparation, takes cognizance of the decisions expressing the will of people demanding a full state of independence and separation from the Russian Empire for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia. The Russian Government recognizes that in the present circumstances these manifestations must be regarded as an expression of the will of the people, and is ready to draw conclusions therefrom. As in those districts to which the foregoing stipulations apply, the question of evacuation is not such as provided for in Article I., a special commission shall discuss and fix the time and other details in conformity and in accordance with the Russian idea of the necessary ratification by a plebiscite on broad lines and without any military pressure whatever of the already existing proclamation of separation.

Article III.—Treaties and agreements in force before the war are to become effective if not directly in conflict with changes resulting from the war. Each party obligates itself, within three months after the signing of the peace treaty, to inform the other which of the treaties and agreements will not again become effective.

Article IV.—Each of the contracting parties will not discriminate against the subjects, merchant ships, or goods of the other parties.

Article V.—The parties agree that with the conclusion of peace economic war shall cease. During the time necessary for the restoration of relations there may be limitations upon trade, but the regulations as to imports are not to be of a too burdensome extent and high taxes or duties upon imports shall not be levied. For the interchange of goods an organization shall be effected by mixed commissions to be formed as soon as possible.

Article VI.—Instead of the commercial treaty of navigation of 1894-1904, which is abrogated, a new treaty will accord new conditions.

Article VII.—The parties will grant one another during at least twenty years the rights of the most favored nation in questions of commerce and navigation.

Article VIII.—Russia agrees that the administration of the mouth of the Danube be intrusted to a European Danube commission, with a membership from the countries bordering upon the Danube and the Black Sea. Above Braila the administration is to be in the hands of the countries bordering the river.

Article IX.—Military laws limiting the private rights of Germans in Russia and of Russians in Germany are abolished.

Article X.—The contracting parties are not to demand payment of war expenditures, nor for damages suffered during the war, this provision including requisitions.

Article XI.—Each party is to pay for damage done within its own limits during the war by acts against international law with regard to the subjects of other parties, in particular their diplomatic and consular representatives, as affecting their life, health, or property. The amount is to be fixed by mixed commissions with neutral Chairmen.

Article XII.—Prisoners of war who are invalids are to be immediately repatriated. The exchange of other prisoners is to be made as soon as possible, the times to be fixed by a German-Russian commission.

Article XIII.—Civilian subjects interned or exiled are to be immediately released and sent home without cost to them.

Article XIV.—Russian subjects of German descent, particularly German colonists, may within ten years emigrate to Germany, with the right to liquidate or transfer their property.

Article XV.—Merchantmen of any of the contracting parties which were in ports of the other party at the beginning of the war, and also vessels taken as prizes which have not yet been adjudged, are to be returned, or, if that be impossible, to be paid for.

Article XVI.—Diplomatic and consular relations are to be resumed as soon as possible.

Count Czernin, at the same conference, (Dec. 25,) presented a statement offering terms for a general peace on behalf of the Central Powers. (It is given elsewhere in this magazine—in the group of declarations of peace aims by the various nations.) The refusal of the Allies to consider the terms within ten days, the limit fixed, caused the Central Powers formally to withdraw these proposals "as null and void," at the session of Jan. 8.

Russia's Rejection of German Terms

The news from Berlin and Petrograd in the days following the peace conference of Dec. 25 was exceedingly meagre. It was not until eight days later that the fact came out authoritatively that the German proposals had proved unacceptable to the Russians. Their official refusal was in the form of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which was made public Jan. 2, 1918, as follows:

This assembly confirms the fact that the program proclaimed by the representatives of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk recognizes in principle the conclusion of a peace without annexations or indemnities. This recognition establishes the basis for further pourparlers, with the view of a general democratic peace.

However, already in this declaration the representatives of *the German Government have refused to admit the free right of oppressed nations and colonies seized before the beginning of the war in* 1914 *to dispose of their own destiny.* This restriction, which was immediately reported by the Russian delegation, signifies that the dominant parties in Germany, compelled by a popular movement to grant concessions to the principles of a democratic peace, nevertheless are trying to distort this idea in the sense of their own annexationist policy.

The Austro-German delegation, in setting forth the practical conditions of peace in the east, alters still further its idea of a just, democratic peace. This declaration is made in view of the fact that *the Austrian and German Governments refused to guarantee immediately and irrevocably the removal of their troops from the occupied countries of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland and parts of Livonia and Esthonia.*

In fact, the free affirmation of their will by the populations of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and all other countries occupied by the troops of other States is impossible until the moment of the return of the native population to the places they have evacuated. The allegation of the German delegation that the will of the people of the said countries has already been manifested is devoid of all foundation.

Under martial law and under the yoke of the military censorship the peoples of the occupied countries could not express their will. The documents upon which the German Government could base its allegation at best only prove the manifestation of the will of a few privileged groups, and in no way the will of the masses in those territories.

We now declare that the Russian revolution remains faithful to the policy of internationalism. We defend the right of

Poland, Lithuania, and Courland to dispose of their own destiny actually and freely. Never will we recognize the justice of imposing the will of a foreign nation on any other nations whatsoever.

This joint session insists the peace pourparlers be communicated later to the neutral States and instructs the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils and the Commissioners to take measures to bring this about.

We say to the people of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria:

"Under your pressure your Governments have been obliged to accept the motto of no annexations and no indemnities, but recently they have been trying to carry on their old policy of evasions. Remember, that the conclusion of an immediate democratic peace will depend actually and above all on you. All the people of Europe look to you, exhausted and bled by such a war as there never was before, that you will *not permit the Austro-German imperialists to make war against revolutionary Russia for the subjection of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Armenia.*"

"*Wolves in Sheep's Clothing*"

The Izvestia, (The News,) the official mouthpiece of the Bolsheviki, on the same day (Jan. 2) denounced the Germans as "wolves in sheep's clothing." The same day a pamphlet was circulated in the German lines by the Bolsheviki declaring that the peace conditions submitted by the Central Powers show the German promises of a democratic peace to be "unconscionable lies." After describing the actions of the Germans in Poland and Lithuania in recruiting forced labor (they are said to have transferred 300,000 civilians forcibly to Germany) and shooting hunger strikers, the pamphlet continues:

"The German Government only found "support in Courland from the hated "slave owners, the German barons, who "have their prototypes in the Polish land "owners."

The document declares Germany desires to free the peoples on Russia's western frontier from the scope of the Russian revolution in order to subjugate them with German capital, impose an Austrian monarchy on Poland, and make Lithuania and Courland German duchies. It concludes: "On such a basis the Rus-"sian Workmen's Government can never "enter negotiations."

Chairman Joffe of the Russian Peace Delegation on Jan. 2 sent an official telegram to the Chairmen of the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish delegations, saying the Russian Republic deemed it necessary to conduct further peace negotiations on neutral soil, and suggesting a transfer of the conference to Stockholm. The telegram declared that replies to the message were expected by Russia in Petrograd.

Articles 1 and 2 of the Austro-German terms submitted Dec. 25, the mesasge said, were in direct conflict with the principles of self-definition of nations insisted upon by the Russian Peace Delegation and supported by the Russian Republic and the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Official German Discussion

The hitch in the negotiations came as a great surprise to the Germans, according to dispatches from Petrograd. On Jan. 2 Emperor William received in joint audience Chancellor von Hertling, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, General von Ludendorff, Finance Minister von Rödern, and Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Bundesrat, under the Presidency of Count von Dandl, discussed the Russian situation at the Chancellor's palace. Chancellor von Hertling had a long conversation with Admiral von Tirpitz, the former Minister of Marine, and Emperor Charles received in audience Professor Kucharzevski, the Polish Premier.

On the following day Chancellor von Hertling addressed the Main Committee of the Reichstag and stated that the German Government must return a negative reply to the Russian proposal that the peace conference should be transferred from Brest-Litovsk to Stockholm. Further, he declared that Foreign Minister von Kühlmann, who had left Berlin again for Brest-Litovsk, had been instructed to inform the Russian delegates that Points 1 and 2 in their proposals could not be accepted by Germany.

Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen gave to the committee the history of events leading to the peace negotiations.

He said the armistice negotiations had taken a rapid and smooth course, and had reached a generally satisfactory conclusion on Dec. 15. Parallel to the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk ran the negotiations at Fokshani for an armistice on the southeastern front, at which conference Rumania was represented.

The peace negotiations which followed, the Baron declared, naturally were very difficult, as they had to be conducted between the coalition on one hand and a single power on the other hand. As to the course of the negotiations the public had been informed to a greater extent than usually was the case. This had made the undertaking more difficult, as the Entente Powers were "enabled to impede the negotiations by circulating false news."

Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen then reviewed the Russian proposals, the German counterproposals, and the tasks of the German commission sent to Petrograd to deal with the questions of subjects of the Central Powers interned, wounded soldiers, and prisoners.

During the debate a member of the Centrist Party expressed approval, on the whole, of the attitude of the German representatives at Brest-Litovsk, and said:

"Our aim must be not only to arrive "at an understanding with the Bolshevist "Government, but to reach a lasting "peace with the Russian people and pre-"vent war in future."

The speaker asserted that the constitutional bodies now existing in Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, established on valid law, expressed the will of the peoples of those territories.

A Socialist member argued that it would be in the interest of the empire to recognize the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

"Political life in the occupied terri-"tories is obstructed by military pres-"sure, which must be removed," he said. "The negotiations in the East must be "conducted to a satisfactory end. This "is the will of the German people and of "the German Nation itself."

Military Party Prevails

Deep obscurity enveloped the events that ensued at Berlin and Petrograd after the first adjournment of the conference, but enough was allowed to filter through to show that there was profound political excitement throughout Germany. It appears that the first news given out in Germany was that the break in the negotiations had been caused by the demand of Russia that future conferences be held at Stockholm or some other neutral city. Not until several days later did it develop that the real hitch arose over the refusal of the Germans to evacuate the Russian provinces. Various Crown Councils were held, there were rumors that Germany would recede from this position, followed by statements that if Germany yielded Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff would resign; finally it was reported that the military party had again won a victory and that Germany would make no concessions. Meanwhile Trotzky issued several statements stoutly maintaining that Russia would make no peace that was dishonorable. While en route to the second session he was quoted as saying: "We did not overthrow the Czar to bow to German imperialism."

The Second Session at Brest-Litovsk

The second session of the peace conference was held at Brest-Litovsk on Thursday, Jan. 10, 1918. The meeting was attended by Minister Trotzky, one woman, Mme. Bithenko; a former exile, M. Joffe; M. Kameneff, M. Pokrovsky, and three Councilors. Representing the Central Powers were Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister; Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister; Talaat Bey, the Turkish Grand Vizier, and the Bulgarian Foreign Minister. There was also a representation from Ukrainia, which country through its Rada (Parliament) had demanded independent Peace Commissions, this being agreed to by the Bolsheviki and the Central Powers.

Ukraine's Independent Attitude

The Ukrainian delegate, M. Bolubowysch, announced that the Ukrainian Republic, having resumed its international existence, which it lost 250 years ago, had decided to adopt an independent attitude toward the negotiations, and that the General Secretariat had instructed him to hand the following note to the powers represented at the conference:

> The Ukrainian People's Republic brings the following to the knowledge of all belligerents and neutral States: The Central Rada, on Nov. 20, proclaimed a People's Republic, and by this act an international status was determined. Striving for the creation of a confederation of all the republics which have arisen in the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Ukrainian People's Republic, through its General Secretariat, proceeds to enter into independent relations pending the formation of a Federal Government in Russia and until the relations of the Ukraine with the future federation are established.

M. Bolubowysch protested that the commissaries were agreeing to an armistice independently of the Ukrainian delegates, and proceeded to declare that the Ukraine was striving for a general world peace on democratic lines insuring even the smallest nation unlimited self-determination, with proper guarantees for rendering possible a real expression of the people's will.

Address by Von Kuehlmann

Dr. von Kühlmann announced the fixed determination of the Central Powers not to accede to the Russian suggestion to transfer the negotiations to neutral territory. He continued:

> As for the conduct of the negotiations, the atmosphere in which they take place is extremely important. It must be mentioned that since the conclusion of the exchange of views before the temporary interruption of the negotiations much has happened which appeared calculated to create doubt as to the sincere intention of the Russian Government to arrive at speedy peace with the powers of the Quadruple Alliance.
>
> I may refer to the tone of certain semi-official declarations of the Russian Government against the Central Powers, especially the declaration of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, which is regarded abroad as the semi-official Russian agency. It reproduced in detail a reply M. Joffe (a member of the Russian delegation) is alleged to have made at the sitting of Dec. 28, which, as the protocol shows, originated solely in the imagination of its author. This entirely unfounded report has had a good deal to do in confusing judgment in regard to the course of the negotiations and in endangering their results.

In explaining why the Central Powers refused categorically to transfer the negotiations to neutral territory, Count Czernin said both parties had direct telegraphic communication with their respective Governments, which neither could forego, as would be the case elsewhere, without interminably prolonging the negotiations and rendering them difficult. He continued:

> The second motive is more important. You gentlemen invited us to take part in general peace negotiations. We accepted the invitation and came to an agreement about the basis of a general peace. On this basis you presented a ten days' ultimatum to your allies, who have not answered, and today it is no longer a question of negotiation of a general peace, but rather of a separate peace between Russia and the Quadruple Alliance.

The Count asserted that the transfer of the negotiations to neutral territory would give the Entente an opportunity to interfere and endeavor to prevent a separate peace. He added:

> We refuse to give the western powers this opportunity, but we are ready to conduct the final negotiations and sign a peace treaty at a place to be fixed.
>
> Regarding the questions on which an understanding has not been reached, we came to a binding agreement at the last plenary session to submit them to a commission, to begin work immediately. All the four members of the Quadruple Alliance are entirely agreed to conducting the negotiations to the end on the basis explained by Dr. von Kühlmann and myself and agreed upon with the Russians. If the Russian delegation is animated by the same intentions, we shall attain a result satisfactory to all. If not, then matters will take a necessary course, but responsibility for war will fall exclusively on the Russian delegation.

The Turkish and Bulgarian representatives associated themselves with these remarks.

In the name of the German chief command General Hoffmann protested strongly against wireless messages sent out from Russian military stations, con-

taining abuse of the German military institutions and appeals of a revolutionary character to the German troops. This, the General said, transgressed the spirit of the armistice. Representatives of the armies of Germany's allies joined in the protest.

At the proposal of Leon Trotzky, head of the Russian delegation, the sitting was adjourned for one day.

Stockholm Request Waived

When the conference was resumed on Jan. 11, it was agreed to continue the armistice on all fronts to Feb. 12, 1918, the first armistice having expired on Jan. 12.

Foreign Minister Trotzky made an extended statement, waiving the demand that the negotiations be resumed at a neutral city. He said he had noted the statement of the Central Powers that the basis of a general peace, as formulated in their declaration of Dec. 25, was null and void, and added, "We adhere to the principles of democratic peace as proclaimed by us." M. Trotzky added that the Russian delegation could not pass over another point, which had been mentioned by the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling, in his statement before the Reichstag main committee, in which he had referred to Germany's powerful position, (Machtstellung.)

> The Russian delegation cannot deny, and does not intend to deny, [he said,] that its country, owing to the policy of the classes until recently in power, has been weakened. But the world position of a country is not determined by its technical apparatus alone, but also by its inherent possibilities—as, indeed, Germany's economic strength should not be judged by her present conditions and means of supply.

M. Trotzky considered that the greater forces of the Russian people had been awakened and developed by the revolution, just as the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Revolution of the eighteenth century had vitalized the creative forces of the German and French peoples. He added:

> Our Government placed at the head of its program a world peace, but it promised the people to sign only a democratic and just peace. The sympathies of the Russian people are with the working classes of Germany and her allies. Years of war have not hardened the hearts of the Russian soldiers, who stretch forth their hands to the people on the other side.

Regarding the proposal to remove the negotiations to Stockholm, he continued:

> The refusal of the Central Powers to transfer the conference to a neutral site is only explicable by the desire of their Governments and powerful annexationist groups to base their dealings not on reconciliation of peoples but on the war map. But war maps disappear, while peoples remain. We regarded as idle the assertions of the German press that refusal to transfer the conference was in the nature of an ultimatum. We were wrong. An ultimatum was delivered—parleys at Brest-Litovsk or none.
>
> The German annexationists regard the rupture of negotiations as preferable to a conciliatory settlement of the future of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Armenia. Semi-official annexationist agitators in the central countries are trying to persuade the German people that behind the open and frank policy of Russia is a British or other stage manager. Therefore, we decided to remain at Brest-Litovsk, so that the slightest possibility of peace may not be lost; so that it may be established whether peace is possible with the Central Powers without violence to the Poles, Letts, Armenians, and all other nationalities to which the Russian revolution assures full right of development, without reservation or restriction.

The further proceedings, according to the German version, were as follows: At the opening of the sitting Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, announced that the Central Powers recognized the Ukraine delegation as "an independent delegation representing the Ukraine Republic," but that formal recognition of the Ukrainian Republic as an independent State would be reserved for the peace treaty.

M. Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, followed Count Czernin, saying that such conflicts as had occurred between the Russian Government and the Ukraine "have had no connection with the question of the self-determination of the Ukraine, concerning which there is no room for conflict between the two sister republics."

M. Bolubowysch, the Ukrainian Secretary of State, accepted the statements of Count Czernin and M. Trotzky and announced that his delegates would par-

ticipate in the peace negotiations on that basis.

Later in the session the delegates discussed the German claim that the Russian wireless statements issued during the recess constituted a transgression of the spirit of the armistice. M. Trotzky desired to know in what particular the spirit of the armistice had been transgressed by the communications, and General Hoffmann of the German delegation replied:

> At the head of the armistice treaty stood the words "bring about a lasting peace." Your Russian propaganda transgressed this intention, because it did not strive after a lasting peace, but to carry the resolutions concerning civil war into the countries of the Central Powers.

M. Trotzky answered General Hoffmann, pointing out that all the German newspapers were being freely admitted into Russia, even newspapers which were supporting the views of the extreme Russian reactionaries. Complete equality had been observed in this respect, and it had nothing to do with the armistice treaty. General Hoffmann retorted that his protest was not directed against the Russian press, but against official Government statements and utterances which bore the signature of Ensign Krylenko, Commander in Chief of the Bolshevist forces.

To this statement M. Trotzky replied that the treaty contained no restrictions or expressions of opinion by citizens of the Russian Republic or their governing officials. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, interrupted M. Trotzky, saying:

> Noninterference in Russian affairs is the fixed principle of the German Government, but the Government has the right to demand reciprocity in this respect.

Answering Dr. von Kühlmann, M. Trotzky replied:

> On the other hand, the Russians will recognize it as a step forward if the Germans freely and frankly express their views regarding internal conditions in Russia so far as they think it necessary.

Dealing with the declarations at the previous session by Dr. von Kühlmann and by Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, respecting the failure of Russia's allies to participate in the negotiations, which vitiated the peace offer of the Central Powers and resolved the discussions to a question of a separate peace with Russia, M. Trotzky said:

> We are in full accord with our former resolution. We desire to continue the peace negotiations quite apart from the question whether or not the Entente Powers take part.

Conference Ends in a Clash

The German reports of the peace conference declared on Jan. 14 that the parleys had broken up in a clash over the evacuation of the Russian provinces, and that the conference had adjourned without fixing a day for reassembling. The reports of the final sitting—through German sources—follow:

"A committee composed of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and Russians for the discussion of territorial questions held three long sittings. It was agreed that the first paragraph of the peace treaty should be a clause announcing that the state of war between the parties had been concluded.

"The Germans proposed a clause that the contracting parties have resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, refused to indorse this, declaring that it was 'a decorative phrase, which does not describe the relations which in the future will exist between the Russian and German peoples.'

"It was confirmed that the evacuation of occupied territory by both parties should take place on the basis of full reciprocity, so that the evacuation by the Central Powers of Russian territory would synchronize with the evacuation by Russia of the occupied regions in Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Persia. Later Persia was struck out, as not being a belligerent party, and M. Trotzky proposed to add the following: 'Russia undertakes as speedily as possible to remove her troops from neutral Persia.' He said that he had no other ground for this than a desire to emphasize the crying wrong committed by the former Russian Government against a neutral country."

The Russian delegates demanded the immediate repatriation of deported Poles

and Lithuanians and the liberation of all Bohemians, Czechs, and others arrested by the Central Powers for their connection with pacifist propaganda, according to the Petrograd correspondent of the Exchange Telegraph Company.

"The return of refugees to Poland and Lithuania is of the utmost importance in the question of self-determination," declared M. Trotzky.

To this the German delegates replied: "These demands involve questions of internal policy which cannot possibly be discussed in the peace parleys."

M. Trotzky, however, asserted that the Russians would not abandon their demands. A prolonged debate followed on the question of admitting representatives of Poland, Courland, and Lithuania to the negotiations and on the question of what constituted self-determination by these provinces.

The discussion became embittered, and the only result was a protest by General Hoffmann of the German delegation against the tone of the Russian delegation, which he said "speaks as if it stood victorious in our countries and could dictate conditions."

He reminded the delegates that the Bolshevist authority, as much as the German, was founded on force, as instanced by what he termed the attempts to suppress the White Russian and the Ukrainian movements toward self-determination.

General Hoffmann finally stated that the German Supreme Army Command must refuse to evacuate Courland, Lithuania, Riga, and the islands in the Gulf of Riga.

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, then declared that he must reserve a further statement of the position of the Central Powers on all points. He protested against the position the Russians had adopted of presenting their views in written declarations, and said that the conference must be adjourned in order that there might be a consultation between the Teutonic allies. No date for the resumption of the conference was fixed.

The general feeling in European capitals at this juncture, (Jan. 14,) as indicated by the dispatches, was that the Bolsheviki would stand firm against Germany's continuing in control of Russian provinces, while the German and Austrian Commissioners had been strengthened in their determination to insist on practical annexations.

Economic Conferences

During the period from Dec. 25 to Jan. 11 negotiations were carried on at Petrograd between Russian commissions and those of the Central Powers concerning economic questions, the exchange of prisoners, renewal of postal and telegraphic communications, &c., but no decisions had been announced up to Jan. 15.

The Constituent Assembly was called to meet Jan. 18, to be followed three days later by the third All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. The latest returns of the voting for the Constituent Assembly showed 158 outright Bolsheviki elected out of 510 delegates. New elections were ordered to replace delegates to the Assembly who were deemed not to represent the interests of the masses of workmen and peasants.

Separate Russian States

The disintergration of the Russian Empire into small republics has made notable progress since the Bolshevist revolution. The Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed by the Central Parliament on Nov. 20, 1917, and was recognized at the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations as a separate State by the Bolshevist Commissioners and tentatively by the Central Powers. The same important step was taken by Finland, which formally declared its independence as a republic on Dec. 5, 1917, and was recognized by Norway and Sweden. Lithuania formally declared its independence of Russia on Jan. 8, 1918, through a conference of Lithuanian delegates held at Stockholm. The Don Cossacks declared a separate republic with Rostov as its capital and Paul Kaledine as first President and Prime Minister. Separate movements also developed in Courland, the Caucasus, Turkestan, among the Mussulmans and the Tartars, and in Siberia.

Life in Revolutionary Russia

Murder, Theft, and Anarchy as Daily Features of the Present Social and Political Conditions

Ludovic Naudeau, a correspondent of the Paris Temps, who has lived in Petrograd ever since the beginning of the revolution, is the author of this intimate sketch of the moral and social chaos that has gradually developed under the Socialists' attempt to govern. The period is that of the weeks immediately preceding Kerensky's fall on Nov. 7, 1917, *with a few glimpses of a little later date. The translation was made expressly for* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

LITTLE facts, caught on the fly, help one to understand the web of events and to throw light on certain enigmas in Russia. There have been appearances, parodies, semblances concerning which it would be vain to try to give precise information; such, for example, as the Congress of Soviets, the Congress at Moscow, the Democratic Congress at Petrograd, and perhaps also the "Preparliament" itself —great representations that represent nothing. For the present the only significant data must be found in episodes from the daily life of the people—social historiettes that are more exact than history—little truths of today, little lights projected upon the mystery of tomorrow.

When I say that there are relatively few murders in revolutionary Russia the statement needs some explanation. I mean that in proportion to the infinite number of petty thefts and grand larcenies the number of criminals who dare to go to the extreme of armed assault and murder is not very great. One would find, however, that several thousands of homicides have been committed in Russia in the last six months, if one wished to include all the cases of a political nature or appearance—affrays, street fights, executions of officers, evictions, wholesale pillage, summary judgments, lynchings, skirmishes between different army units, incendiary fires and explosions in factories resulting from criminal acts.

Civil war has not yet broken out, if by civil war you mean a series of pitched battles conducted under methodical orders. But in reality it exists in an intermittent, sporadic way throughout Russia. An intangible, scattered, uncontrollable Jacquerie is galloping through the land, leaving behind it fire, ruins, and blood. The newspapers have a standing headline, "Anarchy." This very day (Oct. 16, 1917) the Izvestia has an article headed "The Wave of Massacres." There are now appearing in the large cities "Bonnot gangs," (named from a notorious automobile bandit in Paris,) of which it is difficult to say whether they are composed of revolutionists or brigands. These bands have tried to rob middle-class citizens, to pick their pockets, to pilfer, sponge upon, and eat them out of house and home, but until recently they have appeared rather to avoid murder. But little by little their sentimentalism in this respect is evaporating.

Typical Case in Petrograd

I will give a typical case: In the suburb of Novaia Dierevnia six men armed with revolvers and dressed as soldiers and marines arrive at the store of the rich merchant Borisoff and announce that they are about to requisition his goods. Borisoff demands that they show him a judicial warrant; the barrel of a revolver is pointed between his eyes. The investigators open his safe, take 150,000 rubles in money, 50,000 rubles in jewels, and 75,000 rubles in other articles of value, and then make off. But during their flight a tire of their automobile bursts, militiamen arrive, investigate, find that these gentry have a suspicious appearance, and decide to take them to the Commissariat. A fight; two of the thieves are wounded and taken to the

militia post. But then ten other men, likewise clad as soldiers and marines, who have been held in strategic reserve, come to demand that the authorities release the prisoners; they open fire on the post and one militiaman and one assailant are wounded. Reinforcements arrive for the militiamen, several members of the band are captured, and M. Borisoff's treasure is recovered.

The treasure of M. Borisoff is recovered, but how many others are not! Numerous official documents, Government proclamations, innumerable telegrams and press articles bear witness that everywhere throughout all Russia minor combats are thus breaking out between confiscatory "redistributers" and absurd slaves of routine who have a prejudice in favor of keeping their own property. Here brigands of the Bonnot type pillage a great estate with impunity; it is a revolutionary act. There an unfortunate pickpocket who has stolen a purse, or a thief who has taken a cow, is lynched by a mob of soldiers and citizens who cut him to pieces.

Only Small Crimes Punished

If I kill a whole family, assassinating even the old people and the babies, I shall not be condemned to death, for the death penalty is abolished. But if, at some out of the way crossroads, my face looks suspicious to honest men, they may easily take a notion to run a bayonet through me, an unpleasant fate that has come to many innocent men in the last six months. The persons who shall have disemboweled me in the name of the State may not, perhaps, have left my watch and purse in my clothes; nevertheless they will be regarded as "extremely revolutionary" persons, and no one will concern himself with punishing them. It is better here to steal an ox than an egg, because the larger the theft the greater the proof of its patriotic motive. We have no civil war, and are not suffering a reign of terror, but revolution and terror are gradually invading society.

The situation sometimes makes me think of a flood which, instead of falling from the skies, oozes imperceptibly, like a bloody sweat, from the crevices, cavities, and ravines of the earth, and then keeps rising and rising. Many wealthy people, many politicians, many journalists are living under the shadow of threats that have been conveyed to them. Sing or I'll kill! Be generous, give up your possessions, or you'll breathe your last breath. No one knows what tomorrow will be made of, what will be burned or blown up, or who will be killed. But the country is so large and man is so small that episodes are drowned in the immensity of the fatalism in which we are all submerged. After all, one lives, laughs, and ends by assuring one's self that it is quite possible to go on living in an anarchy tempered by anarchy. Two anarchists are better than one, for one nail drives out another.

The Mania for Gambling

The army has taken to gambling with a veritable frenzy. At the door of a store where cards are sold one sees in a single hour, mingled with the crowd that stands in line for the precious cardboards, as many as forty soldiers. When one of these crowds was raided the officials found several deserters in it. The military authorities have been obliged to take stringent measures against the alarming spread of games of chance in the army. The men are playing cards with feverish intensity from the rear barracks to the front lines, gambling away their pittance of pay, becoming maniacs; a wind of folly is driving them toward unhealthful distractions, which the Provisional Government feels an urgent need of suppressing.

The committee from the 8th Corps has called upon the Government for aid in combating the spread of this scourge. It asks that the sale of playing cards be forbidden, and proposes that all the other military committees should compel the destruction of all the cards already in use; also that the pools and stakes seized should be confiscated and devoted to buying instructive literature. These are the sentiments of the more intelligent among the troops.

Gaming houses are multiplying throughout the country and the moralists are beginning to be frightened at this unex-

pected effect of liberty. Every night enormous sums are gambled away, men are ruined, men kill themselves; poor men who sought to make their fortunes find themselves in the morning on the street without a kopek. It is "railroad" and baccarat for everybody.

Difficulties of Charity Workers

A wounded man having died in a Petrograd hospital in a manner that appeared suspicious to his comrades, the committee of the regiment to which he had belonged went to the place of his death and demanded to see five of the male nurses; these it beat unmercifully and dragged away bleeding, and is still holding them prisoners in some unknown place at this writing, (Nov. 1, 1917.)

At Moscow the Nicholas Orphan Asylum attendants went on strike and closed the kitchens, forbidding any one to prepare food for the children; long negotiations were necessary to save the little ones from dying of hunger. At the Elizabeth Hospital the "workers who care for the sick" refused to return to their duties except upon the following conditions, whose acceptance they demanded of the university authorities: "An expression of absolute distrust of the Coalition Ministry and the transfer of all executive powers to the Soviets; the professional labor union leaders to have entire control of the recruiting of new nurses and attendants; acceptance of all the economic demands of the strikers; the forced retirement of the rector and the bursar of the university." The university, greatly puzzled, would, if necessary, sacrifice the rector and bursar, but it does not know how to go about relegating all its executive powers to the various Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Angry Cross-Currents

The families of military men are exasperated over the continual peril to which officers are exposed because of the caprices of their peasant soldiers. Resigned to the dangers which their dear ones must encounter in battle, the wives, sisters, and sweethearts are furious over the great number of murders, of base assassinations committed in the shadow. This slow Terror, this chronic and sporadic killing, will end by arousing Russian Charlotte Cordays. Since the mob strikes, it will be struck. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—the law of retaliation!

A sort of secret society or "Company of Jehu" is being formed to carry on reprisals against the murderers of officers. The members say they will kill three soldiers for every Lieutenant assassinated; five for every Captain; ten for every Commandant. I know a young lady who is ready to shoot two soldiers—no matter which ones—if her fiancé, a Sub-Lieutenant, dies otherwise than at the hands of the enemy. This is not bravado; it is only necessary to remember that many of the nihilist attacks in former days were made by young girls who, like Vera Zassulitch, belonged to excellent families. A reversed nihilism, attacking the despot Caliban, a nihilism repressing the ferocities of the blind mob, is not at all inconceivable.

Russian Women as Soldiers

Women soldiers now constitute a part of the Russian social landscape. It is already long since people have ceased to turn their heads to see them passing, long since people have ceased to go to the parade ground to see them manoeuvre. A characteristic of this malleable Muscovite race, open as it is to all innovations, is that it is astonished at nothing, that everything appears to it as contained within the limits of the ordinary. Russia is never "struck dumb" and seldom seeks to "strike dumb."

Suppose that we had women soldiers in France! What interviews in the newspapers, what couplets in the magazines, how many meetings! Here, nothing. There are women soldiers because there are. Men do not discuss the uniform or the coiffure or the gait of these women. The somewhat silly gossip of some countries does not exist in Russia.

I often find this Russian phlegm rather impressive. The commander of the first battalion of woman soldiers that went to the firing line, Mme. Botchkariova, had already served as a volunteer from the beginning of the war and had bravely won the Cross of St. George. When her

little troop arrived at the front for the first time, a big mujik in soldier's clothes rudely jostled one of her subordinates, who wept. But Botchkariova, husky person that she is, has the arms of an athlete. She had the boor pointed out to her and administered such a slap with the back of her hand that she closed one of his eyes and almost laid him on his back, so that all the other peasants shouted with laughter.

In the streets the women soldiers salute the male officers in accordance with the regulations. The officers return the salute without paying any particular attention to the matter. This relative equality of the sexes in Russia is due especially to the fact that boys and girls at school and in the academies, up to the age of 17 or 18, and sometimes even to 20 years, are brought up together, elbow to elbow, in the same classes, a fact which increases their companionships and diminishes their curiosities. One finds here beardless youths, who in uniform are mistaken for women soldiers, while certain young women with incipient mustaches pass for men soldiers.

The Menace of Alcohol

"What do you get drunk on?" asked a business man of a drunken sot in the latter days of the old régime.

"Ah, Baron," grumbled the drunkard, "you are rich and doubtless can drink eau de cologne; but I, poor wretch, in order to get drunk, must be content to absorb varnish!"

This authentic dialogue shows that before March, 1917, the prohibition of the sale of alcohol (the noblest work of Nicholas II.) was strict. In order to become intoxicated it was necessary either to consume innumerable drugs and liquid poisons or to pay very high prices for spirits sold clandestinely. In the first few months after the revolution the old anti-alcoholic discipline continued to work automatically; but recently the hideous scourge has been reappearing, and one begins again to see men zigzagging in the streets. Alcoholism, the greatest and most mortal enemy of Russia, has already since the middle of the Summer of 1917 caused some misfortunes.

This subject is one of the gravest of all. In the present hours of license, amid the inextricable complications in which the nation is struggling, if the Russian people abandon themselves to alcoholic madness when the knout is no longer there to sober them, one might say that it is all over, not only with the revolution, but with Russia herself.

A wealthy friend, having invited me to dine, wished to end the meal with cognac. Now, a serious Russian knows nothing of the little glass. One does not offer a guest "a little glass of cognac," but "cognac." The bottle being opened, it is necessary to empty it. But in this case the bill read: "Cognac, 150 rubles," or $75. My friend sent for the proprietor. "You exaggerate! Under Nicholas you never made me pay more than 60 rubles." Then the restaurateur: "Ah, Sir, the fall in the value of the ruble would be a small matter, but the trouble is that under the Czar, in order to sell you cognac illegally, I had to corrupt only the Chief of Police, while now—but hush, it's confidential—now, to enjoy the same tolerance, I have to bribe a Commissary, two Sub-Commissaries, and four militiamen, (police agents.)" My rich friend hummed an old tune, "It was not worth the trouble, sure, to change the Government!"

Murders of Officers

Another Petrograd correspondent gives the following details of the same nature:

The Russian press has published many details of the homicidal anarchy raging in the army under the Maximalist régime, which threatens to reduce the officers' corps to a minus quantity. Here are two touching letters from widows of officers who were killed by their men:

> The most terrible thing about it [writes one of them] is that the soldiers who killed my husband were calm; they stayed at our house an hour; I spoke with them and begged them, clinging to their knees, not to harm my husband. I studied them closely and could see in them neither wickedness nor ferocity; they assured me that my husband was simply going to be arrested, and that after an inquiry he would be released. I believed them; I led them to him and gave him up to them with my own hands. And half an hour later some one came to

tell me that my husband had been killed and thrown into the water from the Abo bridge. Why was he murdered? To this question I have received the reply: "They simply killed him without any serious reason."

The widow of another officer writes:

My husband fought at Port Arthur; he was decorated with the Cross of St. George, and was wounded in the war with Japan, and also in the present war. He survived the Japanese and German bullets, only to be killed by the rifle butt of a Russian soldier. Who was the murderer? The very soldier who, after the revolution, had exhibited him in triumph and called him his father, and who, during the campaigns, had covered him with his mantle and followed him in battle, full of ardor and faith! Assassination was my husband's recompense for his services to the country and for the solicitude lavished upon a soldier by an officer!

At Tiflis three officers were brained by their men because they refused a few days of leave. At Tamboff a company of drunken soldiers drowned two others. At Odessa an old Colonel and three Lieutenants were thrown from a bridge without any apparent reason. At Kursk twenty soldiers appeared in the native village of Lieut. Col. Martinoff, who had been wounded near Dvina in July and gone home to recover, and who had rejoined the service a few days before with the intention of returning to the front. At the barracks he was exhorting the soldiers to calmness and obedience. "You are a traitor," cried the men, who were almost all drunk; "we have condemned you to death." Blows of rifle butts felled the officer, and the crazed brutes finished the work with kicks of their heavy boots. The wife and three children of the unfortunate man were terrified onlookers.

On Nov. 10 a regiment of the 14th Infantry Division at the front, after hearing a speech by a Maximalist, voted a resolution to dismiss all the officers and fight no more. The General Staff of the division had the speaker and several ringleaders arrested. Then a hundred soldiers went to the tent of General Zibareff, the division commander, and demanded that the arrested men be set at liberty immediately. Zibareff refused. The men rushed at him and killed him with the stocks of their rifles.

These are a few typical cases out of thousands.

Plundering the Winter Palace

At the time of the revolution in March the cellars of the Winter Palace in Petrograd, where there were great quantities of fine wines, brandies, and liquors destined for the Czar's table, were walled up by command of the revolutionary authorities in order to secure them against pillage. The existence of these stores, however, was known to the soldiers of the garrison sent to guard the old palace.

On Dec. 7, 1917, a group of soldiers belonging to the regiment of Preobrajensky, of the Division of Guards quartered near the palace, made their way into the basement of the edifice, blew up the masonry that sealed the entrance to the cellars, and penetrated to the interior. These soldiers laid hands on all the bottles and flasks they could carry away. Their example was promptly imitated by many of their comrades, who gave themselves up to systematic pillage of the whole collection of famous old wines and liquors, which they began drinking on the spot, so that the scene soon became one of riotous intoxication.

The soldiers on leaving the cellars scattered themselves staggering over the square in front of the palace and along the neighboring streets. As many of them still had their rifles and cartridges, shots rang out in all directions, spreading alarm among the passers-by. Throughout the day disorders continued around the palace and were prolonged into the night. To put an end to them the revolutionary authorities had to send forces of the Red Guard, who were greeted with rifle fire by the rioters. While the drunken soldiers gave themselves up to excesses, many others, more practical, disposed of the bottles which filled their coat pockets to the passers-by at prices that defied competition; but these rapid and surreptitious transactions were not without their dupes, for some who thought they were buying champagne at a bargain found later that the straw incased bottles contained plain mineral water.

By the second week in January the

citizens of Petrograd were receiving only three-quarters of a pound of black bread per head every two days, and starvation seemed imminent. A correspondent of The London Times wrote on the 9th:

"Flour and the various grains which used to be so abundant in this granary of Europe it is quite impossible to find unless some occasion offers for secret purchase at ruinous fancy prices. Black and sometimes dark brown bread is doled out by card system—sticky, gritty stuff, only half baked, composed of millers' refuse mixed with straw, of the consistency of putty, and looking very much like it. Meat is a rare luxury. The poorest people—not the factory workers, who are receiving enormous wages—sometimes buy roots of cow horns and stumps of tails. Horseflesh is in common use.

"Burglary, robbery, and murder in most audacious forms prevail to an extent hitherto unknown. Men and women are stripped of overcoats and shoes in the streets. At night armed marauders in military uniforms enter houses under pretext of official searches and perquisitions. Thieves in stolen motor cars hold up persons driving in sledges.

"Printed notices with the stamp of the British Embassy issued to British residents by the Consulate, stating that their holders are under the Embassy's protection, seem to have little effect. The other day an armed band entered an Englishman's apartment while he was at home and appropriated 11,000 rubles. Crowds of British subjects who are returning to England visit the British Military Control Office and the British Consulate daily for passport visés, and many old-established British industrial enterprises here have been liquidated or sold, as it is quite impossible to put up with the ignorant control and exorbitant demands of the Russian workmen."

Conditions Becoming Tragic

Another correspondent wrote on Jan. 7:

"All reports from the provinces say no food is being loaded for the capital and unless a miracle happens starvation is certain. Already in the factory towns near Moscow there is rioting because of the complete disappearance of bread from the market. Coal is failing, the electric light companies are cutting off energy for an increasing number of hours every week. There is danger of the stoppage of trains, and it is a question whether even the waterworks can be kept going. Want of fuel, labor control, and transport difficulties have led to the closing of a number of factories and the army of unemployed is growing daily. This with starvation at the door and the bitterest Winter known here for years.

Steady Spread of Anarchy

"The large official class is still on strike. Trade is languishing for want of goods and ready money. The closing of the banks is much more serious than was expected; no one can get at his banking account, and there is a general scramble for money tokens of every kind. Yesterday in several banks strong boxes were opened in the presence of their holders and gold and silver confiscated. All financial operations are completely blocked, and when this state of affairs will end no one knows. The ruble has gone up because people are selling all kinds of valuables now to get rubles for current expenses, while those who have large supplies are hoarding in view of further possible emergencies.

"There is little actual violence yet, apart from frequent street robberies and the fact that from time to time soldiers loot the few remaining wine shops. The masses are sullen and the purely anarchist propaganda is making headway among them at the expense of the Bolsheviki.

"Outside of Petrograd the country is torn by civil war and harassed by bands of marauding soldiery. The army is in a state of disorderly mobilization, and neither the committees nor the commissaries have any control over the elemental instincts of those seven millions who were armed to fight the Germans and are now making their own country desolate. The officers are persecuted. They are stripped of all marks of distinction and compelled to live on soldiers' pay, while their families are deprived of their maintenance allowance. They are subjected to daily insults and indignities, and are lucky if their lives are spared.

Those who can have fled to the Don, while many resort to physical labor to keep their families alive.

"Traveling is a peril. The trains are packed with wandering soldiers who rush all the carriages without distinction of class. Unprotected station employes are terrorized, and the rolling stock is gradually breaking down under the strain. Trains come into Petrograd with windows smashed, covering torn off seats, mirrors broken, and metal fittings wrenched out. In the zone of civil war rails are torn up and communication perpetually interrupted. The railways are the arteries of Russia, and all this tremendous machinery of transport and supply is slowly but surely collapsing."

Plight of the Officers

Ensign Krylenko, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, has abolished all signs of rank, and officers who have not been elected to commands by their own soldiers as officers and also thousands who have been degraded at the front are no longer able to support their families on their former scale. But the Petrograd officers have showed enterprise. They formed a working union whose members unloaded trucks at railway stations and they earn as much as 20 rubles daily and financially are better off than before.

Altogether, the educated classes are hard put to it. The civil servants on strike are being evicted from their official quarters and many of their leaders arrested. Lawyers and notaries are idle because the law courts have been suppressed. Many journalists have been thrown out of work by the suppression of newspapers. The army of municipal employes are workless because of the capture of the municipality by the Bolsheviki. Retired professors have had their pensions reduced to a bare pittance. Novelists cannot print their work.

Aspects of Bolshevist Rule

Trial of Countess Panina

THE Bolsheviki substituted for the old judicial system a revolutionary tribunal, and the first person tried was Countess Panina, the founder of the People's Palace and later Assistant Minister of Education under the Kerensky Government. On the night of the Bolshevist coup her house was raided and she was arrested, as were several other members of the Government, including Prince Dolgorukoff.

The charges preferred against the Countess were that she had concealed or failed to give an account of the sum of 90,000 rubles belonging to the Ministry of Education and also that she had assisted in what is called sabotage of Government officials. It was not denied that the Countess had not given an account of the money to the Bolsheviki, but that was because she did not want it to fall into Bolshevist hands. She had lodged it in safe keeping in order to hand it over to the Constituent Assembly.

The farcical trial of the Countess was described by the Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES under date of Dec. 24, 1917. It illustrates one historic phase of Bolshevist rule:

"Last week the Countess's friends were told that if they would bring her to the Smolny Institute she might be released. Astonished at this proposal, her friends brought her in a cab from the prison. At the Smolny Institute a sailor, Alexeivsky, who acts as a kind of inquiring judge, said: 'If you give us 170,000 rubles we will release you.' But another member of the Commission of Inquiry, when asked the meaning of this inexplicable demand, hastily apologized, and declared that only half that sum was needed. Countess Panina absolutely refused to parley, and was taken back to prison by her friends. The newspapers were full of protests against her arrest. Among the protesters was Maxim Gorky.

"Yesterday Countess Panina was brought up for trial. The court consisted of a workman named Zhuk, who was

President, and two soldiers and five civilians, most of them apparently workmen. All had been elected by the Soviet. Except for the prisoners' bench and guard, the usual appurtenances of a court were lacking. The court was crowded with visitors, Cadets preponderating. The President, in opening the proceedings, said: 'Comrades, I will tell you the history of revolution, of the great French Revolution, and, in a word, of all revolutions.' The audience settled down to a long historical disquisition, but the rest of the speech was brief. 'Sixty-nine years ago,' continued the President, 'in the great French Revolution, a people's revolutionary tribunal was established. I hope that our tribunal will be a great success.'

"Then, after a pause: 'What charge is preferred against you? What is your name?' He turned to the accused.

"'Countess Vladimirovna Panina,' she answered firmly.

"The Secretary read the charge, and the Countess pleaded not guilty. Then the regular order of procedure was reversed and the President first called on the defense.

"A young workman who had frequented the People's Palace made a strong, courageous speech. He had come to the People's Palace, he said, a raw and illiterate youth, and there he had found the light. 'This woman who went down into the midst of our sweat and dirt and worked day after day among us and gave comfort and hope to little children, cannot be a traitor or a counter-revolutionary,' he continued. 'The Russian people cannot be so ungrateful as not to give an honest, just judgment, so that the world may not be able to say that the revolutionary tribunal has fallen into the hands of an unbridled mob who mock at a woman simply because she is a Countess. I bow low to her.'

"Another counsel for the defense was a schoolmaster, Gurevish, who worked with the Countess in the Ministry of Education.

"After the speeches for the defense the President asked the Countess whether she could return the money in three days.

"'No,' she repled quickly. 'I can only give it to the President of the Constituent Assembly or the Government appointed by the Constituent Assembly.'

"Then came the turn of the prosecution. There were two speeches, one by a Bolshevist workman, Naumoff. His argument was curious. It was true, he said, that Countess Panina was a noble woman who had given much of her wealth to the mob. 'But life consists of a totality of mankind,' he went on. 'The law is the struggle for existence. The field of life is sown with the bones of noble individuals, but we are fighting for a class, and we should be cowards if we stopped because certain individuals had noble characters.'

"Rogalsky, the Bolshevist Commissary of Education, complained bitterly of sabotage which stopped the working of the Ministry. Another workman, a member of the Executive Committee of the Bolshevist Soviet, demanded that he should be allowed to speak for the defense, but was not permitted. When he protested, he was led out. Then, after a short consultation, the court passed sentence.

"'Citizen Panina is to be kept in prison till she hands over the money, and for her share in the sabotage of officials receives public reprimand.'

"That was all, and the proud, erect woman was led back to prison.

"Perhaps the Ministers of the Provisional Government will be brought to trial now. Korniloff, Terestchenko, Kishkin, Kartasheff, Smirnoff, and Treiakoff are still in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. They are fairly well treated, walk together for half an hour daily, and see visitors twice a week. Once or twice they have been alarmed by threats that the guard might lynch them, but as a rule the attitude of the guard has been correct. The Cadet Party has been outlawed by decree and the houses of several leaders have been raided. Many prominent Cadets appear to be living a nomad life. It is an odd world."

A Maze of Warring Factions

A demonstration was held in Petrograd on Dec. 30 by the Bolsheviki which was thus described by Dr. Harold Will-

iams, the correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"There was Sunday's demonstration, ostensibly for peace, but in reality, as most of the mottoes on the banners showed, for civil war. Crowds flowed down the main streets and gathered in the Field of Mars—crowds with music and banners red, white, and black; soldiers and workmen, youths, women, and children, celebrating some triumph, blindly asserting some confused and unintelligible principle.

"It was a big demonstration, and in point of numbers it was an effective parade of the Bolshevist forces. True, the intelligentsia was almost entirely absent; true, several units of the garrison were almost unrepresented, and the workers' quarters sent mostly youths and women; but the masses were there in strength and the array of bayonets was imposing.

"The German and Austrian Generals, Admirals, and Counts who looked on from the several windows could convince themselves that the Bolsheviki had physical power behind them in Petrograd, but if they could read the mottoes against the Cadets, the Constituent Assembly, and the Moderate Socialist Parties they must have realized that Russia is now torn into an infinity of warring factions and that the demonstration was in essence a pitiful display of mass suicide. Even for the Germans it is difficult to make anything that can be called peace with such an incoherent medley as Russia now presents."

Repudiation of Bonds Threatened

A dispatch from Petrograd dated Jan. 8, 1918, announced that the Bolsheviki had determined to cancel Russia's foreign debts, the decree to contain the following provisions:

1. All loans and Treasury bonds held by foreign subjects abroad or in Russia are repudiated.

2. Loans and Treasury bonds held by Russian subjects who possess more than 10,000 rubles as capital are repudiated.

3. Loans and Treasury bonds held by Russian subjects possessing a capital in loan scrip or deposits not exceeding 1,000 rubles will receive 5 per cent. interest on the nominal value of the loan, and those possessing 10,000 rubles will receive 3 per cent.

4. Workmen and peasants holding 100 rubles' worth of loans or bonds may sell their holdings to the State at 75 per cent. nominal value and those holding 600 rubles' worth at 70 per cent.

Russia's foreign debt in 1917 was $4,660,000,000. She borrowed from the United States $275,000,000. Her total indebtedness on Jan. 1, 1917, was $11,011,920,000, and required $605,655,600 annually to meet interest.

The Russian Government issued a decree Jan. 10, 1918, suspending all payments of dividends by private companies. The Government also forbade transactions in stocks pending the issuance of ordinances relating to the further nationalization of production and determining the amount of interest payable by private companies.

France's Burden of Refugees

France from the beginning has been the refuge of almost all the victims of the war on the western front. Early in 1916 it was supporting 928,000 refugees, who were drawing the daily allowance of 25 cents for each adult and 15 cents for each child, which Parliament had granted them. Of this total the French refugees numbered 762,000, the Belgians 143,000, the Alsace-Lorrainers 12,000, and the Serbs 11,000. In 1917 the total increased considerably. Many Belgians who had taken refuge in Holland and England went to live in France, where, because of the more familiar language and customs, they found congenial surroundings; but the greatest increase came from the population driven out by the Germans from the invaded districts. The wretched condition of these victims when they arrived in France is a matter of history. Furthermore, the increase in the cost of living made the cash allowances, which were meagre enough from the beginning, seem still more inadequate. For that reason, despite the increase to the nation's financial burden, a measure was introduced in the Chamber in October, 1917, increasing the allowance of adult refugees to 50 cents a day and that of children over 16 years to 20 cents a day.

The Fall of Kerensky

Circumstantial Narrative of Capture of the Winter Palace and Kerensky's Escape—The Women Defenders

The narrative herewith, giving the details of the downfall of Alexander Kerensky, was written for The London Morning Post by its Petrograd correspondent. It is the first detailed account of the dramatic episode that has reached this country. The recital of events is printed in full, but the editorial comments of the writer, who exhibits a passionate hatred for Kerensky, are omitted.

ON the morning of Nov. 6, 1917, Kerensky held on the Palace Square a farewell parade of the Women's Battalion shortly proceeding to the front. It consisted of five companies, something over a thousand total strength, under the command of Captain Loskov, who had trained them. Kerensky then proceeded to the Council of the Russian Republic (the "pre-Parliament") sitting in the Mariinsky Palace, and made there a great demagogic speech which roused intense enthusiasm on delivery, but universal criticism after cool consideration, and failed to save a vote adverse to his Government. In the course of this speech he announced that he and his Government were seriously threatened by the Bolsheviki, and called upon all men to declare at once whether they were for the Russian Republic or against it. The same afternoon the Bolsheviki quietly captured Petrograd, restored traffic over the bridges which the Kerensky Government had swung open and guarded, took over everything except the actual building of the Winter Palace, and set up in the Smolny Institute, three-quarters of a mile east of the State Duma and on the Neva, a new Government of men mostly with German names passing under Russian names.

The whole operation of capturing Petrograd was done in the most admirable military manner; the troops were perfectly sober throughout, under proper discipline, and in possession of definite plain military orders which they carried out with courtesy and firmness. The land approaches to the Winter Palace were taken and strongly picketed without opposition. The cruiser Aurora and three destroyers arrived from Helsingfors, the big ship anchoring in the stream about a mile and a half below the Winter Palace, the three destroyers taking up positions opposite the palace under the fortress of Saints Peter and Paul. The naval contingent was got to Petrograd by orders, which turned out to be forged, from the "Centrofleet," (the Head Centre Committee of the United Sailors' Committees.) When the orders came to put out of harbor the men had demurred, alleging the bad weather, and it was only the strong order from their own "Centrofleet" which compelled their obedience.

The Palace Defenses

During Kerensky's tenure of the Winter Palace, where he kept up a more than royally extravagant state, the premises had been guarded by various bodies of cadets, as being the most trustworthy wearers of military uniform in Petrograd. An exceptionally strong body of cadets from several military schools had been concentrated in the Winter Palace on Tuesday, and the Women's Battalion was ordered to remain there on duty in place of starting for the front. There were also six guns and about a score of Maxims. A company of one of the "Death Battalions" was also got in at the last minute. But no arrangements had been made either for the comfort or even the victualing of a force which now exceeded two thousand. The Death Battalion men had no boots and were only partially armed; they demanded arms and equipment, and in particular clamored for food. Getting nothing they left the palace. The various Colonels commanding cadet units began withdrawing their boys for the same reasons.

Captain Loskov of the Women's Bat-

talion marched away with four companies, leaving only the 2d Company of something under two hundred in the palace. The artillerymen took their six guns from the interior courtyard of the palace out upon the Palace Square, apparently intending to return to barracks, but fell into the hands of the opposing forces without reluctance. In this way by repeated defections, due mainly to the entire neglect of any kind of preparations, the forces available for the defense of the Winter Palace fell below a thousand, two-thirds of whom were boys and a few men, Maxim-gunners, and oddments, while something under two hundred were women. The Women's Battalion must be specially mentioned. First, they were women. They had joined to defend their country from the foreign foe, and were entirely opposed to any form of participation in political quarrels.

During the "insurrection" against Kerensky's Government last July these women soldiers were specially ordered into Petrograd from their training camp in the country to help to save the Government. They had then hardly more than begun their training, and, indeed, had never yet fired a shot from their rifles. On that occasion their commanding officer successfully pleaded with Kerensky that it was unwise, from the military point of view, to attempt to utilize raw, untrained troops, even men, and these were women untrained; moreover, the women soldiers were on the eve of mutiny at being called in to take part in a political quarrel. As the women were not actually needed in July, the plea prevailed. It was not so now; the women were trained and ready for the front; they did not put forward the second plea on this occasion, but their feelings were entirely against taking any part in what was only dubiously for their country's good, and very certainly required them to shoot down their own fellow-countrymen. Presumably, the 2d Company remained to vindicate the honor of the corps, which they fully accomplished as soldiers, only to suffer afterward as women. Captain Loskov, with the other four companies, appears to have taken train for the front, for nothing is yet known of their whereabouts. The 2d Company came under the command of their honorary Colonel in Chief, who, in another capacity, was present in the palace.

Dictator's Last Refuge

Throughout Tuesday evening, night, and all Wednesday the Winter Palace building, not even including the Palace Square, was the sole territory out of All the Russias, covering one-sixth of the globe, that the Kerensky Government could command. It was defended by boys and women. But an oversight, or the sheer ignorance of the Bolsheviki, lost them, in spite of otherwise admirable military dispositions, all they seemed to have won. From the official residence of the Minister of War, not half a mile from the palace and already in the hands of the Bolsheviki, runs a direct cable to Field Headquarters, which are, again, directly connected with all parts of Russia. This cable was in charge of a couple of young officers, with a staff of four telegraphists. The operating room is in the attics, which were not searched by the captors, and there is telephonic direct communication from this room to the palace. One of the officers repaired to the palace, and for forty-eight hours the cable worked unhampered in the interests of the Kerensky Government to all ends of Russia. It was a damning oversight for the victors of Petrograd.

Within the palace Tuesday evening and night passed in a state of sheer panic. All the Ministers, including Kerensky, were there, but one who had ventured out was recognized and made prisoner while attempting to return. Eyewitnesses describe the scene as purely farcical. Every one was giving orders, and everybody else issuing counterorders. Ministers bustled about from room to room, talking at random. Even Kerensky was seen wildly asking all and sundry, "What are we to do now?" "Can you suggest anything to be done?" down to a despairing "What shall I do?" An officer newly arrived with dispatches from the front was placed in command of all the forces left in the palace. He proposed to hold the Palace Square, but was not allowed to take a single soldier, boy or girl, outside

the seeming safety of the massive palace walls. Dr. Kishkin, the "Cadet" Minister, a well-known Moscow specialist in psychiatry, and who has a private asylum for the insane there, was appropriately declared Military Governor General of Petrograd and the Petrograd Military District. Other appointments were made on the principle of dismissing holders of office who were not inside the palace, and filling these paper vacancies with the names of all kinds of people who happened to share the enforced seclusion of the Kerensky Government.

Military Bungling

Here is an example of the military orders issued during this time of panic. A Captain in charge of one of the posts served by the Cadets came to one of these sentries and asked: "How many of you are there now free?" "If all the posts are served there may be five left." "Where are they?" The Captain went to find these five, and told them he had a special charge of great trust for them. There is an underground passage from the cellars of the Winter Palace leading some couple of hundred yards away to the barracks of the premier regiment of foot guards, the Preobrajensky Regiment of ancient fame. It is closed by a stout door and strong gate, a considerable way down this gloomy passage. To this point the Cadets were led and given strict orders to let none pass on pain of death. They demurred that five boys were an inadequate guard to hold a barrier with 10,000 soldiers on the other side well provided with machine guns and able to bring cannon up if necessary. The Captain admitted the justice of this military argument, and went to find some more boys. He got together about a score, who, when told what was expected of them, demurred openly, and finally the underground passage was left undefended. Nor was it ever used by the attacking party, who, being Petrograd reservists, may possibly have known nothing of its existence.

In the early hours of Nov. 7, in the pitch darkness of the night, a motor launch quietly put in to the narrow little waterway known as the Zimnaja Kanavka, between the Winter Palace and the Hermitage. Into this swift craft Kerensky with his adjutant, disguised in the topcoats and uniform caps of the Imperial lackeys, silently lowered himself, having stolen out by a back way from the Palace precincts. It was a simple matter to put ashore after a noiseless voyage by the Neva and one of its canals at a point within easy reach of the railway station, but in all probability the escape was managed first by motor-car after the launch had cleared the danger zone in the near neighborhood of the Palace. Kerensky proceeded to Bikhov, some score of miles from Field Headquarters.

A Dramatic Escape

It was a dramatic escape. But were the "enemy" really hoodwinked, and did it really take place as told? The Bolsheviki were in no haste to seize the prey they held so securely in their toils. They took things leisurely. And Kerensky got away on this, as on the previous occasion, when the Bolsheviki last July threatened his Government with extinction. In September, when Korniloff was falsely said to be marching on Petrograd with the same hostile intentions, it was to the Bolsheviki that Kerensky had recourse for assistance.

Throughout Nov. 7 there was little hindrance to foot traffic about the Winter Palace Square and adjoining streets, save for the stretch of quay facing the palace. But at 6 o'clock on Wednesday evening orders came to stop all movement, and the pickets closed up and prepared for action. Shortly after 6 P. M. the Provisional Government received a formal summons to surrender. It had spent Wednesday in compiling a number of proclamations to the nation, which it circulated—how widely is still unknown—by means of the direct wire to Field Headquarters. Konovalov took the lead after the disappearance of Kerensky, and his signature stands below a proclamation which tells the nation, among other things, at a time when the whole Petrograd garrison had twelve hours before declared against the Provisional Government, that, "owing to the want of firmness and indecision of a part of the Petrograd garrison, not all the disposi-

tions of the Provisional Government could be carried out," &c. A number of speeches were made in the palace by various Ministers, who informed their hearers that the Bolsheviki were surrounded; that troops were momentarily expected to arrive from the front, and that even if fired upon they must hold out. No reply was sent to the first formal demand, which was followed later in the evening by a definite ultimatum. The Provisional Government requested some extension of the time named, which was granted. But about 10 at night it became evident that the Winter Palace must be taken by force.

Situation Becomes Impossible

In a military sense the situation was foolish and impossible. At point-blank range down the river were the big guns of a cruiser. Opposite the palace stood the fortress, with an unknown force of artillery assembled there, and under its walls three destroyers. The Neva opposite the Winter Palace is not 600 yards wide, a trifling range for a modern rifle, to say nothing of naval guns. The land approaches to the palace were held by an overwhelming force, and from any part of Petrograd any number of guns might have been brought to bear against so large a mark with certainty. The defense was not a score of Maxims and the rifles of a few hundred boys and girls. In such circumstances the Provisional Government decided that the boys and girls must support their valiant defiance of the ultimatum. It can only be characterized as a wicked decision. The naval guns alone could have made a heap of ruins of this magnificent palace in ten minutes if properly served. Apart from the lives of the boys and girls called upon to defend the nominal masters of some fifteen million soldiers, the Winter Palace is estimated to contain art treasures and precious objects of every kind of historic and intrinsic value, to a total amount of £50,000,000.

Owing to the royal state maintained for months past by Kerensky and company in the Imperial Palace of the Czars, and the splendid banquets given to political adherents, the treasures of the Winter Palace, unlike those of the Hermitage, had not been removed except for such smaller articles as disappeared from time to time by the hands of all and sundry who visited the modern exponent of that most vicious form of government, the "autocracy of the tongue." The Bolsheviki were merciful, or, as subsequent events made more likely, they had a just appreciation of the value of the loot contained in the Winter Palace. When all terms and extensions of time had expired, the crusier fired a salvo of blank from its big guns, the destroyer artillery followed suit, and the fortress guns filled up intervals, while from the land side began a fight between the boys and girls against thousands of soldiers and sailors with rifles, Maxims, armored cars, and some field guns. The first naval salvo was fired at about 9:30 P. M. on Wednesday. From that time till two in the morning the same program was repeated some half-dozen times, the guns of the cruiser and destroyers using nothing but blank ammunition.

Cowardly Soldiers

On the land side the fight was equally farcical, but the laugh was on the other side. The valiant soldiery who had carried out the peaceful work of seizing Petrograd with admirable military precision, firmness, and a courtesy not witnessed for eight months past, went to pieces when the bullets began to fly. The women soldiers gave a very good account of themselves, as an incident that occurred on the Millionaja Street will show. Up this street, which runs from the corner of the Winter Palace past the Hermitage, the Preobrazhensky Barracks, the Palace of the Annexe, which is technically a part of the Winter Palace, and a series of other palaces, a body of five or six hundred soldiers was spread about, firing upon the defenders of the Winter Palace. The women replied with such effect that a panic ensued, and a rush was made for the doors and gateway of the Annexe. The door is of very massive ancient construction, and it resisted the pressure of the frightened mob, whose efforts strained it so that it cannot be got open now; the gate, a great double-leaved heavy iron one barred with massive

bolts, was broken open, and into the yard poured a mob of frightened soldiery, seeking escape from the marksmanship of the Second Company of the Women's Battalion, then using their weapons for the first time in actual fighting. It was doubtless these cowards who later on forgot the Second Company were soldiers but remembered they were women. The fighting casualties of the women soldiers were one wounded in the foot with a bullet. And they accounted for over a score of the casualties of the attackers.

Provisional Government's Surrender

The din of big naval artillery, field guns, Maxims, and rifle firing continued at intervals for nearly five hours, the heavens being lit up with a rosy glow some thirty times from the big gun flashes of the cruiser. At last the minor artillery began to use shell, but the firing, whether purposely or not, was somewhat erratic. Three shells fell in the town, all more or less in line with the Winter Palace, but the gunners overshot by 600, 1,000, and 3,500 yards respectively with these three. The first two failed to explode, and caused little damage. The last wrecked two flats in the region known as the "Izmailov Streets," the regular lines of streets originally forming the cantonments of the Izmailov Guards Regiment. Two corners of the heavy plaster cornice of the Winter Palace were knocked off by shellfire, but only one shell struck squarely. It pierced the massive walls, and, without exploding, contrived utterly to wreck one of the magnificent historical pictures which adorn the vast walls of the palace.

Treatment of Women Soldiers

The Provisional Government surrendered shortly after 2 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, and were marched off in custody to the fortress. With them went some 500 of the Cadets. But the valiant women soldiers had a harder fate. The mixed mob of soldiery, sailors, armed hooligans, and others of their friends quickly flooded the whole palace.

And first of all their vengeance fell upon the fighters who, now that they had laid down their arms, were no longer dangerous to the precious lives of the armed mob; they were only women now. About a score were handled as might be expected from the cowardly crew, and many were flung over the parapet into the swift waters of the Neva. Some 140 were at last sent off under escort of so-called soldiers to the barracks of the Pavlovsk Regiment at the far end of the Millionaja Street. On the way one at least had her face smashed in by a brutal blow from a rifle butt. The Pavlovsk Guards are a famous regiment; but their name is borne in Petrograd by the usual mob in uniform, who have never seen any fighting other than that of civil tumult. These reserve formations under the grand old names are peculiar to Petrograd, and the Pavlovsk nominal Guards were the first to come out into the streets against their Czar last March. They have maintained the reputation they gained for themselves in those evil days. While in their charge as prisoners three more of the women soldiers suffered the indignities that war brings upon women too often. The rest were saved by the personal exertions of the British General Knox, who went to the headquarters of the Bolsheviki at the Smolny Institute and demanded in the name of England the immediate release of all these women prisoners.

And the priceless art and other treasures of the Winter Palace—where are they now? The soldiery and their friends spent the night, the next day, and a good deal of Friday in stripping and removing everything they thought good to take, and destroying most of the rest. Like mad, senseless barbarians in the palaces of the Caesars, they slashed criss-cross innumerable great works of art. Portraits of the Czars were treated with especial ferocity. One singular—or was it intentional?—exception to the general fury strikes the eye and wakens a train of reflection. Amid a number of portraits ripped to shreds hangs untouched that of the German Moltke! Did these barbarians know whom they spared? Or was the work of destruction carried on under direction of the German double-name Russians who are the Bolshevist leaders? Such is the fact, whatever be the explanation. Priceless

carpets, rugs, tapestries, were cut to pieces either in wantonness or to provide wrappings for more attractive loot. Down in the vaults, where hundreds of imperial table services are safely stored ready for use, priceless china, gold, silver, much of it the work of great artists long dead and gone; up in the attics where lay thousands of those artistic presentations of "bread and salt" platter and salt-box in precious metals or choice carvings; through the great rooms of state and the private chambers of the Emperors of Russia and their successors, the rulers of today, the marauders strove and fought, missing little and leaving nothing undamaged.

Vanished Art Treasures

From the Winter Palace the mob of marauding soldiery and others passed to the adjacent Hermitage, bursting open the gallery doorways. Happily, here they found less food for their lust: the Hermitage was long ago "evacuated" beyond the reach of the "democracy" of Russia. But the private quarters of the Curator were forcibly entered and pillaged. A Sister of Mercy, who accompanied the soldiers to dress their wounds, but had had no occasion for her skill with these men, who had their own opinion about what amounts to fighting when the bullets fly, saw her chance, and, putting on all the valuable furs she could find, wrapped herself around with lace, secreted other feminine fripperies about her person, and walked away home some £10,000 richer than the disappointed men who had no eye for these things. It is not only the Emperors of All the Russias who have lost their family goods; nor Russia alone that has lost no small part of the art treasures of the nation; the world itself is the poorer for the senseless, unspeakable crime of sacking the Winter Palace.

Causes of the Russian Revolution

By Frederic Masson

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[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Les Annales, Paris]

AMID the uncertainty that envelops the course of events in Russia, it appears to me singularly appropriate to recall a statement that is already old, for it dates from Feb. 20, 1917, some days before the outbreak of the revolution. This backward glance answers more than one question regarding the present situation in Russia. The statement is by a Russian, who wrote as follows:

"It is a useless and difficult task for a stranger to try to understand, when we ourselves are unable to grasp the whole course of events, and especially their causes. The roots of the evil date from the beginning of the war, but the flowering of all these horrors has been visible since the advent of Baron Stürmer to power. Adroitly brought out by the Empress and Rasputin from the oblivion in which he was vegetating, this gloomy gentleman was, without rhyme or reason, called to the Prémiership with Ministers who had held the public confidence under his predecessor, Gorymekin; men such as Sazonoff, General Polivanoff, Secretary Bark, Count Ignatieff, and Admiral Grigorovitch.

"At the outset Stürmer encouraged the Czar to appear before the Duma in order to strengthen his own position. The trick did not work. Then he began by throwing overboard the War Minister, Polivanoff, who was very popular in the Duma and Imperial Council, and who was now replaced by General Shuvaieff, head of the commissary, and an honest man. Then came Sazonoff's turn—in July, 1916. Stürmer had the audacity to take his portfolio, at the same time retaining the Premiership.

"At this point Protopopoff returned from his parliamentary tour of allied countries, where he had been warmly welcomed as a Liberal of the Left Centre

and Vice President of the Duma. Protopopoff told of the progress made by Lucius, the German Minister at Stockholm, who had sent to him the banker, Worburg of Hamburg, with propositions for a separate peace. With the aid of the Empress and Rasputin, Protopopoff was adroitly introduced into the Staff Headquarters, where he easily caught the attention of the Czar with his charm of conversation. Between times Protopopoff daily met Rasputin and, through his protection, became the right-hand man of the War Minister, replacing Klevostoff, who was finally thrown out altogether. Thus the Autumn passed.

"Here the counterintrigue began. Trepoff, Minister of Public Works, was successfully building the Archangel-Murman Railway. He desired Stürmer's place, and had the support of all the friends of France. Grand Duke Nicholas Michaelovitch was called to Mohileff by the Czar, with whom he had an intimate talk for two hours and a half. He told him everything, gave him a summary of the situation, and showed him in black and white all the harm that was being done by Rasputin, the Empress, and all the occult forces in the employ of the Germans. That was on Nov. 15, 1916.

"The disgrace of Stürmer, who was replaced by Trepoff, was the result of the Grand Duke's intervention; but the change was made without consulting the Czarina. From Tsarskoe Selo, where she was, she went post haste to the Staff Headquarters with her four daughters, and, calling Protopopoff to join her, fortified herself for action.

"The Grand Duke Nicholas had left Petrograd after his victory, which he supposed to be final, in order to rest and hunt on the shores of the Caspian Sea. He almost lost his life in a terrible railway accident. The Czar on hearing the news neither wrote nor telegraphed to him; a bad symptom, but he suspected nothing.

"The Duma reassembled after these events, and Protopopoff was hooted by the whole body after speeches by Purishkevitch and Count Vladimir Bobrinsky. Amid applause from the entire assembly Purishkevitch told the whole truth about Rasputin and his sinister and perpetual meddling in the affairs and appointments of Ministers.

"The Christmas holidays arrived, and in that period came the murder of Rasputin at Moika. It is known that the deed was done in the house of Prince Yussupoff, husband of the Czar's own niece, son of the sister of the Grand Duchess Xenia and of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch. It is known also that Purishkevitch and the Grand Duke Dimitri Pavlovitch were present at that gay and tragic supper, the full truth concerning which is still far from being known.

"Upon Rasputin's death Trepoff fell with Count Ignatieff, who had also spoken very frankly to his sovereign; the Keeper of the Seals, Makaroff, also resigned his position, not wishing to be mixed up in the Court proceedings. At that moment began the absolute reign of Protopopoff, who, before the next day arrived, had taken Rasputin's place and was employing all Rasputin's methods to make himself indispensable in the imperial palace at Tsarskoe Selo. From right-hand man he became Minister of the Interior, and he put a man of straw, Prince Galitzyn, into the place of Premier; he chose as Minister of Justice a certain Dobrovolsky, a man without character and ready for anything; one Kultchitsky replaced Count Ignatieff as Minister of Public Instruction, and so on. There followed a month in which we endured this rule of arbitrary folly, to the exasperation of all Russia. Bark, Admiral Grigorovitch, Prince Shakivoskoy, and Pokrovsky had all resigned, though it was given out that they had been ordered to rest for their health, or to travel for recreation.

"This state of things cannot last long. Such a situation *grazes the edge of a great catastrophe* not far ahead. What chagrin and shame I have to endure, along with thousands of other Russian patriots, in witnessing this lamentable spectacle of the ruin of the monarchy through the stubbornness or madness of one—woman!"

Twenty days after that letter was written the revolution broke out.

THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM

Described by W. T. Massey

The preliminary account of the taking of Jerusalem printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *can now be supplemented with details of the formal occupation of the city and the story of the campaign which preceded its fall. The whole forms one of the momentous chapters of the war. The account here presented is from the pen of W. T. Massey, the official British correspondent who accompanied General Allenby's forces.*

Jerusalem, Dec. 11, 1917.

FOUR centuries of Ottoman dominion over the Holy City of Christians and Jews and "the sanctuary" of Mohammedans has ended, and Jerusalem the Golden, the central site of sacred history, is liberated for Christians and Moslems alike from the thralldom of the Turk. War has removed the Holy City from the sphere of the Turk's blighting influence, but, though there was the sound of the bitter clash of arms around it, no British bullet or shell was directed against the walls. An epoch-making victory, which will stir the emotions of countless millions of Christians and Moslems throughout the world, has been achieved without so much as a stone being scratched or an inch of soil destroyed, and the sacred monuments and everything in Jerusalem connected with the Great Healer and His teachings are being passed on to future generations untouched by our army's hand. In none of her previous seventeen captures has the City of Jerusalem escaped absolutely unscathed, and it is to the glory of British arms that this most venerated place on earth should come through the ordeal of battle unharmed by even the disturbance of a particle of its ancient dust.

The Turks were forced to withdraw by General Allenby's strategy and the valor of his army. No British gun was sighted to within a considerable distance of the walls. The Turkish artillery fired from a position quite close to the Holy City, and the enemy guns thundered from the Mount of Olives, but of our fire the inhabitants could make out nothing more than the distant rumble of guns and bursts of musketry carried on the wings of the wind. General Allenby put the sanctity of the Holy Sites before every other consideration, and only approached the city when the pressure of his troops in the mountains west and northwest forced the enemy to yield to superior strategy.

We waited for this eventful day with patience, for we knew the day would come. Some of our warriors, English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Australians, and New Zealanders, have been looking on Jerusalem from the distant hilltops for a fortnight, their blood coursing quicker through their veins at the thought that presently they would assist at its capture. They feel keen pride in the part they took in securing this glorious victory, and they count as nothing the arduous conditions of the past six weeks and the big sacrifices they have willingly made to achieve a result of momentous import.

Entry Into the City

I write this after witnessing the official entry of General Allenby, his staff, and the military commanders of the detachments of French and Italian troops. It was a ceremony fully worthy of the cause for which we are fighting. In this hallowed spot, whence the Saviour's preaching of peace on earth and good-will toward men was spread through the world, there was no great pageantry of arms, no display of the pomp and circumstance of a victorious army. The Commander in Chief and a small staff, a guard of less than 150 all told of allied troops, a quiet ceremonial of reading the proclamation of military law and of a meeting with the notables of the city and the heads of the religious bodies, and the official entry was over. There were

no thunderous salutes to acclaim the world-stirring victory, which will have its place in the chronicles of all time.

No flags were hoisted, and there was no enemy flag to haul down. There were no soldier shouts of triumph over a defeated foe, but just a short military procession into Mount Zion, a portion of the city 200 yards from the walls, and out of it.

The ceremony was full of dignity and simplicity, though it was also full of meaning. It was a purely military act, with a minimum of military display, but its significance was not lost on the population, who saw in it the end of an old régime and the beginning of a new era of freedom and justice for all classes and creeds. No bells in the ancient belfries rang, no "Te Deums" were sung, no preacher came forth to point the moral to the multitude, but right down in the hearts of the people, who cling to Jerusalem with the deepest reverence and piety, there was unfeigned delight that the old order had given place to the new.

Story of the Surrender

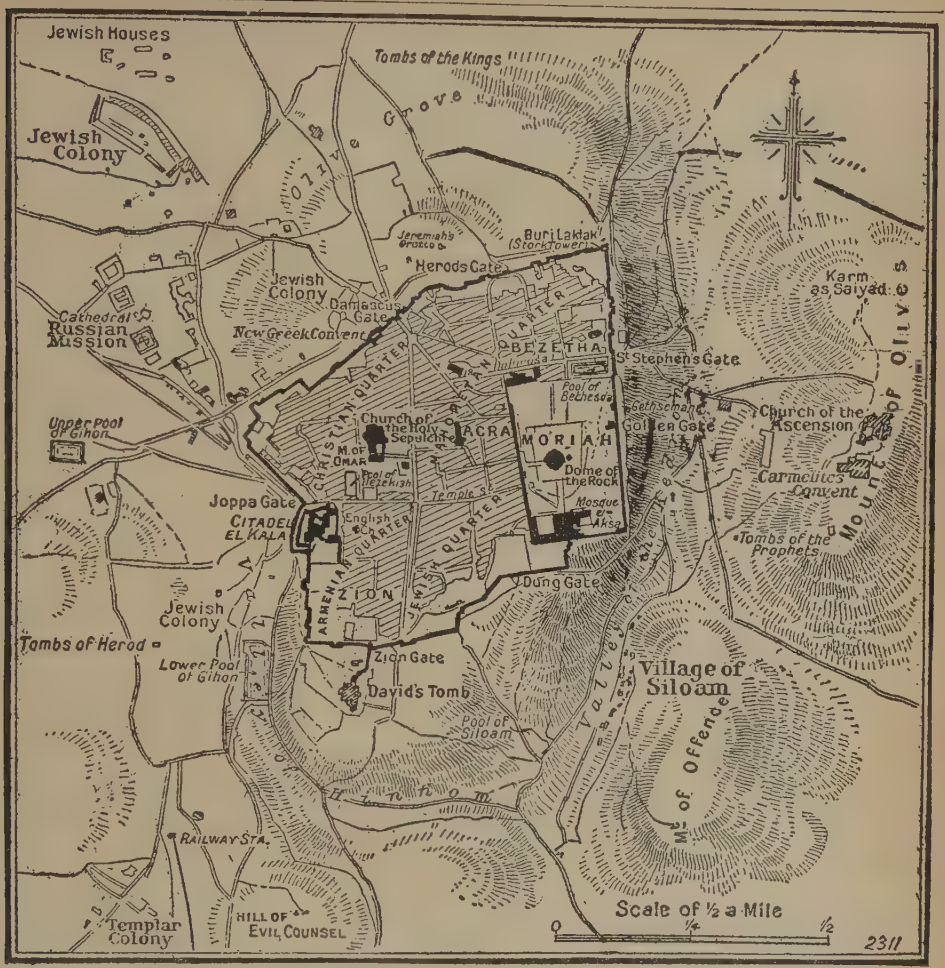
On the night of Dec. 8 our troops had made such progress against the Turkish intrenched positions that it was manifest that the enemy would soon have to retire to the north and east of the city, notwithstanding that he was moving reinforcements up the Jericho road in a desperate attempt to prevent the city falling from his possession. Our pressure was not relaxed for a moment, and early on the 9th our Generals believed that the liberation of Jerusalem was at hand. The people also thought that their deliverance was near, and prayers were offered up in almost every house that our arms would be successful. At 8 o'clock in the morning the Mayor of the city and the Chief of Police came out under a flag of truce. The Mayor, who holds his high civic position as a member of the Husseiny family, which possesses documentary proof of direct descent from Mohammed, through the Prophet's daughter, offered to surrender the city. The formal surrender was arranged at noon on the 8th.

Between the offer to surrender and the formal acceptance there was sharp fighting in the outskirts of Jerusalem, the Turks fighting more stubbornly than at any period of these operations, and meeting bayonet with bayonet. London troops were sent to the north of the city, and as they debouched from the defile they were heavily attacked by Turks lining the ridge, and a strong machine-gun fire was poured into them from the Mount of Olives. The ridge was carried by a superb bayonet charge, and by noon the Turks were pushed back so far that we occupied ground 7,000 yards north of the city walls. Welsh troops were operating from the south and east, and drove the Turks down the Jericho road.

Welcomed by the Populace

This was the military position on Dec. 9, at noon. Through the suburbs the people flocked into the highway and welcomed the Commander in Chief's representative by the time-immemorial method of clapping hands, while old women and girls threw flowers and palm leaves on the road. The ceremony of surrendering the city was very brief. The General gave the Mayor instructions for the maintenance of order, and had guards placed over the public buildings outside the Holy City, but no soldier of the King passed within the walls that day. Though the sound of guns had hardly ceased, the people were left secure and happy. The Turk was driven further northward and eastward on Dec. 10, otherwise the situation was unchanged today, when, at high noon, we had the unforgettable picture of the Commander in Chief's official entry.

It was a picturesque throng. From the outskirts of Jerusalem the Jaffa road was crowded with people, who flocked westward to greet the conquering General. Sombre-clad youths of all nationalities, Armenians and Greeks, stood side by side with Moslems, dressed in the brighter raiment of the East. The predominance of tarbush in the streets added to the brightness of the scene. It was obvious that they regarded the day as an important occasion, for they wore their best robes, and I saw many of them abandon their natural reserve and join in the vocal expression of welcome. Their



MAP OF JERUSALEM: GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERED BY THE JAFFA GATE, AND PROCEEDED THROUGH THE MOUNT ZION QUARTER TO THE CITADEL, WHERE THE PROCLAMATION WAS READ

faces, too, lighted up with pleasure at the General's approach. This relaxation of the Arab's usually stolid and immobile expression was significant. The flat-topped roofs and the balconies held many crying aloud a genuine welcome, but it was in the streets where the cosmopolitan crowd had assembled that one looked for and obtained the real feeling of all the peoples. What astonished me were the cries of "Bravo!" and "Hurrah!" uttered by men who could have hardly spoken the words before. That the welcome was not artificial or manufactured I can testify, for quite close to the Jaffa Gate I saw three old Mohammedans with tears of joy coursing down their cheeks. They clapped their hands, but their hearts were too full to utter words.

March of the Allies

General Allenby entered the town on foot. Outside the Jaffa Gate he was received by the Military Governor and a guard of honor formed by men who have done their full share in the campaign. Drawn up on the right of the gate were 110 men from the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh counties who were fighting for the right yesterday. Opposite them were fifty men afoot, representing the Australian and New Zealand horsemen, who have been engaged in the empire's work in the Sinai Desert and Pal-

estine almost since the war burst upon the world. Inside the walls were twenty French and twenty Italian troops from the detachments sent by their countries to take part in the Palestine operations. Close by the Jaffa Gate, whose iron doors are rarely opened, is the wide breach made in the old walls to permit the Kaiser's entry when he was visiting Jerusalem in 1898. This was not used for today's historic procession, General Allenby entering by the ancient gate which is known to the Arabs as "The Friend."

Inside the walls was a crowd more densely packed in the narrow streets than outside, but fully as enthusiastic. The Commander in Chief, preceded by his aides de camp, had on the right the commander of the French detachment and on his left the commander of the Italian detachment. Following were the Italian, French, and American Military Attachés and a few members of the General Staff. The guards of honor marched in the rear. The procession turned to the right into Mount Zion and halted at the El Kala Citadel. On the steps at the base of the Tower of David, which was standing when Christ was in Jerusalem, the proclamation of military law was read in four languages in the presence of the Commander in Chief and many notables of the city.

Protection for All Religions

The terms of the proclamation, which promised that every person could pursue his lawful business without interruption, and that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the great religions of mankind will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred, clearly made a deep impression on the populace. [The proclamation was printed in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, Page 92.]

While the proclamation was being read guns were booming to the east and north, and droning airplane engines in the deep blue vault overhead told of our flying corps denying passage for observers in enemy machines to witness an event which gladdened the hearts of all Jerusalem. Re-forming, the procession moved up Zion Street to the Barrack Square, where General Allenby received the notables and heads of the religious communities. The Mayor and the Mufti, the latter also a member of the Husseiny family, were presented, and likewise the Sheiks in charge of the mosques of Moar-el-Akaa, and the Moslems belonging to the Khaldieh and Alamieeh families, which trace their descents through many centuries. The Patriarchs of the Latin, Greek, Orthodox, and Armenian churches, and the Coptic Bishop had been directed to leave Jerusalem by the Turks, but their representatives present were introduced to the General, as were also the heads of the Jewish committees, the Syriac Church, the Greek Catholic Church, the Abyssinian Bishop, and the representative of the Anglican Church. The last presentation was the Spanish Consul, who has in charge the interests of almost all the countries at war and is a busy man. The presentations over, the procession returned to the Jaffa Gate, and General Allenby left Jerusalem. Thus ended a simple and impressive ceremonial, the effect of which is far-reaching.

Freed from Turkish Tyranny

I will narrate a few personal experiences within the Holy City's walls to show the deep-seated feeling of thankfulness at the end of Turkish rule. I was talking in David Street when a Jewish woman, seeing that I was English, came up and said: "We have prayed for this day. Today I shall sing 'God save the gracious King! Long live our noble King!' We have been starving, but now we are liberated and free." The woman clasped her hands across her breast as she said this and repeated "This is our day of liberation!" An elderly man in a black robe, whose pinched face told of a long period of want, caught me by the hand and said, "God has delivered us. Oh, how happy we are!" This was uttered with whole-hearted fervor. An American worker in the hospital who knows the people well assured me that there was not one person in Jerusalem who in his heart was not devoutly thank-

ful for our victory. He told me that on the day we captured Nebi Samwil three wounded Arab officers were brought to his hospital. One of them who spoke English said, "I can hip, hip, hurrah for England now." The officer was told to be careful, as there were Turkish wounded inside, but he replied that he did not care, and in his unrestrained joy he called out: "Hurrah for England!"

During the war there were executions at Jerusalem. Before the first battle of Gaza the Mufti of Gaza and his son were brought to Jerusalem. The Mufti, who advises the Cadi on matters of religious law, was hanged on a gallows erected near the Jaffa Gate, and his son was shot. The Turks made their headquarters in the Hospice of Notre Dame, and before leaving they sent away all the furniture of that French religious establishment. Less than a fortnight ago General Falkenhayn ordered that all Americans should be removed from Jerusalem, but the Turkish doctors, who had seen the good work done in the American hospital, protested that the doctors and staff should remain. Their protests succeeded, but only two days before the surrender a number of Americans were taken away.

Details of the Fighting

I propose now to give some details of the fighting which relieved Jerusalem from the Turks. Throughout it has been extremely keen. The soldierly qualities of the troops have never been put to a higher test than during this great battle for the Holy City. An army which has endured the trials of desert warfare, cheerfully maintained its indomitable spirit through the trials of heat, thirst, and sandstorms, has suddenly found itself in a mountainous region, where the nights are desperately cold. Worse than all, the luck of the weather was against us. Just as the movement for positions before the attack commenced, a pitiless rain began to fall, soaking through every officer and man, turning the one road into a quagmire, making the movement of guns next to impossible, marooning the transport, and preventing the camels securing a foothold. The poor beasts were sliding all over the place, and when once they fell it was almost impossible to get them on their feet again. It was only by the heroic efforts of the gunners that the heavy pieces were got into position at all. The guns were frequently man-handled, but, although all the artillerymen were anxious to expend their last ounce of energy, it was in many cases a physical impossibility to move the guns, and in parts of the line attacked by us the infantry carried out the advance without artillery preparation.

Truly Epic Fighting

Truly, it was epic fighting, but the spirit of our troops was as high as the goal to be reached, so they braved all trials, and, by deeds which will rank high in our military history, secured a triumph which will send resounding echoes through a world at war. The cold was so intense that soldiers who had borne the brunt of a long day's fighting could not sleep. They lay huddled, waiting for the dawn which seemed long in coming, and when the first streaks of light showed themselves in the eastern skies they cheerfully pushed forward to objectives of tremendous strength, without thinking of the cost to themselves, their only thought being for the empire's battles and what the world would think of their success.

To add to our difficulties, a deep pall of fog hung over the hilltops on which the enemy was intrenched, and no airman, however daring—and all our airmen take the greatest risks—could penetrate the mists. Observation from the air for the artillery was impossible in the early hours, but that extreme disadvantage was disregarded and the work went on without cessation. Despite mud, rain, and fog, we beat the best of the Turkish troops, formed into storming companies with steel helmets and the latest equipment that Germany could provide. We have performed what the enemy thought impossible, and our brave boys are the happiest and most cheerful troops in the wide world.

Capture of Samuel's Tomb

The country we fought over is most difficult. There is hardly a square yard of flat. It is one continual succession of hills and valleys, all thickly strewn with

boulders, with descents and ascents alike steep and forbidding to any but the most robust and gallant men. Every summit scaled is crowned by well-made trenches, with strong points crammed with machine guns and communication trenches. Ridge after ridge was held strongly, and nothing but a wonderful determination and will to victory enabled us to take them.

Since I last wrote there have been repeated attempts by the enemy to retake the top of Nebi Samwil, that crest on which Samuel was buried, and whose tomb and mosque near by have been wrecked willfully by the Turkish gunfire. The Turks attacked the London territorials here four times with their new storm companies, but all were completely repulsed with heavy losses.

At the final attack on Jerusalem, south of the Jerusalem road, the Londoners took a line splendidly. The dismounted yeomen made their attack north of the road, pivoting on Nebi Samwil. Welsh and home counties troopers had the honor, which they deserved, of taking Bethlehem, leaving no trace of the war's struggles on that holy place. There was a Turkish battery firing at them from close to the town, but no reply was made, for fear of touching one stone of the town. To these Welsh and home counties men was given the task of operating to the south and east of Jerusalem, and they played a glorious part in the great victory.

The Final Conflicts

On the night of Dec. 7 all the troops moved to their assigned positions. The Londoners were to attack a strong line of works commanding Ain Karim, which is Miriam's Well, and Deir Yesin, a place full of trenches and machine guns. One brigade was to make a frontal attack; another was to turn the enemy defenses by climbing up a spur southwest of Ain Karim village. To do this the troops had to clamber down a very steep mountainside into a deep valley, then to climb up terraced spurs to works on the top. The brigade which was intrusted with the turning movement was equipped with packs, and had to make roads as it went along. When it got to the top it found a battalion of Turks in position, and had strong fighting before winning its ground. Then the two brigades together stormed the main line of works before daylight, and by 7 o'clock their irresistible attack had given us the whole western defenses of Jerusalem.

From this position the ground rises very steeply to a sharp ridge covered with large boulders on which the Jewish colony stands. The turning brigade was unable to get right round, as it was heavily shelled by a Turkish battery south of Jerusalem in a position quite close to the Holy City. It was impossible to find positions for our field guns on this steep ground, but two howitzers were brought up with infinite labor, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the brigade making the frontal attack fixed bayonets, and all the battalions charged the ridge and carried it by a gallant rush after a strong fight, the Turks leaving many dead on the ground.

The dismounted yeomen also had difficult work to accomplish. They had to take a strong line of works in and around the village of Beit Iksa, but though the Austrian and German gunners poured in an accurate shellfire they secured their objective early, and pushed up to the line of Nebi Samwil and the village of Beit Handina, 260 prisoners being taken on the way. As soon as the Londoners had got well into the suburbs of Jerusalem the dismounted yeomen were in a position to face north, not only gaining the whole of the most-coveted ridge of Nebi Samwil, but the high ground of El Burg, and getting on the Jerusalem-Nablus road before the Londoners, who were thus materially helped by the yeomen's advance. The Welshmen had the honor of driving the Turks from the Mount of Olives. The Welsh and home counties were held up by fog and by roads blown up by the enemy, but by dint of strenuous exertions the troops operating from Bethlehem overcame the difficulties and drove the enemy down the Jericho road.

In Jerusalem we found 750 wounded Turks, without medical stores, and practically without food.

Christians and Jews Rejoice

How the British Occupation of Jerusalem Was Received in Different Circles

THE King of England sent a message of congratulations to General Allenby on his taking of Jerusalem, and in recognition thereof awarded him the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, which is the highest grade in that order; he previously had made him a Knight Commander of the Bath. The British Academy, under the Chairmanship of Lord Bryce, sent him the following telegram:

> The British Academy and large audience assembled at annual public lecture on Biblical Archaeology, Viscount Bryce presiding, offer you and valiant army, the gallant liberators of the Holy City, profound congratulations on glorious achievement, the realization of long-cherished hopes, fraught with highest possibilities for the future of humanity. We rejoice that this historic triumph will ever be associated with British prowess and with British ideals of freedom, liberty, and equal rights for races and creeds. I. GOLLANCZ, secretary.

Jewish Congratulations

Dr. Hertz, Chief Rabbi at London, addressed the following letter to King George the day Jerusalem was occupied:

> On behalf of the Jewish communities of the empire, whose ecclesiastical chief I have the honor to be, I humbly beg to congratulate your Majesty on the world-historic victories of your Majesty's army in the Holy Land. The occupation of Jerusalem, following so closely upon the epoch-making declaration of your Majesty's Government on Palestine as the national home for the Jewish people, causes the hearts of millions of my brethren throughout the world to throb with deepest gratitude to Almighty God, who alone doeth wondrous things. The House of Israel, that for 2,500 years preferred Jerusalem above its chief joy, fervently prays that everywhere the heroic efforts of your Majesty's forces may speedily be crowned with complete and lasting success.

The following reply, signed by Lord Stamfordham, the King's private secretary, was sent to the Chief Rabbi:

> I am commanded to express the King's deep appreciation of the congratulations which you have conveyed to his Majesty in your own name, and on behalf of the Jewish communities of the empire whom you represent, upon the victories of his Majesty's army operating in the Holy Land, which have culminated in the occupation of Jerusalem. The King further thanks you for the assurance that the House of Israel fervently prays for a speedy victory to the Allies and for an honorable and lasting peace.

To General Allenby the Chief Rabbi sent the following telegram:

> British Jewry, thrilled by glorious news from Palestine, sends heartfelt congratulations on historic entry into Holy City.

A special form of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the taking of Jerusalem was included by the Chief Rabbi in the Synagogue Sabbath service.

On Dec. 13 the Cardinal Vicar at Rome published a manifesto regarding the taking of Jerusalem, which announces a thanksgiving service for the following Sunday in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The manifesto said that the "strictly religious" joy and triumph which the Cardinal Vicar experienced was clouded by the fact that the liberators of the Holy Sepulchre were not all united in the Catholic faith. The Osservatore Romano, the organ of the Vatican, had the following note:

> The news of the entry into Jerusalem of British troops is welcomed with pleasure by all, and particularly by Catholics, who can only be satisfied that the Holy City is in the hands of a Christian power rather than in the hands of a non-Christian power. The feeling of satisfaction is all the more great and reasonable when one thinks of the ideas of liberty and equality which inspire the actions of Great Britain, for they give rise to the hope that in a land which was the foundation of the Christian religion the rights and interests of the Catholic Church will be recognized and respected.

The Catholic Corriere d'Italia said:

> Our great dream is at last a reality. Between the walls of Jesusalem the alliance of nations consecrates today the justice of its cause. This war, let loose by the thirst of an empire for the hegemony

of a single race, has become a war for the liberty of the world. The odious alliance of the Turks and Germans in the Holy Land has been defeated. Every Italian heart must today rejoice at the capture of the Holy City, and the political results of its conquest can be looked upon with satisfaction by the Catholic Church also, as it puts the Holy City under the dominion of England, which has always adopted a spirit of liberty and respect for the religion of her subjects. Catholics expect, therefore, at Jerusalem a régime of full liberty and respect for the historic religious traditions which rendered their rights to the holy places sacred.

French Comment

The following was the comment of leading Paris newspapers. Le Journal said:

The Entente has a pledge of undoubted value. Palestine is a trump card, of which the full value will be appreciated when the time comes. Already its occupation has two consequences. It closes Arabia to the Turks and condemns them to the immediate and absolute loss of such control as they had over the holy places of Islam. On the other hand, the road to Syria is open. Jerusalem is scarcely more than 125 miles from Damascus. Syria is one of the brightest foci of French influence, and one of the nations groaning under the yoke is already looking for deliverance. It has its eyes fixed on the tricolored flag that is floating side by side with the Union Jack.

Le Temps said:

By freeing Palestine, General Allenby has rendered a valuable service to the British Empire. The Suez Canal, the key to the sea communications between England and India, is now secure. Egypt, which, with Spanish Morocco, is one of the two points whereby German influence might make itself felt in Africa, is now far away from the frontier. The British Government, however, is pursuing no selfish aim in Palestine. The Holy City and its surroundings will be placed under an international authority, and the aspirations of the Allies will be respected. France is all the more cordial in acceding to these because she has herself an important disinterested mission to fulfill in the Levant.

German Comment

The Roman Catholic Kölnische Volkszeitung said:

The associations of the word Jerusalem are so deeply rooted that the conquest of the city gives considerable kudos to the conqueror. Especially in the case of the Anglo-Saxon world stimulation of war spirit has been attained which, owing to the lack of successes in the main war theatres, would otherwise have been difficult to effect. The interests of the Jews in the Entente countries, especially of the supporters of Zionism, in the Palestine campaign has shown itself in unambiguous form.

In view of the tremendous influence which Jewish capital possesses in warfare, Entente financiers and politicians will welcome the favorable effects of the capture of Jerusalem on these powerful Israelite circles. From the military standpoint it cannot be denied that the battles which led to the capture were well prepared and cleverly planned, but regarding the war situation in the Orient as a whole there is no reason to overestimate the event. Jerusalem can, at the most, serve as a valuable base on the line of communications, but it lies too far from the really important aims of the British to give ground for anxiety. It may with good reason be expected that on a line more to the rear, more easy to defend, the Turks will call a halt to the British advance.

A Dutch View

The Amsterdam Maasbode, (Catholic,) commenting on the capture of Jerusalem, said:

By this moral success, added to that of Bagdad, the British have entirely wiped out the stain which the Gallipoli adventure and the check to General Townshend had left on their military name. For the fall of Jerusalem means the collapse of one of the principal pillars of the Turkish Empire in Asia.

American Comment

The New York and New Jersey Synod of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at its annual meeting in New York City, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The holy city of Jerusalem, sacred alike to the Christian and to the Jew, has been wrested from Turkish dominion, after many centuries of oppression and misrule, this provincial synod thanks God for the result herein expressed, and hereby recommends to the clergy and churchmen of this province that some sensible assistance be given to the work of our church in Jerusalem.

The remainder of the resolution provided specific means for raising and sending financial assistance to the Anglican Church in Jerusalem.

German Plotting in Russia

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

The publication by the Department of State of the United States of the messages interchanged between the German Minister to Argentina and the Imperial Foreign Office exposed the active participation of the diplomatic representatives of the German Government in intrigues against the United States and other neutral nations, with which Germany was then on terms of amity. Further light on the extent of the German Foreign Office's plotting, which contemplated assassination and the blowing up of war vessels, is furnished by the confessions of a Russian Secret Service agent named Dolino, who committed suicide a short time before the revelations were made public. The manuscript containing his confessions was intrusted to Vladimir Burtzev, a distinguished Russian publicist, and its authenticity was attested by the Russian newspaper Birzheviya Vedomosti, which published it on July 19, 1917. *The authenticity of the document was further attested by a Russo-French publicist, J. W. Bienstock, when it appeared in the Mercure de France, Nos.* 464 *and* 465, *Oct.* 16 *and Nov.* 1, 1917. *Dolino had been an agent provocateur as well as an agent of counterespionage, under the former régime in Russia. Shortly after the March revolution a special board began to examine the archives of the Secret Service. When Dolino discovered that his name was about to be revealed he made his confession to Burtzev, giving him the manuscript, and then returned to his lodging and committed suicide. Dolino's confession states that the German Ambassador to Switzerland in March,* 1916, *a man named Romberg, personally intrigued with him to go to Russia and organize on a large scale revolutionary propaganda among workmen and peasants, and to foment agrarian disorders, sabotage of machinery, and pacifist movements; also, that a high German functionary, von Bismarck, suggested to Dolino that he proceed to the Black Sea to blow up the Russian cruiser Empress Maria. This he did not succeed in doing, but it is a fact that shortly after the time at which he was intended to execute this order, (he had been diverted in the meanwhile,) the cruiser Empress Maria did explode and was entirely destroyed,* 700 *men losing their lives. The explosion was caused by a fire which broke out on the ship and penetrated through the ventilating pipes into the munition magazines. The District Attorney was not allowed by the military authorities to make an investigation until twenty-four hours later; they had appointed an investigating committee, but no light was shed on the cause of the catastrophe. The translation from Dolino's confessions here presented was prepared for* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *by Abraham Yarmolinsky, an instructor in Russian at the College of the City of New York.*

SHORTLY after the March revolution a Russian Secret Service agent of the name of Dolino, before committing suicide, came to Vladimir Burtzev and handed over to him a voluminous manuscript. It contained a detailed account of Dolino's manifold activities in the *Okhrana,* [the Czar's Secret Service.] Few documents given to publicity by the "Sherlock Holmes of the Russian Revolution," who is at present its most competent chronicler, and to whom the Provisional Government had intrusted the archives of the Secret Service of the old régime, are more interesting than these confessions. The excerpt from them presented here throws valuable light on German plotting in Russia and on Russian counterespionage.

In October, 1914, at the request of one of his acquaintances, Dolino met a certain Bernstein at Milan, Italy. Dolino's narrative follows:

"Bernstein told me that he had left Russia a great many years ago, settled in Turkey and naturalized there, and that he resided in Constantinople. It was shortly before Turkey declared war on Russia. In Constantinople, he added, he had associated himself with the Committee of Young Turks, and they had charged him with the mission of entering into relations with the Russian revolutionists for the purpose of committing terroristic acts in Russia aimed at disorganizing the Russian military power. The group was to work independently, and its first act was to be the destruction of the railway bridge over the River Yenissei, Siberia. To my question what that had to do with the war he replied that this act would cripple the transportation of munitions from Japan to Russia. Bernstein proposed that I form a group to go to Russia, &c.

"I asked him for several days to consider the matter and to find the men fit

for the job. At Zurich [Dolino resided at that time in Switzerland] I telegraphed to Paris, asking Captain Edgardt, then assistant to Krasilnikov, the Chief of Russian Secret Police in Paris, to come to Switzerland. Several days later we met at Geneva. I related my conversation with Bernstein to Captain Edgardt, who said: 'If he is not a downright rascal, the matter is extremely serious. Neither I nor Krasilnikov can decide. We are going to ask for instructions from Petrograd. Meanwhile, you will drag your negotiations with Bernstein.'

"In a few days instructions came from Russia ordering me to continue my negotiations with Bernstein and putting at my disposition the gendarmes in the service of the Russian Secret Police in Paris. At that moment Bernstein was in Rome, and I went there, accompanied by Edgardt. I introduced him to Bernstein as my co-worker in organizing the group, and it was arranged that all three of us should go to Constantinople. In the meantime Turkey had declared war on Russia. Edgardt wondered how we two, being Russians, could make our way into Turkey, but Bernstein assured us that we would have no difficulties whatever. Edgardt made a telegraphic request for four secret agents and returned alone to Paris, telling Bernstein that he was going to Russia by a northern route. The rest of us went to Bucharest, but as Bernstein was unable to procure the necessary documents he went to Constantinople alone and we waited in Bucharest for the results of his trip. Naturally, all the traveling expenses were very liberally paid by Bernstein.

In the Pay of Germany

"Bernstein had been away for three days when a gentleman of the name of Ludner paid us a visit. He introduced himself as a contributor to the Lokal-Anzeiger and asked us all to come to Constantinople. But I decided to go alone, and the others remained in Bucharest till my return. Ludner handed me a passport bearing the name of Ralph, viséd by the German Embassy, in exchange for the Russian passport which Edgardt had given me, and he added that this passport would be returned to me in Bucharest by Major von Schellendorf, attaché to the German Embassy.

"I stayed in Constantinople only a few days, and there I discovered that Ludner had nothing to do with journalism and was in reality von Laffert, Secretary of the German Military Attaché in Constantinople. He handed me over 6,000 francs for initial expenses. Upon my return to Bucharest I exchanged the German passport for my Russian passport, and together with the agent Litvin returned to Russia via Ungeni.

"We came to Petrograd early in December, 1914. Litvin presented a detailed report to General Junkovsky, Director of the Department of Police and Vice Minister of the Interior. The high authorities decided to send the following dispatch to the foreign press: 'Unidentified malefactors exploded a railway bridge of a certain strategic importance. The damages are not serious. An investigation has been started.' This item appeared about the 1st of February in Le Matin of Paris and in several other papers.

Ruse to Deceive Berlin

"The plan was to give the Germans the impression that they had to do with a well-organized group on which they could depend. In the Spring of 1915, Litvin and I returned abroad, he to Paris, I to Zurich. With the telegram which had been published in the foreign newspapers in our hands, we went to see von Bismarck, the German Military Attaché in Bern. He read the item, said that he was going to telegraph to Berlin, and asked us to come again. The answer from Berlin was evidently satisfactory, for in the course of our second visit von Bismarck told us that a special commissary would come from Berlin to speak to us.

"Indeed, in March, 1915, we had a conference with the special commissary. He introduced himself as an American citizen of the name of Jacomini, but his manners and accent left no doubt in our minds that he was a German officer. To judge by the respect von Bismarck

showed him, he must have been a person of importance. Jacomini handed us a long list of mills and factories which it was necessary to destroy. Then he asked us to organize an attempt, 'even fruitless,' on the life of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonoff, whom both he and Bismarck seemed to consider Germany's worst enemy, and to try to damage the coal mines of the Donetz region.

"Jacomini, who spoke Russian fairly well, announced that he was going to make his way into Russia and direct our work in person. Litvin gave him an address, 55 Nevsky, and the first name that came to his mind, and as soon as we left Jacomini he telegraphed to the Department of Police, Petrograd, the name and address he had given to Jacomini, asking that an agent be sent there.

"In Paris I found an order to come to Russia alone. Arrived in Petrograd, I went to see the Assistant Director of the Department of Police, Vasilyev, who informed me of all he had undertaken in connection with this affair. A secret agent had been placed at the aforesaid address, and the officials at the frontier had been instructed to let Jacomini pass, but to keep close watch over him.

Plot Aided by Chance

"I left Vasilyev with the impression that he took great interest in this affair and that he would be happy to discover the nest of German espionage in Russia. But we waited for Jacomini in vain. Then we decided to telegraph to von Bismarck to find out what had happened to Jacomini. We dispatched him the following telegram in French: 'Bern, 21 Brunnadern Strasse, Bismarck. Worried absence father. Answer what do. Ralph. Answer 55 Nevsky.' We received the following dispatch: 'He is on way. Do not wait. Continue affair.'

"This rather vague telegram shed scant light on the situation, but here chance came to our assistance. Five days after the receipt of von Bismarck's dispatch an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs named Shakhovskoy, (it was afterward ascertained that he was insane,) dashed into the private office of the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Neratov, and, assaulting him with an axe, nearly killed him. We did not hesitate to take advantage of this unforseen incident. We sent the following telegram to von Bismarck: 'Contract made. Send manager to Stockholm,' and I went to Stockholm. There at the German Embassy I found that I was expected. As Jacomini could not come, some one else took his place. I was told that our work was highly appreciated, but that it was now necessary to mobilize our forces for more serious matters. These more serious matters concerned the Black Sea fleet.

Fomenting Labor Troubles

"Since in 1905 there had been a revolutionary movement in the Black Sea fleet, which had manifested itself in an armed revolt on the battleship Prince Potyomkin, and as the spirit of revolt was constantly brewing in the navy, it would be highly desirable, I was told, to organize an insurrection of sailors and to have them bring the cruisers Empress Maria and Panteley to Turkey. * * * Another plan was to form a special group, with Arkhangelsk and the Murman Railroad as its sphere of activity. Its task at Arkhangelsk would be in every possible way to hinder the regular communication between that city and England and America. At that moment the Military-Industrial Committee, a serious menace to Germany, was being organized in Russia. It was suggested that conflagrations should be started in the Port of Arkhangelsk and methods of sabotage applied to the ships. As for the Murman Railroad, it was necessary to hinder its functioning in every possible way; to destroy the tracks, to instigate strikes, &c. I left Stockholm with 30,000 francs received from the Germans. * * *

"Back in Petrograd in September, 1915, I made a detailed report to Vasilyev, who related the affair to Colonel Fyodorov, the chief of counterespionage. It was decided not to undertake anything during the next month, and I was ordered to go to Zurich and to tell the German agent that circumstances in Russia were

at present such as to necessitate patient waiting. After that we would let the Germans make us offers.

Hired to Destroy Ships

"In January, 1916, the same Bernstein came to see me at Zurich. He told me that it was now highly important for Germany to have the cartridge factory at Tula blown up. In accordance with the instructions I had received I made an evasive answer, saying that I would find out whether it was now possible to act in Russia. Matters stopped there, and the lull in our negotiations lasted till March, 1916. At that time I received an invitation to come to Bern to discuss a very important matter. Von Bismarck told me that the only advantage the Russians had in the Black Sea was the cruiser Empress Maria, and he asked me to find the means of destroying this vessel, after which, he said, our forces would be equal to those of the Russians and we would have the better of them. 'If it is impossible to sink it,' he told me, 'try to cripple it so as to render it useless for several months.' He added that the German Ambassador wanted to speak to me.

"The Ambassador began the interview with general considerations on the situation in Russia, and I soon became aware that he knew admirably well all the shades of political and revolutionary parties in Russia. Satisfied, no doubt, by my answers, he asked me if I would consent to go to Russia for the purpose of organizing on a large scale revolutionary propaganda among workmen and peasants. The program included agrarian disorders, sabotage of machinery, and pacifistic propaganda. In the course of our conversation he referred to the fact that the war had united men of diametrically opposed opinions, such as Burtzev and Prince Kropotkin, and he praised the activity of Lenine's group with enthusiasm.

"To my telegraphic request for instructions I received the following reply from the Department of Police: 'Accept two propositions, about Maria conditionally, about propaganda without conditions. Come Russia.' On parting I agreed with the German that in two months I would be at Stockholm.

Attitude of Russian Authorities

"In Russia the new chief of the section, a certain Broyetsky, informed me that the Director of Police was now unable to give his attention to this affair and that I would now act under the military authorities. Weeks passed, but I received no orders from them. The time I had set for my appearance in Stockholm was drawing nearer. I asked for a passport. They refused it to me, saying that the military authorities were opposed to granting me a passport.

"Thus my relations with the Germans were automatically broken off. Seeing that I had nothing to do in Petrograd, I asked permission to go to Odessa for my military service. I joined the colors at Odessa under my true name, and was quite unexpectedly sent to Kharkov. All the time I was under police surveillance, I knew not why. But soon I read in the papers that there was an explosion in the cartridge factory at Tula, and also on the cruiser Empress Maria. Later I learned that a fierce fire broke out in the port of Arkhangelsk. I immediately wrote to Vasilyev, who had meanwhile become Director of the Department of Police, saying that I had warned him of all these projects of the Germans. I have never received an answer."

The explosion on the Empress Maria occurred on Oct. 7, (20,) 1916, while the cruiser lay in the port of Sebastopol. The ship went down, and 700 lives were lost. It is noteworthy that the military authorities in every possible way obstructed the investigation of the catastrophe, which had been started by the District Attorney.

Plotting by Interned Germans

THE diary of Captain Carl Grasshof of the German Navy, who was in command of the German gunboat Geier when that vessel sought refuge in Hawaiian waters in November, 1914, in order to escape Japanese cruisers, came into the possession of the Navy Intelligence Service of the United States at Honolulu. It reveals the fact that Grasshof and his subordinates, while enjoying the protection and hospitality of the United States when this country was neutral, violated his obligations and assisted the German Ambassador von Bernstorff and other German vassals in plotting trouble for the United States with Japan. The Public Ledger of Philadelphia obtained access to this diary and summarized its features as follows:

First—Attempts to get sailors and officers from the Geier home to Germany, to accomplish which the subsequently dismissed Boy-Ed issued instructions to Grasshof to provide the Germans with forged passports.

Second—That A. V. Kircheisen, a quartermaster on the transpacific liner China, was a German Secret Service agent, who is referred to in German reports as "K-17." Kircheisen acted as a messenger for the Germans and carried messages from spies and agents in San Francisco to German agents in the Far East and vice versa. He frequently used the China's wireless to send messages in code and made reports in person to the German Consulates in San Francisco and Honolulu. Kircheisen is now under arrest in Denmark, charged with giving information regarding the movements of Danish merchant ships.

Third—That the Geier used her wireless for war purposes on numerous occasions, the band playing when the apparatus was in operation, in order to conceal the sounds made by the wireless sparks. Captain Grasshof has stated that the Geier caught all transpacific messages, intercepted scores of American Government dispatches, and communicated with German raiders at sea.

Fourth — Messages were deliberately wirelessed in English, the wording of them being such as to start rumors of trouble between the United States and Japan in the event they were picked up by allied craft. One such message told of a Japanese landing in Mexico, which it was stated Japan had authorized.

Fifth—Circulation of reports that the Germans in the United States were planning an invasion of Canada. The diary shows that Georg Rodiek, German Consul at Honolulu, received orders to circulate this report.

Sixth—That von Papen circulated a report that an American submarine commander had said that he would "like to do something to those Japs outside" (referring to a Japanese cruiser on patrol duty) provided he (the American commander) and the German could reach an agreement. Grasshof subsequently admitted that this statement, attributed to von Papen, was a lie.

Seventh—That after the sinking of the Lusitania plans were made to destroy or disable all German ships in American waters in the event the United States declared war. The guns of the Geier were rendered useless immediately after the sinking of the Lusitania. A message from Bernstorff to delay the destruction of the guns arrived too late.

Eighth—That Boy-Ed in a message to Grasshof ordered a story circulated that German submarines were operating in the Pacific.

Ninth—That Boy-Ed tried to transfer friendly wireless operators to Honolulu to "listen in" on transpacific wireless, in this way relieving the overworked operators of the Geier.

Here is the diary entry about an American naval officer offering to aid the Germans against the Japanese:

"Feb. 20, 1915. A letter from Boy-Ed, in which he states that Captain von Papen, Military Attaché, told him that since the interning an American submarine (at Honolulu) came alongside and its commander made the following remarks to the watch officer (of the Geier): 'I would like to do something against the Japs outside if we could come to some agreement.' After speaking with the officer on watch at the time I reported to Boy-Ed that the report was untrue."

Another message found in the diary reads:

"Please quietly and in an inconspicuous manner circulate rumor of a plan to attack Canada."

Another message signed "Rodiek" states that somebody friendly to the Germans had obtained fifty-one guns and fourteen boxes of ammunition. Another message suggested that these and other guns be dropped "with caution in the bay and covered with care."

Count Luxburg's Secret Telegrams

Sequel to "Spurlos Versenkt" Incident

SECRETARY LANSING on Dec. 20, 1917, made public thirty-eight more of the intercepted enemy telegrams of Count von Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, Argentina, thus completing the chapter begun with the revelation of the famous message in which he advised his Government that certain Argentine ships be "sunk without trace." (See CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, October, 1917.) Count Luxburg had sent that message in cipher through the supposedly neutral Swedish Legation. Its publication caused Sweden to forbid the further use of its diplomatic channels for German messages, while in Argentina it aroused so much indignation that Luxburg was dismissed as persona non grata on Sept. 13, five days after the exposure. The "spurlos versenkt" telegram was dated July 9, 1917, and the further messages since made public cover the next two months or so.

These thirty-eight telegrams show that Count Luxburg and the Berlin Foreign Office regarded President Hypolite Irigoyen of Argentina as their friend; that the Germans were counting upon him to take a firm stand for Germany and against the United States; that they were expecting him to develop a countermovement among South American nations, especially Chile and Bolivia, against the United States, and that Luxburg and the Berlin Government were finally able to settle the submarine controversy with Buenos Aires by making a secret agreement.

The telegrams were made public in Washington and in Buenos Aires practically at the same time under an agreement between our Government and that of Argentina. In making them public the Minister for Foreign Relations of Argentina sought to discredit Luxburg's intrigue, saying: "The telegrams show a "number of inaccuracies so surprising "that no epithet will fit them, as they "are at complete variance, both in sub-"stance and form, with the terms in "which the negotiations were entered "into, carried on, and brought to a con-"clusion."

The first allusion to the United States in the Luxburg telegrams is the statement in his message of July 7 that "the "pressure of North America in regard to "shipping iron, coal, and paper is great, "but not irresistible." On July 19 Luxburg said in a message: "The President "has the firm intention of setting the "Council of Ministers against North "America." On July 10 Luxburg had said: "The President, in the course of a "long interview, protested his friendship "for Germany." Luxburg sent this message to Berlin on Aug. 1:

> The President has at last made up his mind to conclude a secret agreement with Chile and Bolivia with regard to a mutual rapprochement for protection vis-à-vis North America before the conference idea is taken up. Saguier, with friendly Under Secretary of State and full powers, is on his way to * * * and Santiago.

Count von Luxburg in various telegrams appealed to his Government to send a German submarine squadron to Argentine waters, and finally, in August, he received a message from Foreign Minister von Kühlmann in Berlin, empowering Luxburg "to announce a submarine "visit should the politico-military situa-"tion allow."

There are also highly significant allusions in the dispatches to secret means of "underground" communication which Luxburg and the Berlin Foreign Office believed they possessed, although the possession of these confidential dispatches by the American Government indicates that many of the messages were falling into the hands of the American Government as fast as sent.

The secret agreement between the Argentine President and the Berlin Government, indicated by the notes made public, was to the effect that the German Government would agree to spare Argentine ships from attacks by German submarines, while President Irigoyen prom-

ised to keep Argentine ships out of the submarine blockade area.

The subject took definite form in this message to Luxburg from the German Minister of Foreign Affairs:

[Telegram.]

Berlin to Buenos Aires, about July 24, 1917; No. 149.

Proposal agreed to if formulated in the following terms: Germany allows six ships of moderate size in the blockade area while on their present journey here and back, provided they are not convoyed. Instructions are being issued accordingly. As it is not absolutely certain that information can be given in time, compensation is agreed to in case a ship is unintentionally sunk. Argentina promises that in future her ships will keep away from the blockade area, and Argentine ships are to remain unharmed if they neither carry contraband nor undertake any hostile enterprise. I authorize you to sign a protocol in accordance with this.

If the palliative [paragraph?] above referred to cannot be obtained, you should declare to the President verbally that the Imperial Government, in full appreciation of the value of the continuance of the historic friendship between the two countries, entertains a well-founded confidence that incidents productive of harm to Argentine ships will not occur again in the future.

Very secret, for your personal information: Argentine ships will be treated with forbearance, as far as they can be recognized. It is quite impossible to make an express communication to that effect to the Argentine Government, on account of other neutrals and of military considerations. The desired Toro note will be handed to the Argentine Minister.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Luxburg had continued for many weeks to advise the Foreign Office to delay giving Argentina a definite answer regarding the sinking of the Toro and other Argentine ships, thus using the dilatory tactics employed against the United States earlier in the war; but on Aug. 18 he outlined a definite basis for a secret agreement on the submarine issue:

[Telegram.]

Buenos Aires to Berlin, Aug. 18, 1917; No. 99.

Reference to your telegram No. 166. Secret. I have had a long and agitated conference with President. He is conscious that there have been errors in the past and has firm intention of adhering to neutrality, and it is asserted that all pending conflicts may be settled on loyal broad lines on a basis of mutual confidence. He recommends that an early settlement should be arrived at.

First, instead of there being a protocol, Argentine ships should, on the one hand, tacitly be spared, and, on the other, prevented from going to sea. As a matter of fact, the use of the Argentine flag has latterly been refused repeatedly; moreover, shipbuilding material is exhausted.

Secondly, as regards note of your Excellency or of the Imperial Legation, the lines of which were telegraphed to Molina at the President's wish, a large-hearted solution should be arrived at out of friendship. There should be assurance that Argentine ships will not be harmed and that freedom of movement will be allowed them, in accordance with international law. As regards Toro indemnity, there should be the same procedure as in the case of the Monte Protegido, but ship's value should only come in so far as it is not covered by insurance. The President deserves confidence.

(Signed) LUXBURG.

There are interesting references in the Luxburg telegrams to the establishment of a powerful wireless station in Argentina with the German Government "as sleeping partner" in the operating company. This was apparently just beginning in July to try to receive messages from Nauen, Germany.

The most significant of the dispatches bearing on the attempt of Luxburg to create a secret South American coalition against the United States and "to carry out Germany's South American policy" after the war is the following:

[Telegram.]

Buenos Aires to Santiago, Chile, July 19, 1917; No. 64.

With reference to your posted cipher dispatch 1,730, I congratulate you on the solution arrived at. As long as Chile is neutral, Germany will be able, after the war, to carry out her South American policy just as well, if not more easily, in opposition to an infatuated and misguided Argentina as with Argentina on her side. All sensible men here, even Zeballos, allow that Chile is obviously better governed than Argentina; moreover, the situation here is by no means incapable of solution. The President has the firm intention of setting the Council of Ministers against North America. Use the above confidentially.

(Signed) LUXBURG.

The publication of these telegrams in Buenos Aires caused anti-German rioting the following day, but the disturbances were soon quieted.

Prussianism in German Education

By Walter S. Smoot

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917, made this rather startling statement: "We have no quarrel "with the German people. We have no "feeling toward them but one of sym- "pathy and friendship." This sentiment has been the subject of much discussion, both in America and abroad, meeting with favor in some quarters, but with sharp criticism in others. "Why," say the critics, "it is the German peo- "ple who compose the Kaiser's armies, "which have shot down our brothers and "our sons; it is the German people who "man the submarines, which murder "women and babies on the seas; it is the "German people who laud the brutal "autocracy of their rulers to the skies— "shall we not, therefore, adjudge them "deserving of no mercy or forgiveness "from us and crush them in common "ruin with their masters?"

The reply given is that the German people during these four years have been held fast in the grip and spell of that "Thing without conscience or honor" —Prussianism—and that the most powerful instrument of their enslavement has been the Prussian system of education.

For fifty years, while Prussia was gathering her strength for the struggle to dominate Europe, and again, for forty years more, while the empire was preparing for its dash for world supremacy, Prussianism, in classroom and in textbook, has been and is subtly at work upon the German mind. By these channels it has inculcated loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern and to the monarchical principle; it has sought to imbue the German from earliest youth with its own vision of a national destiny of greater power on land and on sea than the Empire has ever known, and it has preached the essential infallibility of the Fatherland and the transcendant excellence of German Kultur and achievements, tending to foster German belief in the Emperor's maxim, "We are the salt of the earth." So, by August, 1914, the German people had been trained to think in the same artificial terms as the Government itself, and rose as one man against the enemies of Prussian bureaucracy; a nation had been fanaticized—discipline was secured and efficiency promoted.

Imperial Control of Education

Patriotic instruction in the schools of Prussia and Germany with a view to the promotion of military efficiency was begun with great success during the period of Prussian regeneration in the time of Napoleon, and has been regarded as of prime importance ever since the formation of the empire. Prince Bismarck expressed the attitude of the era of the first German Emperor, William I., (1857-1888,) toward patriotic instruction in the German schools, when he said:

> The mighty influence which the schools exercise in the education of the nation consists in this, that the German child, when handed over to the teacher, is like a blank sheet of paper, and all that is written upon it during the course of elementary education is written with indelible ink, and will last through life. The soul of the child is like wax. Therefore, he who directs the school directs the country's future.

The present Kaiser has been especially active in this direction; in a speech delivered on May Day, 1889, within a year of his accession to the throne, he made very clear his conception of the great first duty of the German schools:

> For a long time my attention has been engaged by the thought of making the school in its various grades useful in combating the spread of socialistic and communistic ideas. Upon the school, first of all, will fall the duty, by cherishing reverence for God and love of the Fatherland, of laying the foundation for a sound conception of political and social relations.

It has been very largely through the influence of Emperor William that the amount of time devoted to the study of the ancient languages in Germany has

been materially reduced; the extra time so gained has been ordered to be utilized for additional instruction in German, in history, and in geography, subjects which are considered by the authorities to be of the greatest educational importance. According to the Prussians, the teachers' knowledge of German is to be measured by their ability "to excite in "the hearts of our youth ardor for the "German language, German nationality, "(deutsches Volkstum,) and German "greatness of spirit, (deutsche Geistes-"grösse)"; their knowledge of history by their "ability to impart such instruc-"tion in history as will promote patriot-"ism in their young pupils, * * * to "nourish in their pupils love for the "Fatherland and for the ruling dynas-"ty"; their knowledge of geography by the stress they place "on the knowl-"edge of the Fatherland, its character, "its political divisions, its civilization on "the material side, (materielle Kultur,) "and its commercial relations with for-"eign lands."

Adoration of the Kaiser

Prussian patriotic instruction necessarily starts out with the inculcation of exaggerated conceptions of loyalty to the powerful, the magnificent, the terrible, the paternal, the kind, the loving Head of the State—the Emperor. Steadfast adherence to the House of Hohenzollern and to the monarchical principle for which it stands are carefully taught along with devotion to the great Father Nation. Exceptional ability to arouse love for the ruling dynasty in the minds of the young is a decisive qualification in the consideration of normal graduates for teachers' appointments.

The manifest efforts of the German Government to inculcate a very personal loyalty to the Kaiser begin with little tots just learning to read. The delightful mutual love between the War Lord and his subjects is affirmed thus: "The "Kaiser has many soldiers. He loves "us all. We love him, too." The long shadow cast by Prussian militarism across the minds of German children is seen in an account, written in 1914 just before the war, telling of all the younger boys of a certain school marching in straight, stiff rows by two of their own classmates, a boy and a girl, who conducted themselves as Kaiser and Kaiserin on a review of the troops!

The adoration of the present Kaiser in the German textbooks is extended almost imperceptibly to many of the great rulers of the Hohenzollern line. Frederick the Great, who did much to launch the "scrap of paper" and "military necessity" theories of Prussianism, which are finding their culmination in the present war, is spoken of as "the most powerful "example of unqualified and complete "devotion to the State," the only fault found with him being that he preferred French to German culture. It was the leadership of the German Army by the German Princes that made possible the victories of 1866 and 1870, and it is only by the German people following the leadership of their Emperor and their Princes that the mighty destiny the future has in store for the Fatherland can be attained.

Anti-Socialist Teachings Fail

The Emperor himself has regarded the schools as ideal means for strengthening his throne by the inculcation of support of the monarchical principle in the minds of his people and by combating the doctrines of socialism, which have ever cast their grim shadow across his crown. In consequence, the regulations for the lower schools of Prussia require that it must be clearly explained to the child "how the monarchical form of the State "is best adapted to protect the family, "freedom, justice, and welfare of the in-"dividual"; and in an imperial rescript of the 1st of May, 1889, the Kaiser ordered: "The school must endeavor to "create in the young the conviction that "the teachings of social democracy con-"travene not only the Divine command "and Christian morals, but are, more-"over, impracticable." In compliance with the imperial order, the official Plan of Instruction for the higher schools of Prussia provides that, in connection with the discussion of German social and economic questions, the teacher must present the subject to his pupils in such a light as "to enable them to form a clear and "calm judgment of the dangers attending

"the unjustifiable social ambitions of the "present day."

But, in spite of all that the authorities have been able to do, their efforts to combat the teachings of socialism have been effectually met by an active pro-Socialist propaganda which has brought about the glaring failure of the German schools to instill into their students those "laissez faire" beliefs which the Imperial Government has prescribed for the internal composure of the Fatherland. Rather, many of the teachers are in secret accordance with the anti-war and anti-monarchist principles of the popular party, and Socialist leaflets and pamphlets have been put in the hands of school children everywhere. The effect is seen in the surly though impotent discontent of the people all through Prussia, especially in Berlin, and in the industrial towns of Saxony. It is the custom when the Reichstag adjourns for it to give three cheers for the Emperor, but before the war the Socialist members used to leave the hall in a body before that pledge of loyalty was given, as a symbol of their opposition to the Imperial German Government in all its works and in all its ways; and in this action they were supported by their constituents, 3,000,000 in number, or about one-third of the educated-in-patriotism German electorate, who are, according to the Emperor, "fellows without a Fatherland and enemies of their "nation!"

Teachings of Pan-Germanism

The Prussian teaching perhaps most dangerous to the peace of Europe is that of the necessity for Germanic expansion to include all territories in which, by reason of the Teutonic race of their inhabitants, of their weakness, or other cause, conditions are favorable to such imperial occupation—a teaching known to us as Pan-Germanism. The reasoning and demands of the Pan-Germanists have been made known to America through the impudently frank and extreme writings of General Friedrich von Bernhardi, whose books, so Germans say, are taken far more seriously abroad than at home. To admit this contention in part is only just, but that von Bernhardi's propositions are not the mere rantings of an unbalanced chauvinist is seen in the extent to which they have found their way into the German schools.

In domestic fields, the Pan-German scheme contemplates the acquisition by Germany, or the domination by her, in whole or in great part, of the territories embraced in mediaeval times by the Holy Roman Empire. This would mean the retention of Alsace-Lorraine and Holstein; the annexation of Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Switzerland, part of the French county of Franche-Comté, and the Russian provinces on the Baltic; also the subjugation of Austria.

The plan is no sentimental nonentity; the German student calls the territories once ruled by his mediaeval ancestors *das deutsche Reich.* He listens to the statement in his textbook that "the "empire furnishes since the Treaty of "Verdun (843) for more than a thou-"sand years a unity, even if at times "only held loosely together by the Ger-"man Kaiser idea," that "its chief con-"stituent part is the [present] German "Empire," and consequently has been made to take the name and its significance very seriously. He, therefore, believes that expiation must be made, not by his own country, for such crimes as the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine and the invasion of Belgium, but by the peoples of those districts for the crime of resisting their German "brothers" marching across the border to subjugate them!

The Bagdad Railway

In foreign fields, the Pan-German aims are well known. They contemplate a straight road from Berlin to the great commercial heart of the Far East—through Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Constantinople to, and beyond, Bagdad—the preservation of that great project known as the Bagdad Railway Enterprise.

Then, too, the necessity of extending German trade and influence by settling her surplus population in colonies is emphasized at every opportunity, and The Day when German power on the seas shall be supreme has been made a

subject of inspiration and longing to the young. An elementary geography contains this significant statement:

> If now the question is asked what peoples have contributed most to the colonization of the globe, the answer is, in antiquity the Greeks, in mediaeval and modern times transitionally the Romanic, but mainly the Germanic peoples.

The textbooks for higher schools expand this statement into impassioned arguments in which all history is ransacked to furnish accounts of achievements of German geographers and explorers with a view to justifying their contention that Germany is entitled to a larger "place in the sun" than she now has. The textbook writers have left direct advocacy of military and naval conquest of these imperial domains to the Emperor and to such militarists as von Bernhardi, but, between the lines, their conviction is plain that Germany's "place in the sun" must be obtained by war on land and on sea.

Disparagement of Foreign Peoples

In preaching this gospel of expansion the German educators have been at some pains to make its fulfillment seem easy by disparaging the foreign peoples with whose rights it conflicts. The keynote to this phase of German patriotic instruction was struck by the Prussian program of 1902 for higher schools, which stated that the "history of nations outside of Germany is to be considered only as it is of importance for "German history."

A study of some of the Prussian textbooks reveals some gross errors which are startling in view of Germany's antebellum reputation as the home of exact and scientific scholarship; for instance, one historian in connection with "The "North American Civil War" maintains that the inhabitants of the North were "preponderatingly Germanic and Protestant," while those of the South were "Romanic and Catholic"! The same writer makes a statement which strikes an unpleasant chord in American hearts at the present time: "The relation of "the United States to Germany has increased in warmth since the 12,000,000 "German citizens of the United States "have become more deeply conscious of "their Germanism (Deutschtum) and of "their connection in spirit with the "United Fatherland, (Deutscher-Amer-"ikanischer National Bund.)"

Since Anglo-German hatred and suspicion became acute only within the years immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, one does not find in the textbooks many well-defined attempts to disparage England. One does find, however, the now oft-repeated charge of "British perfidy"—of England's having provoked and engineered Continental difficulties and wars for her own advantage. This is directly stated by one writer in a discussion of the Franco-German and Russo-Turkish wars: "England derived again, as she has for "two centuries, great advantage from "the wars of Continental powers." The British conquest of India is sharply criticised: "The English domain of in-"fluence was uninterruptedly extended "in further India, for the most part at-"tended by the exercise of extreme crafti-"ness and cruelty." English hostility toward Germany is alluded to thus: "The increase of the German Navy, con-"stant and with complete self-conscious-"ness of its purpose, is followed by the "English with unfriendly eyes, and there "are, despite all mutual efforts for a "better understanding, very influential "circles in England which hold that an "enfeeblement of Germany is necessary "to secure Great Britain's position as a "world power."

The German writers have not minced words in their preservation of the ancient feeling of enmity between Germany and France. The "decadent French" is a German cry much older than "the perfidious British." They are called in a questionable spirit of peace and good-will "the hated French," (verhassten Franzosen,) and the story of their defeats is minutely told and openly rejoiced at. In short, France is the hereditary foe of Germany, (Erbfeind;) the feeling of Germany toward the great Gallic nation gleams out in a passage which has passed through countless reprintings and has been handed down through generations from the days when Prussia lay prostrate

under the yoke of Napoleon: "We'll red-
"den the iron with blood, with hangman's
"blood, with Frenchman's blood. Oh!
"sweet day of revenge! That sounds
"good to all Germans; that is the great
"cause!"

German Race Egotism

The saddest and one of the most dangerous aspects of Prussian education is the national egotism, the exaggerated race consciousness, it has produced in the mind of the German Nation. A German historian, Lauer, asserts complacently that Germans have never been defeated except when fighting against other Germans. Other writers pass in review before their youthful readers the contributions of great Germans like Helmholtz, Röntgen, Nietzsche, Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, and Kant to the scientific and intellectual thought of the world, and, overcome by their own vision of the greatness of the German race, burst into paeans of national self-glorification, ending in such refrains as "the Germans are "*the* civilized people of Europe, and all "real civilization elsewhere * * * is "due to German blood." Is Emperor William, then, so very much out of sympathy with his people when, amid much florid rhetoric, he exclaims, "We are the salt of the earth"?

Even more significant is the attitude of educators toward the nineteenth century wars between Germany and the neighboring States. There is the story of the partitions of Poland, to the foreign historian planned and carried out by Frederick the Great from a greedy and unwarranted desire to extend the boundaries of Prussia, but to the German warranted by the anarchy then existing in Poland and by the proposition that otherwise Russia would have seized all the spoil and with Slav barbarism shut out German civilization there. There is the story of the war between Austria and Prussia of 1866, to the foreign historian planned by the latter for the express purpose of expelling the dominance of the former from German affairs and substituting her own therefor, but to the Prussian caused by Austria's desire to recover Silesia and her jealousy of possible Prussian annexations on the North Sea. There is the story of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, to the foreign historian deliberately and confessedly plotted by Bismarck for the purpose of completing the unification of Germany, but to the German it was provoked instead by the long-maturing Machiavellian intrigues of Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French!

Not Responsible for This War

In this teaching of "Germany ever innocent and victorious" is found the key of the fatal attitude of the German people toward the present war, in refusing to believe that the great European struggle has been, on Germany's part, from the beginning a war of conquest launched by the Kaiser and the German military caste in their own time and for their own purposes of conquest and selfish power. Every enemy nation has had to bear the guilt and ruin of war, while the Fatherland has always emerged with the glory and indemnity of vindicated innocence; all these wars of past years are proved to be on the part of Germany wars of defense—all wars which the Fatherland has ever undertaken against a foreigner have been wars of defense. How, then, can the present be anything but such a defensive war, despite all that the smooth-tongued enemies of the Fatherland may say of the course of events leading to it? A little German girl, trained in these hypocritical tenets of the Prussian teachers, writing to a friend in America in 1915, thus expresses for us the conclusion of the whole matter: "We have waged no "wars of conquest. If we had done so "Holstein, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, and "the Russian provinces on the Baltic "would not have been torn from the "empire."

It is this teaching which has set the German mind off from the rest of the world, incomprehensible to foreigners and uncomprehending the viewpoint of its foes. The extent to which the subtle influence exerted by Prussianism in the classroom has fanaticized his mind is unknown to the German himself, for, like men of other nations, he unconsciously adopts many views formed dur-

ing his impressionable years at school as the ripe and reasoned reflections of manhood, and regards as axiomatic premises which his opponents will not admit. Thus, to him, the interests of his Fatherland are the paramount consideration, and all the world shall not say nay to any possible measures he may take to promote them. Just as his devotion to his country, always right, and to his Emperor impel him to the highest deeds of heroism, so does he expect from his country and his Emperor a policy of rigorous severity toward the common enemy, and carries out relentlessly the orders they give him in pursuance of such a policy. *The Fatherland, engaged in spreading the "great white light" of German* Kultur *by the march of its victorious armies, can do no wrong!* Very remarkable is this serene faith of the German people in the essential spotlessness and righteousness of the cause of their Fatherland inspired by the Prussian system of education; and very dangerous it is, too!

Prussian Education in America

While we are voicing our indignation over the shameless exploitation of German children by the bureaucracy, let us awake to the fact that this same system of education is stretching out its tentacles to our own shores to infect *our* children with the deadly virus of pro-Germanism. If Bismarck's maxim is true—that all that is written on the child's mind during the course of his elementary education is written with indelible ink—all the more reason why we should carefully guard from the hideous rumors and falsehoods which are daily being manufactured and spread abroad by Germany through her emissaries in the United States minds incapable of realizing the advantages of the American system of government and ready to assimilate teachings hostile to democracy.

Yet there are teachers in the public schools all over the country who do not support the war or believe in Liberty Bonds, and who indulge in the German brand of "free speech" and call General Joffre "one of the greatest murderers of his generation." That Germany realized the service which teachers in foreign countries would be able to render to her in time of hostilities is seen in the fact that prior to the war she established societies all over the world for the training of instructors in the German language and literature; so dangerous are the political tenets of these graduates of the schools of autocracy that the teacher of German has been called "a full-armed crusader for autocracy against democracy."

Results of Prussian Education

Such are the teachings of Prussianism which the German system of education has preached to the sixty-five millions under the imperial eagles and to this world. They have been inspired through the centuries by the Hohenzollerns and by the ruling military caste under which Prussia, the "State of soldiers and officials," has taught Germany the omnipotence of blood and iron. In that teaching Prussia caught and has held Germany in an iron grip, just as Bismarck in 1870 meant she should do. Thus Prussia has managed to attain her ends with remarkable precision, and she has attained them because she has scientifically adjusted means to ends; has trained and carefully chosen the officials to whom she has intrusted the direction of her affairs; has hammered into her sons, in school and out of school, that discipline which makes them move forward in masses for a definite purpose; and, above all, has taught blind, implicit, unquestioning obedience to the State. These traditions, whoever may be their spokesman—William II., von Hindenburg, or von Hertling—are now a state of mind on the part of the German people and have stiffened the German State.

We are fighting, therefore, not to crush the German people, but to break the spell in which they are held by "this intolerable Thing to which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, a Thing without conscience or honor of covenanted peace."

Germany's Purpose in Belgium

Governor General von Bissing's Remarkable Memorandum and Its Bearing on All Peace Negotiations

MR. ASQUITH, in the course of a debate in the British House of Commons, July 26, 1917, asked: "Is "Germany prepared not only to "evacuate Belgium, not only to make full "reparation for the colossal mischief "and damage which have accompanied "her devastating occupation of the coun- "try and her practical enslavement of "large portions of the population, * * * "but to restore to Belgium not the "pretense of liberty, but complete and "unfettered and absolute independence? "I should like to know the German "Chancellor's answer to that question, "not the answer of the Reichstag. I "ask the Chancellor that, I ask him now "as far as I may. It is a very simple "question." The Chancellor did not reply, nor has there thus far been any official answer by the Imperial Government to this most fundamental of all the peace questions. Its attitude, however, is indicated by the semi-official Lokal-Anzeiger's retort: "Asquith is "sufficiently worldly wise to under- "stand that with the exception of a few "fantastic people nobody in our country "intends to deliver Belgium up to Eng- "land and France again."

This question of what shall be done with Belgium is one of the chief causes of friction between the Liberal and Conservative elements in the Reichstag. The Pan-German militarists demand annexation, while the minority Socialists, led by Haase, are bitterly against prolonging the war for this or any other phase of conquest. It is significant that Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in his statement of the Central Powers' peace terms on Christmas Day at Brest-Litovsk, while making no specific mention of Belgium, declared that "it is not the intention of the (Teutonic) allies to deprive of political independence those nations which lost it during the war." The purpose of Germany, however, to retain some kind of control over Belgium is indicated by its policy of administration in that country.

In accordance with a recommendation made by the late Governor General von Bissing, the splitting of Belgium into two districts, separating the Flemish and Walloon elements, has long been an important part of the invader's policy. An imperial order issued on June 14, 1917, appointed Herr Schaibele, a Baden official, as administrative chief of the Flemish part of Belgium, with a residence at Brussels, while Herr Haniel, a Prussian official, was appointed to rule over the Walloon district with a residence at Namur. Since then the larger Belgian cities have not ceased to protest against this German policy of separation. The City Council of Brussels in November, 1917, voted a resolution protesting in the name of the Belgian Constitution and laws against the German decrees of April 9 and Oct. 6 relative to the Flemish and Walloon régimes, by means of which the nation was to be irremediably divided. The document concludes with these words:

> The Common Council protests, finally, in the name of the future of the nation. It is determined that at no time and in no country shall there be any doubt about the real sentiments and will of the Belgian people. The Belgian Nation desires to be the master of its own destinies. It refuses its adhesion to all measures which the occupying forces have adopted without consulting it. It is resolved that this determination shall appear unaltered, firm, indubitable, on the day when peace negotiations begin, and when, in the language of eminent statesmen, the reign of law shall be substituted definitively for the transient reign of force.

When Baron von Bissing, for two years Governor General of Belgium, died in April, 1917, he left among his papers an extraordinary "political testament" embodying his deliberate conclusions regarding the policy which Germany

should follow in Belgium after the war. This significant memorandum was published in the Hamburger Nachrichten and the Deutsche Tageszeitung, and extracts from it were given in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for August, 1917, but the full text in English was not obtainable until near the end of the year. It is now reproduced in these pages as one of the important historic documents of the war.

Baron von Bissing's frank and insistent demand for the annexation of Belgium is the fullest official statement thus far on record of the Junker-Pan German attitude on the whole subject. The conflict in Germany between the von Bissing view and the Socialist no-annexation view has a direct bearing on every attempt of the Central Powers to state their peace terms. Thus the very crux of the war issue as it existed at the beginning of 1918 is found between Mr. Asquith's question, just quoted, and the document of Baron von Bissing, which apears below.

Text of General von Bissing's Memorandum

Following is the full text of the memorandum prepared by General Moritz F. von Bissing, Governor General of conquered Belgium, 1915-17, insisting that the Imperial Government should make no peace terms that do not include the permanent sacrifice of Belgian liberty to German ambition:

It is a curious fact that in enemy countries, in France and England particularly, the men at the helm express themselves quite freely regarding their war aims, in spite of the reverses suffered on the various fronts. As at the outbreak of this world war, which is constantly extending its scope, so today the parceling out or annihilation of Germany is demanded; and this although German armies have made victory a matter of habit, as it were, and are in firm possession of huge expanses of the enemy country.

Without paying the slightest heed to the military situation, or hesitating at the sacrifice of treasure and men to which the powers allied against us vainly committed themselves, the anti-German press is without exception blinded by a strange kind of self-hypnotism. The extravagance of the war aims of our opponents, who set as little value on our own successes as on those already won by our allies, obviously makes it impossible to dream of a peace in the near future which shall be both honorable and acceptable to Germany.

In defense of her independence, and to assure her future, Germany must continue the struggle till the moment when she will be in a position to compel peace, sword in hand—a peace that will secure her ends and, if possible, be a lasting one. Only then will it be fitting to particularize our peace terms; of this many Germans, the Imperial Chancellor (von Bethmann Hollweg) among them, are convinced, though our enemies hold the opposite view.

A Policy of Silence

Ordinary prudence leads us to avoid dividing opinion at home in regard to these serious problems, namely: What guarantees must we exact from both the Eastern and the Western Powers? How shall we best protect ourselves, politically and in a military sense? How shall we get what is demanded by the exigencies of our economic conditions? Even if our enemies—because they try to raise illusory hopes and to deceive us as to their waning strength and confidence—were to interpret as weakness our silence with regard to our war aims, yet, out of respect for neutrals whom the Entente endeavors at one time to influence and at another threatens, we must persist in this silence till we are in a position to speak categorically, (bis wir so wirkungsvoll wie moeglich auftreten koennen.)

The statements made by the Chancellor in reply to questions raised by the Social Democrats should also have quieted those people who demand that our war aims be made public, so that the German

people may know why it must go on fighting and subject itself to fresh sacrifices. But I doubt whether it will ever be possible to bring conviction to circles which desire an immediate peace, either because they cherish the illusory idea that reconciliation is a matter of practical politics, or because they are impatient for a peace which, as premature, could only be a transitory one. In these circles, composed wholly of Social Democrats, the determination of our people to carry through the task to which they have set their hand is overlooked, while the strength of England's resistance is exaggerated. These folk, therefore, believe that England will never decide to make peace until we have evacuated Belgium and restored it to its pre-war condition—Belgium, almost the whole of which we have managed to conquer after fierce fighting and countless sacrifices.

Must Not Give Belgium Up

I will not enter into the disputed question whether England is invincible, and whether she possesses so much strength that, notwithstanding the threatening of the English world-empire, and notwithstanding the ever-multiplying signs that England's vital nerve has been struck in the West and in the East, she can still stake everything in order to tear Belgium from us, in order to force us to restore Belgium to Anglo-French influence, and in order also to achieve the recovery by Belgium of her original frontiers, which in future will not be on the Channel, but be pushed forward to the eastern frontier of Belgium. I intend only to expand the views which I have already expressed, and to speak of the "dira necessitas," or rather the sacred duty, that we should retain Belgium for our influence and sphere of power, and in the interests of Germany's security that we should not give Belgium up.

My confident hope needs, indeed, still to be realized—that the final military decision shall constitute victory for us. But we must already be quite clear about the fact that a restored Belgium, whether declared a neutral country or not, will not only be forced over naturally into the camp of our enemies, but will be actually drawn over by them. Even if one liked to cling to illusions about reconciliation, and even if one were able to create guarantees by treaties ever so good, Belgium will in every respect be developed and employed as a concentration area and outpost position for our enemies.

Preparing for Another War

I shall now indicate the strategic importance of Belgium for a future war. In order to be able to conduct the present war offensively at all, the German Supreme Command was forced to march through Belgium, and in this process the right wing of the German Army had to push itself laboriously along the edge of the Dutch province of Limburg. Strategically, the objective of the present war, as regards the Western theatre, should consist in our obtaining elbow room, in order that in any new war whatever we should be able to operate with our army against France and England. If the result of the present war were the continued existence of an independent Belgian State, the operations would have to be conducted differently and under greater difficulties than at the beginning of the present war; for the aim of France and England will be, in conjunction with an allied or strongly influenced Belgium, to anticipate the German Army. It will, therefore, rightly be asked whether in such circumstances it can be possible to guarantee the freedom of operations of the German right wing, and whether the advance of these groups of armies to conduct a new war offensively is possible.

But the present war has also shown that the possession of the German industrial areas is a vital question for our ability to hold out and for an energetic conduct of the war; they cannot possibly be protected unless we hold and defend an area in advance of the Rhine. In this respect the present German frontier is not enough. A Belgium fortified by the military strength of England and France is a definite menace to our industrial districts, whose factories are so important for the provision of our army. If England continues to dominate Belgium in times of peace, she will not shrink from

the attempt to force Holland—just as she has now forced Greece—to abandon her neutrality, or to make herself serviceable for the military operations of England. It is, therefore, requisite to secure for all time, by far advanced defensive lines, the auxiliary resources indispensable for our conduct of war, and so to guarantee the freedom of operation of our right wing, and to widen in desirable fashion the area of our concentration and advance.

Using Belgian Coal Mines

Before leaving the sphere of military strategy, I must also refer to the fact that the Belgian industrial districts are of great value, not only in peace, but also in the event of war. A neutral Belgium, or a Belgium made subject to Anglo-French influence, with her munition factories, her metal industry and her coal, strengthens the fighting force and power of resistance of the country in the same way as our industrial districts do for us. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to prevent Belgian industry from serving the armament policy of our enemies.

The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry, by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through lack of this addition to their fighting strength.

When one considers the importance of Belgium as the theatre of our armies' advance, and as territory which favors our further operations, both offensively and defensively, there can be no further doubt that a frontier which is quite falsely described as the line of the Meuse, and is to be protected by the fortresses of Liége and Namur, is inadequate. No, our frontier—in the interest also of our sea power—must be pushed forward to the sea.

The immediate importance of the Belgian industrial districts for our conduct of war by no means exhausts the subject. The war of weapons will in future be accompanied by a harder economic war than is the case today. Without coal what would have become of our policy of industrial exchange, not only with Holland, but also with far distant northern countries. *The annual Belgian production of* 23,000,000 *tons of coal has given us a monopoly on the Continent, which has helped to maintain our vitality.* In addition to these factors, which are of importance in a new war, the protection of our economic interests in Belgium, even in time of peace, is of inestimable importance.

A Neutral Belgium Impossible

A Belgium whose independence is restored will never be neutral, but will submit to the protection of France and England. If we do not hold Belgium, administer Belgium in future for our interests, and protect Belgium by force of arms, our trade and industry will lose the position that they have won in Belgium, and perhaps will never recover them. The threat to German interests at Antwerp is obvious, and the result will be inevitable the moment Germany gives up Belgium. There can be no doubt that this country will enter into close economic union with England and France as soon as it feels itself independent once more. The Belgian Government and the politicians who have fled to London are working quite openly for this object. We shall of course never desire to kill Belgian industry, but by the imposition of special laws we must bring it under the same conditions of production as German industry. We can incorporate Belgian industry in our industrial organizations, and so, in our own interest, make it a lever for the fixing of prices in the world market. If we lost Antwerp we should lose not only the port and our influence over railway rates, &c., but above all we should lose the powerful influence which Antwerp possesses as a trade and money centre, especially in South America. All these forces would naturally turn against us as soon as they were released.

History has already shown how little trust could be placed in a neutral Belgium before the war and at the beginning of the war, and if, as one must, one appreciates the value of such historic truths, we can never allow ourselves to be induced to let Belgium, at the conclusion of peace, revive as a neutral country.

Must Be Under German Heel

Just as was the case before the war, a neutral Belgium, or an independent Belgium based upon treaties of a different kind, will succumb to the disastrous influence of England and France, and to the effort of America to exploit Belgian resources. *Against all this our only weapon is the policy of power, and this policy must see to it that the Belgian population, now still hostile to us, shall adapt itself and subordinate itself, if only gradually, to the German domination.*

It is also necessary that, by a peace which will secure the linking up of Belgium with Germany, we shall be able to give the necessary protection to the Germans who have settled in the country. This protection will be of quite special importance to us for the future battle of the world markets. In the same way, it is only by complete domination of Belgium that we can utilize for German interests the capital created by Belgian savings and the Belgian companies which already exist in large numbers in the countries of our enemies. We must keep under our control the considerable Belgian accumulations of capital in Turkey, the Balkans, and China.

Among the German interests in Belgium is also the Flemish movement, which has already made good progress; it would be struck an incurable blow if we do not extend our policy of power over Belgium. We have among the Flemings many open and very many still undeclared friends, who are ready to join the great circle of German world interests. That will also be very important for the future policy of Holland. *But as soon as we remove our protecting hand the Flemish movement will be branded by the Walloons and Frenchlings as pro-German, and will be completely suppressed.* The Flemish question is not yet settled, and I do not entertain any rash hopes of seeing the Flemings lighten our task of governing Belgium. We must do everything without delay to repress boundless hopes on the part of the Flemings. Some of them dream of an independent State of Flanders, with a King to govern it, and of complete separation.

It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism.

Ruthless Policy the Best

Belgium must be seized and held, as it now is, and as it must be in future. It is only by the most simple possible solution of the Belgian problem that we shall satisfy an important condition of our future position in the world. If we abandon part of Belgium, or if we make a part of it, such as the territory of Flanders, into an independent Flemish state, we shall not only be creating considerable difficulties for ourselves, but we shall be depriving ourselves of the considerable advantages and aids which can be afforded us only by Belgium as a whole under German administration.

If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Antwerp from the Belgian trades area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland.

Thus, at the conclusion of peace, we shall find opportunity, after a century, to repair the mistakes of the Vienna Congress. In 1871, by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia even at the time of the Vienna Congress wanted to claim for herself, we repaired the first of those mistakes. It is our business now to put aside hesitation and ideas of reconciliation, and not to fall into new mistakes. Gneisenau said:

> We must demand the cession of all territories and fortresses whose rivers flow into the Rhine, the Moselle, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Lys. The line Calais-Bâle is the only frontier against France which guarantees us security against a disturbed, warlike and capable people.

Blücher complained after the conclusion of peace in 1815:

> This peace is a miserable patchwork, thanks to which Prussia and Germany stand betrayed before the whole world.

The poet Ernst Moritz Arndt demanded the natural frontiers from Dunkirk to Bâle. Among German claims he counted Flanders, Calais, Bruges, Ghent, Brabant, Brussels, Louvain, Ant-

werp and the Meuse district. The lessons of a century and the events of the present war have proved how right was the judgment of Gneisenau and Blücher.

Now we have a unique opportunity at the coming conclusion of peace to make good our losses, and we must do it because, in consequence of our own great development, Belgium has become still more important for us than ever. If we do not show ruthlessness and firmness, in order to wring the necessary respect for us from England, if we give way, if we withdraw to the Meuse line or make any agreement about Antwerp, we shall be exposed to the world as weaklings, diminish our great successes in the Balkans, and injure our prestige in Turkey and throughout Islam, in spite of our admirable successes in arms.

Checkmating England

It is only by remaining in Belgium that we shall force the English to recognize our equality with them. England must not remain master of the Belgian coast. She must be prevented from controlling an area which can be used as the starting point of a new and overwhelming Anglo-French offensive. Here lies the guarantee for the only proper relationship with England, and so for a lasting peace. The same thing applies to France, whose policy of expansion, pursued since the times of Louis XIV., we have now definitely defeated. As soon as we go out of Belgium, I am convinced that not only will English and French influence be preponderant, but the military union of English and French troops will take place. That means in a coming war that more than 1,000,000 soldiers will stand ready on our present frontier or on the Meuse line for defense or for attack.

We must keep Belgium, as France formerly tried to keep it against England. The importance of Belgium for Germany as regards Machtpolitik has been proved for 800 years. As long as Germany was powerful, she had Belgium mainly under her influence. For a stronger Germany Belgium is again a vital question, because Belgium as a free country constitutes, together with Holland, the English gate of invasion on the Continent. We must not in a new war again have to reckon with the English holding their troops in readiness for Ostend and Antwerp, to support the Belgian Army.

I will only allude briefly to the grave crises in domestic politics which surrender of Belgium must produce in Germany. The majority of the people would not understand our abandonment of fruits that had long been in our hand—the result of our tremendous, bloody victory. The war will deprive us of at least 1,000,000 men in the prime of life, and rob our industry of a great part of our best workmen. The people have a right to see their hopes realized, and so there would be deep dissension if they were disappointed.

Moreover, our diplomatic failures in the last twenty years have already had a very bad effect among the people, and the fear finds ever louder expression that diplomacy will spoil what the sword has won. This time, after such enormous sacrifices, we cannot take the risk of such charges again being spread abroad. We must achieve the war aim which seems to every plain man to be absolutely necessary. In Belgium we really have to do not merely with the smallest claims that can be justified militarily, but with questions that are vital for the future of the German people and the German Empire.

"Conquest Forced Upon Us"

Anybody who, as I do, advocates with complete conviction and energy the retention of Belgium is also obliged to be quite clear about the difficulties and objections which may have to be overcome in order thoroughly to justify this energetic demand. I shall not discuss the views of those who dream that the German Government is bound by the declaration made at the beginning of the war that Germany will conduct the war not for conquests, but only for the protection of the Fatherland.

The conquest of Belgium has simply been forced upon us, and consideration of future possibilities has led to the logical conclusion that we absolutely must

demand the protection of Germany by the extension of the German frontiers in the west. The objection that we must keep Germany an unadulterated national State, and that it would constitute a weakening of the national unity of Germany if we were to take into Germany so and so many millions of inhabitants of a country with a different language—such objections seem to me mere phrases.

Germany can remain German and retain its German feeling, if we draw into our sphere of power a country which has been penetrated through and through by Germanic tribes—for even the Walloons have been made French only by time—and if with clear and sure appreciation of the facts we see to it that German intellect and German energy become domiciled where French influence has hitherto provided for the Gallicization of the country.

Germany's tasks are, of course, great and difficult, if Belgium submits and is incorporated. But Germany is strong enough, and it is to be hoped that, especially after this war, she will have plenty of efficient men to *do in Belgium, in a German sense, what unfortunately was not done in Alsace and Lorraine.* Surely we shall have learned from the mistakes that were made, and *we shall never again have recourse to the vacillating policy of conciliation which was so disadvantageous not only in Alsace-Lorraine, but also in Poland.*

Of course, no people which has been appointed to play a creative part in the history of the world will find doves dropping already roasted into its mouth. A people which, during the war, has achieved such brilliant things in the trenches, in the army command, and in all branches of economic life, will have forces enough at its disposal to solve the difficult, but assuredly not insuperable, problems of peace.

Making the Church a Tool

Church questions in Belgium have often been described as extremely serious. I admit that precisely the Germanic provinces of Belgium, which once defended their Protestantism so heroically, are today far more convinced adherents of the Catholic Church than are the easily moved Walloons; any German statesman who is appointed to control the German administration in Belgium must realize that Catholicism is, and will remain, a strong and living force in Belgium, and that among the most important requirements for successful German work is an intelligent regard for the Catholic Church and its disciples.

The problem of our influence upon the schools can be solved in agreement with the clergy, if obligatory religious teaching is introduced in the same way as the general obligation to attend school; there are a number of points of contact and agreement between the future German administration and the Catholic clergy, which must learn more and more to understand that the Catholic Church enjoys, and can enjoy, under the power of Germany, protection quite different from that which it will have if Belgium, under French influence, turns toward a completely radical philosophy. One knows that Belgian socialism is strongly influenced by French socialism, and Vandervelde has often proclaimed the revolution as the completion of the religion of freedom and equality. It is known that Social Democracy has become a strong factor for the Gallicization of Belgium. The clergy, however, will have to associate itself with the social reforms which must be taken in hand immediately after the conclusion of peace, and in this the clergy will have to go hand in hand with the German administration.

"The Right of Conquest"

The question of the form in which the linking up of Belgium with Germany must be accomplished causes much racking of brains in diplomatic circles, and in the studies of the constitutional lawyers, and the question, "With whom shall we conclude peace in order to make the right of conquest into a constitutional right?" has often been asked, and is certainly not easy to answer. Hitherto, it is true, the Royal Government of Belgium and the King himself have adhered to the undertakings of the Quadruple Entente not to enter into peace negotiations and not to conclude peace except

jointly. But this reserve, which may soon be abandoned, does not open up any prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium.

It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussions about the form of the annexation, and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A King will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so, his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests.

Matter of Killing a King

On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that *he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.*

These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us.

For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship. It is the only form of administration, based as it is upon military resources, which can be chosen, in order to gain time for the gradual and methodical building up of the most appropriate possible administration.

One must beware of wanting to determine—perhaps in a peace concluded in 1916—what can only be ripe for decision after decades have passed. If we bind ourselves too soon, it will be difficult to take measures to counteract those binding decisions. We must preserve patience and method in our procedure. Thence will proceed, in addition to the factors of tranquilization and ever-increasing order in the machinery of administration, the linguistic, ecclesiastical, economic, judicial, and military regulations, which, indeed, will make necessary the amendment of a number of Belgian laws.

The completion of the annexation will be regarded by many Flemings, and by a great part of the Walloons, as a release from uncertainty and from vain hopes. Both races will be able to return to the life that will be rendered possible by renewed opportunity for trade and pleasure. During such a period of transition the Flemings will allow themselves to be led back from French tyranny to their free, although not easily controlled, Low German way of living. The Walloons can, and must, decide during this period whether they will adapt themselves to the definitely altered state of affairs or whether they prefer to leave Belgium.

Walloons to be "Freed"

He who remains in the country must declare his allegiance to Germany, and after a certain time must declare his allegiance to Germanism. In connection with this it cannot be tolerated that wealthy Belgians shall leave the country and nevertheless draw profit from their possessions in Belgium. Expropriation is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent such a state of things as exists in Alsace-Lorraine to the present day. *I hope that we shall be strong,* not only with the sword, but also with statesmanlike illumination and preparation and all the things necessary to fruitful administration. *Half measures and a middle course must be condemned most of all.* Lack of determination in the decisive days of German fate will be a

grave wrong to the blood that has been shed. Among such half measures I include the intention of treating Belgium merely as a pawn, which might be used to recover or extend our colonial possessions. As regards the extension of our colonial possessions, the Belgian Congo is certainly to be aimed at, and I desire to insist that a German colonial empire, whatever its shape, is indispensable for Germany's world policy and expansion of power. But, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that only such frontiers as will contribute to the acquisition of greater freedom on the sea are calculated to make colonial possessions valuable. Consequently, the supporters of the colonial movement must also demand the Belgian coast, together with the Belgian hinterland. If we give up the Belgian coast our fleet will lack important bases for its share in the protection of our colonial empire.

I am conscious that the demand that we shall retain all Belgium and link it up in one form or another with the German sphere of power is a great aim, which can be achieved only by determined and self-sacrificing courage and by the utmost energy and skill in negotiations.

Let us apply a saying of Bismarck, that "in policy, if in any sphere, faith moves mountains, and courage and victory are not cause and effect, but identical."

Pan-German War Methods Predicted a Century Ago

Benjamin Constant's "De l'Esprit de la Conquête," first published in 1813, and now reissued a century later, contains this passage of extraordiary prescience:

"If a purely military race were to arise today, since its ardor would be based on no conviction, no sentiment, no idea * * * it would assume the ferocity of a warlike people, but it would preserve the spirit of commercial calculation. These resuscitated Vandals would not have the ignorance of luxury, the simplicity of manners, the disdain of all sordid actions which characterized their rude forefathers. They would combine the refinements of effeminacy with the brutalities of barbarism, excess of violence with the cunning of avarice. * * * The practical knowledge they had acquired would but help them to draw up the more skillfully their decree of murder and spoliation. * * * They would overrun the world with murder for their means and pillage for their end * * * separated by a moral abyss from the rest of mankind. * * * They would become objects of universal horror."

German Terrorism in Belgium

By an Escaped Civilian

The ruthless severity of German rule in Belgium has continued with little change since the death of Baron von Bissing in April, 1917, *and the advent of Governor General von Falkenhausen as his successor. A detailed report issued by the Belgian Government in September indicated that the forcible deportation of men and women to Germany was continuing without intermission. The extortion of enormous sums from cities by military force increased in frequency during the Autumn of* 1917. *On Nov.* 1 *the Province of East Flanders was fined* $2,000,000 *because it had failed to place* 40,000 *Flemish laborers at the service of Germany by that date. At that time the Relief Commission reported that* 7,000,000 *Belgians were facing starvation and could be saved only by* $25,000,000 *a month from the United States—which is being furnished with Government aid. A protest to the Governor General published on Dec.* 12 *showed that the suffering people of Belgium were compelled to pay an annual tax of* $162,000,000 *to their German oppressors. A Belgian Gray Book issued in October refuted the German charge of civilian attacks on soldiers at the beginning of the war, and gave itemized figures showing that between* 40,000 *and* 50,000 *Belgian houses were destroyed by the invaders at that time. Conditions at the beginning of* 1918 *were sketched in The London Times by an escaped Belgian as follows:*

SINCE I crossed the wire, a few weeks ago, I have had time to adapt myself to my new surroundings and to understand how completely isolated from the rest of the world we are in Belgium. It is not so much that we lack news from the war, for we have learned to read between the lines of the German communiqués and to draw our own conclusions. But we do not realize in the least the conditions prevailing in neutral and allied countries, the various currents of opinion and interests, the infinite complexity of the problems raised by the great conflict. Three years of persecutions and of moral and physical sufferings have brought us to such a pitch of glowing enthusiasm for our friends and of irreconcilable hatred of the foe that there is no room left for intellectual subtleties and sentimental reserves. We have become, it is true—and perhaps in the nobler sense of the word—fanatics. We no longer discriminate between God and country. The war has become a religious conflict in which all will be won or lost, and the fervor with which we worship our martyrs is only equaled by the horror and loathing we feel for our enemies. * * *

Patriots are shot, literally, every day in Belgium—there is an average of thirty death sentences a month. They belong to every class and every party. Among the killed there is one Deputy, one Burgomaster, many people belonging to the professional classes and, of course, many more workmen and peasants, including women and children. That is, so far as we know, for von Falkenhausen, the new Governor, has ceased to publish the names of his victims, seeing that, instead of terrorizing their compatriots, it only stirred their zeal to emulate them. Among the men imprisoned or deported to Germany are many well-known names: at least ten Deputies and Senators, no fewer than fifteen Burgomasters and Aldermen, several Judges, and some eminent professors. The post of Burgomaster of Brussels is particularly dangerous. M. Max is still in a German cell, and his successor, M. Lemonnier, and the Alderman Jacqumain have followed him to prison.

Such is the fate of all those who openly or secretly oppose German rule, no matter whether they are right or wrong. The only law in the country is dictated by the German tribunals. Even those who do not belong to the various organizations which help the young men to cross the frontier to join the army, circulate forbidden papers, or manage to send

news abroad, are still exposed, every day, to the most severe sentences. If the Governor chooses to transform the University of Ghent or to set up a new administration, the professors or the officials are not allowed to send in their resignations and to remain faithful to their pledges. It is not enough not to work for Belgium, and the mere fact of refusing to work against Belgium is punishable as a crime. The consequence is that thousands of men and a great number of women are engaged on some secret work, and that all the spies of Germany have not been able to check their activity. I have heard people wonder how, after so many arrests, our organizations are able to go on with their work. There is a very simple explanation. For every man or woman arrested, two others offer to take their place. The whole nation has become a huge secret society.

Failure is not due to the want of skill and activity of German agents. Every measure which brutality and cunning can contrive is taken against our patriots. Under the slightest suspicion they are dragged from their homes and imprisoned. For weeks and months they are isolated, unable to communicate with anybody, even with their advocate, subjected daily to the most searching examination. They are told that their denial is useless, since some of their relatives have been compelled to confess their guilt, or that, if they will confess their crime, they will be allowed to see their wives or their children, who are dying. I have myself spent some weeks in the prison of St. Gilles, (Brussels,) and have been subjected to this kind of torture. If this fails, threats and blows are used by the examining officers. I know a boy of 16 who was repeatedly struck for refusing to denounce his "accomplices."

Once on the blacklist of the secret police, the patriot, whether guilty or not, will do well to leave the country. If they cannot catch you in the act, the German agents have other means to arrest you. They manage, for instance, to slip a copy of La Libre Belgique in a drawer or behind a frame while searching your house, and proceed to convict you for circulating this forbidden paper. This manoeuvre caused the arrest of a well-known Brussels barrister. He had previously had a visit from a supposed "colleague" from a neighboring town, who told him that his wife, who was as the time in the country, had been arrested, and advised him to hide all compromising papers. The same "barrister" headed the body of gendarmes who searched the house a few hours later.

Another method which has caused any amount of harm is known as "the sheep," and is supposed to have been invented by one of Germany's arch spies, Ober-Leutnant Henry. A disconsolate individual is introduced into the prisoner's cell. Amid sobs and tears, he tells his companion all he has gone through and poses as the innocent victim of German oppression. Confidence calls for confidence, and, unless the prisoner is on his guard, the kind "sheep" succeeds in drawing from him some confession of guilt. The next day the two men are called together before the Judge, and the "sheep" becomes accuser.

Such vile work is not necessarily done by Germans. We have our traitors and "activists" and profiteers, but they are beyond the pale. They no longer belong to the nation. They have yielded to the boches, and with them they will leave the country if they are wise.

The Belgians have lost nothing of their splendid confidence. The final victory of the Allies is not even questioned, and I prefer not to think of what would happen if they should ever be induced to conclude an unsatisfactory peace. It would be the worst blow that could befall us. It would be the ruin of all our efforts to hamper the enemy's activity, of all the hopes for which we have suffered and shall perhaps still suffer so long. The Belgians are waiting anxiously for the return of King Albert, but they are waiting still more anxiously for the advent of justice and the punishment of the culprits. That spirit animates every thinking man in the country, from Cardinal Mercier to the Socialist workmen who drafted the striking manifesto published in July.

Crossing from Belgium to France or

Holland is a perilous undertaking; it is less easy to do it now that it is barred by a double fence of electrified wire and guarded by a sentry every fifty yards and patrols during the whole night. Many have failed and tried over and over again, ten times, fifteen times even before succeeding. A large number of those who make the desperate bid for liberty are killed by the sentries or captured and deported to prison camps. There is perhaps some exaggeration in the statement current in Belgium that the enemy needs a whole army corps to keep us from slipping through the prison gates, but if we consider that the Dutch-German frontier must be guarded as well as the Dutch-Belgian, and that thousands of spies and secret agents are kept busy in the occupied territory, this estimate does not se m very far from the truth.

Nothing can give a better idea of the obstinate resistance opposed by the Belgians to German edicts and regulations than the statement of a German newspaper—the Deutsche Juristenzeitung—which estimates at no fewer than 100,000 the number of sentences inflicted on the people during one year only, (1915-16.) Most of them, of course, are fines or short terms of imprisonment. Formerly we used to have the choice, and many rich people preferred to go to the St. Gilles prison rather than help the enemy by paying their fine. But the prisons have become so crowded and the financial situation of the empire has become so bad that only the destitute preserve the privilege of sacrificing their liberty. The others, if they refuse to pay, have their watches taken from them or are obliged to give up a piece of valuable furniture. In Brussels these things are sold by auction in a shop in the Rue de la Limite.

Hunger as a Weapon

In their attempt to break Belgian nationalism the enemy has found a forceful ally—hunger—and the moral power necessary to resist the former is nothing beside that which is required to resist the second. Mainly on account of the submarine menace and of the torpedoing of a number of relief ships the imports of the Commission for Relief have fallen this year far below the average. The workman must live on a ration of 300 grams of bread a day and the platter of soup provided by the communal authorities. This is about half the food necessary to keep alive in ordinary times a man who is not doing any physical work. If the shop prices were not so prohibitive and if the Germans had not commandeered for their Zentrale all potatoes, sugar, and fats—so that the direct sale of these foodstuffs entails great risks for the trader — then those who work at half wages or receive some help from outside might still purchase some extra food. But even the privileged few who receive $1 a day cannot possibly do so under the present conditions. Eggs cost 16 cents each, coffee $3.75 a pound, butter (when available) $3, milk 12 cents a pint, a small cabbage 37 cents, potatoes (very seldom available) 25 cents a pound, lard $4.25 a pound. There are neither sugar nor fats.

"Will They Come in Time?"

The situation is made worse, especially in Winter, by the enormous price of coal ($50 a ton) and of clothes and boots, ($20 to $30.) Even the upper class has to suffer. In the Hainaut Province, where I was traveling this Summer, the number of destitute has increased from 60,000 to 400,000. The workmen are obliged to take part of the rations of their wives and children if they want to do any work; they are losing weight at a fearful rate and their mortality has trebled during the last year. I have had the opportunity of talking to them and have visited their homes. They take only two meals a day and often fast on Sundays.

The situation is not so bad in the country, where such necessaries as eggs, milk, butter, and potatoes may be obtained more or less at the same price as in England, but in the industrial districts, and more particularly in the army zones, where frequent requisitions of labor compel the men, and in some cases the women, to work behind the German lines, the physical and moral sufferings are such as to rend the heart of the most hardened observer. It looks as if

the whole race was rapidly perishing before your eyes. Whenever these people talk to you you are confronted by the same anxious question, "Will they come in time?" "they" meaning, of course, the Allies.

Conditions in Germany

[Reported to London officials by Serbian prisoners who escaped Dec. 14, 1917.]

ESCAPED Serbian prisoners in London describe the state of affairs in Germany as very bad, particularly in regard to food shortage but as not yet desperate. The German people are beginning to groan under the iron discipline of imperial militarism; they are irritable, and their nerve is undoubtedly shaken. The people were told that the war would be over by this Christmas, and are depressed at the certain prospect of falsified hopes. Every one is talking of peace, but talking in whispers, to avoid arrest and possibly being sent to the front. The adult population, these men report, is not starving, but the mortality among the children, owing to poor feeding, is very great. A large number of children have been sent to Holland, or distributed in the villages in the hope that they may there survive this crisis.

The most serious conditions prevail in the great towns, where frequently bloody conflicts occur between the famished mobs and the police. In the villages, however, one may see at any time starving people from the towns begging for bread. Nobody talks about the military operations, but every success, or reverse, makes itself felt among the people. "Very often we saw the whole family weeping," say these Serbian soldiers; "the gathering together of a family for meals is often the saddest of occasions. Often we met people weeping—men as well as women—by the roadside."

Coffee, there is none; instead of coffee they are frying acorns and rye and drinking the liquid. The whole of the metal currency—nickel as well as silver—has been withdrawn, small stamps being used as substitutes. Those who have tried to retain metal money have not profited, since it has been pronounced illegal tender, and they themselves are prosecuted. Live stock for the army is requisitioned every month. The bread of a whole village is baked in one place, and is black as earth. Up to September, 1917, every person was getting twelve pounds of bread per month; then the monthly allowance was reduced to nine pounds. In spite of the police supervision the people are hiding food. At harvest time wheat was smuggled by night and buried underneath the floors. This wheat, which they must grind secretly with a hand mill in the night, provides a few loaves, which have to be concealed—and even eaten—with equal furtiveness, if they are to elude the scrutiny of the police. One day when roused to anger, "I will tell about you," said one of these Serbian prisoners. "Don't, please, tell of us to anybody," was the reply, "we don't wish to send food to those at the front; the less they have to eat the sooner the war will be over."

A Dutch observer who had traversed Germany at the beginning of 1918 said:

"Conversation everywhere is about food, and the German who told me that 'What is going through our head is our stomach,' summed up the situation exactly. You see very few dogs in Germany, for two different reasons. There is no food to give the dogs, and the people have eaten the dogs for food. The food shortage in Germany has become a tragedy. I heard that dysentery still rages and that children die from starvation. In Berlin I saw with my own eyes the terrible effects it has upon the health and stamina of the adult population. From the national standpoint the reduction of productivity is the most serious result of the persistent state of undernourishment now prevailing in Germany. The output of munition factories has sensibly declined, and all German organization and method cannot remove the cause."

[OFFICIAL]

GERMAN RUTHLESSNESS

The United States Government's Summary of the Harrowing Practices of German Soldiers Against Civilians

A STRIKING summary of the crimes committed by German soldiers against civilians in France and Belgium has been issued by the United States Government, through the Committee of Public Information, in the form of a pamphlet of nearly 100 pages entitled "German War Practices." It is edited by Professors Dana C. Munro of Princeton University, George C. Sellery of the University of Wisconsin, and August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota. The evidence is drawn mainly from German sources—which include official proclamations, other official utterances, letters, and diaries of German soldiers—and from official American sources.

It is shown in the introduction that the German military leaders, notwithstanding Germany's solemn word to abide by the rules of the Geneva and The Hague Conventions, which were adopted to make war less brutal, entirely disregarded these rules from the beginning of the war. Germany, with the other nations, had pledged her faith to support all these rules, with the single exception of Article 44, forbidding the conqueror to force any of the conquered to give information.

The mass of evidence here presented shows that the German authorities deliberately based their practices in the present war upon the methods advocated by von Clausewitz, von Hartmann, and von Moltke, whose teachings were in direct contradiction to the articles adopted at The Hague. The essence of the teachings of von Clausewitz is that successful war involves the ruthless application of force, as indicated in the following extract from the first chapter of his chief work, "Vom Kriege," ("On War"):

> Violence arms itself with the inventions of art and science. * * * Self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible and hardly worth mentioning, termed usages of international law, accompany it without essentially impairing its powers. * * * Now, philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is a skillful method of disarming or subduing an enemy without causing too much bloodshed, and that this is the true tendency of the art of war. However plausible this may appear, still it is an error which must be destroyed; for in such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of 'good-naturedness' are precisely the worst. As the use of physical force to the utmost extent by no means excludes the co-operation of the intelligence, it follows that he who uses force ruthlessly, without regard to bloodshed, must obtain a superiority, if his enemy does not so use it.

In 1877-78 General von Hartmann in his series of articles upon "Military Necessity and Humanity" wrote:

> The enemy State must not be spared the want and wretchedness of war; these are particularly useful in shattering its energy and subduing its will. Individual persons may be harshly dealt with when an example is made of them, intended to serve as a warning. * * * Whenever a national war breaks out, terrorism becomes a necessary military principle. * * * It is a gratuitous illusion to suppose that modern war does not demand far more brutality, far more violence, and an action far more general than was formerly the case. * * * When international war has burst upon us, terrorism becomes a principle made necessary by military considerations.

The Elder Moltke's Dictum

In 1881 von Moltke declared:

> Perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world established by God. By it the most noble virtues of man are developed, courage and renunciation, fidelity to duty and the spirit of sacrifice—the soldier gives his life. Without war the world would degenerate and lose itself in materialism. * * * The soldier who endures suffering, privation, and fatigue, who courts dangers, cannot

take only " in proportion to the resources of the country." He must take all that is necessary to his existence. One has no right to demand of him anything superhuman. * * * The great good in war is that it should be ended quickly. In view of this, every means, except those which are positively condemnable, must be permitted. I cannot, in any way, agree with the Declaration of St Petersburg when it pretends that " the weakening of the military forces of the enemy " constitutes the only legitimate method of procedure in war. No! One must attack all the resources of the enemy Government, his finances, his railroads, his stock of provisions, and even his prestige.

In proof that the German Emperor indorsed these methods, his famous speech at Bremerhaven July 27, 1900, when he bade farewell to the German troops on the eve of their departure for China, is quoted as follows:

As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends today, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese shall ever again dare even to look at a German askance. * * * Open the way for *Kultur* once for all.

In the German War Book, published in 1902, (*Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege,*) appears the following declaration:

But since the tendency of thought in the last century was dominated essentially by humanitarian considerations which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion, (*Sentimentalitaet und weichlicher Gefuelschwaermerei,*) there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its object. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future, the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva Convention and the Brussels and Hague Conferences.

By steeping himself in military history an officer will be able to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions; it will teach him that certain severities are indispensable to war, nay more, that the only true humanity very often lies in a ruthless application of them.

Mulcting the Conquered

The German War Book manual of 1906 contains French translations of imaginary documents, letters, and proclamations and some blank orders " of which it may be necessary to make use in time of war," which are contrary to The Hague regulations. Among the forms suggested in this manual eight years before the present war began, the following illustrations appear in the manual:

A fine of 600,000 marks in consequence of an attempt made by —— to assassinate a German soldier is imposed on the town of O. By order of ——.

Efforts have been made, without result, to obtain the withdrawal of the fine.

The term fixed for payment expires tomorrow, Saturday, Dec. 17, at noon ——.

Banknotes, cash, or silver plate will be accepted.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 7th of this month, in which you bring to my notice the great difficulty which you expect to meet in levying the contributions. * * * I can but regret the explanations which you have thought proper to give me on this subject; the order in question which emanates from my Government is so clear and precise, and the instructions which I have received in the matter are so categorical that if the sum due by the town of R. is not paid the town will be burned down without pity!

On account of the destruction of the bridge of F., I order: The district shall pay a special contribution of 10,000,000 francs by way of amends. This is brought to the notice of the public who are informed that the method of assessment will be announced later and that the payment of the said sum will be enforced with the utmost severity. The village of F. will be destroyed immediately by fire, with exception of certain buildings occupied for the use of the troops.

Policy Followed in Belgium

As evidence of how closely the German commanders in Belgium and Northern France adhered to this manual, the following proclamations were actually posted at Brussels and Lunéville on the dates mentioned:

The City of Brussels, exclusive of its suburbs, has been punished by an additional fine of 5,000,000 francs on account of the attack made upon a German soldier by Ryckere, one of its police officials.

The Governor of Brussels,
BARON VON LUETTWITZ.
November 1, 1914.

Notice to the People.

Some of the inhabitants of Lunéville made an attempt from ambuscade on the German columns and wagons, (*trains.*) The same day [some of the] inhabitants shot at sanitary formations marked with the Red Cross. In addition German wounded and the military hospital containing a German ambulance were fired upon.

Because of these acts of hostility a fine of 650,000 francs is imposed upon the commune of Lunéville. The Mayor is ordered to pay this sum in gold or silver up to 50,000 francs, Sept. 6, 1914, at 9 o'clock in the morning to the representative of the German military authority. All protests will be considered null and void. No delay will be granted.

If the commune does not punctually obey the order to pay the sum of 650,000 francs, all property that can be levied upon will be seized.

In case of non-payment, visits from house to house will be made and all the inhabitants will be searched. If any one knowingly has concealed money or attempted to hold back his goods from the seizure by the military authorities, or if any one attempts to leave the city, he will be shot.

The Mayor and the hostages taken by the military authorities will be held responsible for the exact execution of the above orders.

The Mayor is ordered to publish immediately this notice to the commune.

Hénaménil, Sept. 3, 1914.

The General in Chief,
VON FASBENDER.

Minister Brand Whitlock, in an official report to the State Department, Sept. 12, 1917, quotes the following with reference to the phrase books furnished to common soldiers to enable them to impose their will upon the civilians:

The German soldiers were provided with phrase books giving alternate translations in German and French of such sentences as:

"Hands up!" (It is the very first sentence in the book.)

"Carry out all the furniture."

"I am thirsty. Bring me some beer, gin, rum."

"You have to supply a barrel of wine and a keg of beer."

"If you lie to me I will have you shot immediately."

"Lead me to the wealthiest inhabitants of this village. I have orders to requisition several barrels of wine."

"Show us the way to ——. If you lead us astray you will be shot."

From German War Diaries

In previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE in 1915 were published a number of translations by Professor Joseph Badier of the College de France from diaries found upon German soldiers. (Under the rules for field service of the German Army, these men were advised to keep diaries while on active service.) Entries in these diaries revealed the story of frightfulness with details which sustain the most severe charges of atrocities by examining commissions. To quote from a few:

During the night of Aug. 15-16 Engineer Gr—— gave the alarm in the town of Visé. Every one was shot or taken prisoner, and the houses were burned. The prisoners were made to march and keep up with the troops.—(*From the diary of Noncommissioned Officer Reinhold Koehn of the 2d Battalion of Engineers, 3d Army Corps.*)

A horrible bath of blood. The whole village burned, the French thrown into the blazing houses, civilians with the rest.—(*From the diary of Private Hassemer of the 8th Army Corps.*)

In the night of Aug. 18-19 the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers by being burned to the ground by the German troops, (two regiments, the 12th Landwehr and the 17th.) The village was surrounded, men posted about a yard from one another, so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman, nor child could escape; only the greater part of the live stock we carried off, as that could be used. Any one who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burned with the houses.—(*From the diary of Private Karl Scheufele of the 3d Bavarian Regiment of Landwehr Infantry.*)

At 10 o'clock in the evening the 1st Battalion of the 178th marched down the steep incline into the burning village to the north of Dinant. A terrific spectacle of ghastly beauty. At the entrance to the village lay about fifty dead civilians, shot for having fired upon our troops from ambush. In the course of the night many others were also shot, so that we counted over 200. Women and children, lamp in hand, were forced to look on at the horrible scene. We ate our rice later in the midst of the corpses, for we had had nothing since morning. When we searched the houses we found plenty

of wine and spirit, but no eatables. Captain Hamann was drunk. (This last phrase in shorthand.)—(*From the diary of Private Philipp of the 178th Regiment of Infantry, 12th Army Corps.*)

Aug. 6th crossed frontier. Inhabitants on border very good to us and give us many things. There is no difference noticeable.

Aug. 23d, Sunday, (between Birnal and Dinant, village of Disonge.) At 11 o'clock the order comes to advance after the artillery has thoroughly prepared the ground ahead. The Pioneers and Infantry Regiment 178 were marching in front of us. Near a small village the latter were fired on by the inhabitants. About 220 inhabitants were shot and the village was burned—artillery is continuously shooting—the village lies in a large ravine. Just now, 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the crossing of the Maas begins near Dinant. * * * All villages, châteaux, and houses are burned down during this night. It was a beautiful sight to see the fires all round us in the distance.

Aug. 24th. In every village one finds only heaps of ruins and many dead. (*From the diary of Matbern, 4th Company, 11th Jaeger Battalion, Marburg.*)

A shell burst near the 11th Company and wounded seven men, three very severely. At 5 o'clock we were ordered by the officer in command of the regiment to shoot all the male inhabitants of Nomény because the population was foolishly attempting to stay the advance of the German troops by force of arms. We broke into the houses and seized all who resisted, in order to execute them according to martial law. The houses which had not been already destroyed by the French artillery or our own were set on fire by us, so that nearly the whole town was reduced to ashes. It is a terrible sight when helpless women and children, utterly destitute, are herded together and driven into France.—(*From the diary of Private Fischer, 8th Bavarian Regiment of Infantry, 33d Reserve Division.*)

German Soldiers Horrified

Other German soldiers show their horror at the foul deeds, as the following extracts show:

The inhabitants have fled in the village. It was horrible. There was clotted blood on all the beards, and what faces one saw, terrible to behold! The dead, sixty in all, were at once buried. Among them were many old women, some old men, and a half-delivered woman, awful to see; three children had clasped each other, and died thus. The altar and the vaults of the church are shattered. They had a telephone there to communicate with the enemy. This morning, Sept. 2, all the survivors were expelled, and I saw four little boys carrying a cradle, with a baby 5 or 6 months old in it, on two sticks. All this was terrible to see. Shot after shot! Thunderbolt after thunderbolt! Everything is given over to pillage; fowls and the rest all killed. I saw a mother, too, with her two children; one had a great wound on the head and had lost an eye.—(*From the diary of Lance Corporal Paul Spielmann of the Ersatz, 1st Brigade of Infantry of the Guard.*)

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* * * In the night the inhabitants of Liége became mutinous. Forty persons were shot and 15 houses demolished, 10 soldiers shot. The sights here make you cry.

On the 23rd August everything quiet. The inhabitants have so far given in. Seventy students were shot, 200 kept prisoners. Inhabitants returning to Liége.

Aug. 24th. At noon with 36 men on sentry duty. Sentry duty is A 1, no post allocated to me. Our occupation, apart from bathing, is eating and drinking. We live like God in Belgium.—(*From the diary of Joh. van der Schoot, reservist of the 10th Company, 39th Reserve Infantry Regiment, 7th Army Reserve Corps.*)

Massacres at Tamines

Minister Whitlock, in his report of Sept. 12, 1917, to the Secretary of State, refers as follows to the massacres at Tamines and other villages:

One of the most sorely tried communities was that of the little village of Tamines, down in what is known as the Borinage, the coal fields near Charleroi. Tamines is a mining village in the Sambre; it is a collection of small cottages sheltering about 5,000 inhabitants, mostly all poor laborers.

The little graveyard in which the church stands bears its mute testimony to the horror of the event. There are hundreds of new-made graves, each with its small wooden cross and its bit of flowers; the crosses are so closely huddled that there is scarcely room to walk between them. The crosses are alike and all bear the same date, the sinister date of Aug. 22, 1914. * * *

But whether their hands were cut off or not, whether they were impaled on bayonets or not, children were shot down, by military order, in cold blood. In the awful crime of the Rock of Bayard, there overlooking the Meuse below Dinant, infants in their mother's arms were shot down without mercy. The

deed, never surpassed in cruelty by any band of savages, is described by the Bishop of Namur himself:

"One scene surpasses in horror all others; it is the fusillade of the Rocher Bayard near Dinant. It appears to have been ordered by Colonel Meister. This fusillade made many victims among the nearby parishes, especially those of des Rivages and Neffe. It caused the death of nearly ninety persons, without distinction of age or sex. Among the victims were babies in arms, boys and girls, fathers and mothers of families, even old men.

"It was there that twelve children under the age of 6 perished from the fire of the executioners, six of them as they lay in their mothers' arms:

"The child Fiévet, 3 weeks old.

"Maurice Bétemps, 11 months old.

"Nelly Pollet, 11 months old.

"Gilda Genon, 18 months old.

"Gilda Marchot, 2 years old.

"Clara Struvay, 2 years and 6 months.

"The pile of bodies comprised also many children from 6 to 14 years. Eight large families have entirely disappeared. Four have but one survivor. Those men that escaped death—and many of them were riddled with bullets—were obliged to bury in a summary and hasty fashion their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters; then after having been relieved of their money and being placed in chains they were sent to Cassel, [Prussia.]"

Civilians as Hostages

A system adopted early in the conquest of Belgium was the use of civilians as hostages and for screens. In a proclamation issued by Major Dieckmann, September, 1914, appears the following conclusion:

4. After 9 A. M., on Sept. 7, I will permit the houses in Beyne-Heusay, Grivegnée, and Bois-de-Breux to be inhabited by the persons who lived in them formerly, as long as these persons are not forbidden to frequent these localities by official prohibition.

5. In order to be sure that the above-mentioned permit will not be abused, the Burgomasters of Beyne-Heusay and of Grivegnée must immediately prepare lists of prominent persons who will be held as hostages for twenty-four hours each at Fort Fléron. Sept. 6, 1914, for the first time [the period of detention shall be] from 6 P. M. until Sept. 7 at midday.

The life of these hostages depends on the population of the above-mentioned communes remaining quiet under all circumstances.

During the night it is severely forbidden to show any luminous signals. Bicycles are permitted only between 7 A. M. and 5 P. M. (German time.)

6. From the list which is submitted to me I shall designate prominent persons who shall be hostages from noon of one day until the following midday. If the substitute is not there in due time, the hostage must remain another twenty-four hours at the fort. After these twenty-four hours the hostage will incur the penalty of death, if the substitute fails to appear.

7. Priests, Burgomasters, and the other members of the Council are to be taken first as hostages.

8. I insist that all civilians who move about in my district * * * show their respect to the German officers by taking off their hats, or lifting their hands to their heads in military salute. In case of doubt, every German soldier must be saluted. Any one who does not do this must expect the German military to make themselves respected by every means.

To be shot whether guilty or not.

The following proclamation was posted in Belgium Oct. 5, 1914:

Sept. 25, in the evening, the railroad track and telegraph were destroyed on the line Lovenioul-Vertryek. * * *

Henceforth the villages situated nearest the spot where such events take place—it is of no consequence whether they are guilty or not—will be punished without mercy. For this purpose hostages have been taken from all places in the vicinity of railways in danger of similar attacks; and at the first attempt to destroy any railway, telegraph, or telephone line they will be immediately shot.

Furthermore, all troops intrusted with the protection of railways have received orders to shoot any one approaching railways or telegraph or telephone lines in a suspicious manner.

The Governor General of Belgium,
BARON VON DER GOLTZ,
Field Marshal.

Civilians Used as Screens

The following letter was published on the 7th of October, 1914, in the Vorabendblatt of the Münnchner Neueste Nachrichten:

Oct. 7, 1914.

But we arrested three other civilians, and then I had a brilliant idea. We gave them chairs, and we then ordered them to go and sit out in the middle of the street. On their part, pitiful entreaties; on ours, a few blows from the butt end of the rifle. Little by little one becomes terribly callous at this business. At last they were all seated outside in the street. I do not know what anguished prayers they may have said, but I noticed that their hands were convulsively clasped the

whole time. I pitied these fellows, but the method was immediately effective.

The flank fire from the houses quickly diminished, so that we were able to occupy the opposite house and thus to dominate the principal street. Every living being who showed himself in the street was shot. The artillery on its side had done good work all this time, and when, toward 7 o'clock in the evening, the brigade advanced to the assault to relieve us I was in a position to report that Saint Dié had been cleared of the enemy.

Later on I learned that the regiment of reserve which entered Saint Dié further to the north had tried the same experiment. The four civilians whom they had compelled in the same way to sit out in the street were killed by French bullets. I myself saw them lying in the middle of the street near the hospital.

A. EBERLEIN, First Lieutenant.

Germany's Hague Pledge

At the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907 Germany pledged herself to the following:

Article L. No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the populations on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly and severally responsible.

Article LII. Requisitions in kind and services shall not be demanded from municipalities or inhabitants except for the needs of the army of occupation. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature as not to involve the inhabitants in the obligation of taking part in military operations against their own country.

A summary of some of the conspicuous violations of this solemn pledge appears in the pamphlet.

Cardinal Mercier cites the following cases:

Malines, a working-class town, without resources, has had a fine of 20,000 marks inflicted on it because the Burgomaster did not inform the military authority of a journey which the Cardinal, deprived of the use of his motor car, had been obliged to make on foot. In fact, upon the flimsiest pretexts heavy fines are inflicted on communes. The commune of Puers was subjected to a fine of 3,000 marks because a telegraph wire was broken, although the inquiry showed that it had given way through wear.

In addition to such arbitrary, sporadic exactions, in December, 1914, the Germans demanded 40,000,000 francs ($8,000,000) a month to be paid by the Belgian provinces jointly.

In November, 1915, one month before the expiration of the twelve months' period fixed for the levy, they decreed that the contribution of 40,000,000 francs a month should be paid for an indefinite period. In November, 1916, this was increased to 50,000,000 francs a month. The military rulers made the families responsible for acts committed by, or charged against, members as shown by the following example, cited by Cardinal Mercier:

The Belgian Government has sent orders to rejoin the army to the militiamen of several classes. * * * All those who receive these orders are strictly forbidden to act upon them. * * * *In case of disobedience the family of the militiaman will be held equally responsible.*

A warning of the Governor General, dated Jan. 26, 1915, renders the *members of the family* responsible if a Belgian fit for military service, between the ages of 16 and 40, goes to Holland.

The Commander in Chief of the German army in Belgium posted a proclamation declaring:

The villages where acts of hostility shall be committed by the inhabitants against our troops *will be burned.*

For all destruction of roads, railways, bridges, &c., *the villages in the neighborhood* of the destruction *will be held responsible.*

The punishments announced above will be carried out severely and without mercy. *The whole community will be held responsible.* Hostages will be taken in large numbers. The heaviest war taxes will be levied.

The Forced Deportations

The deportations and forced labor which aroused the protest of the civilized world have been covered in previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The most important document in the Government summary is the official report made by Minister Whitlock to the Secretary of State in January, 1917. The full text of this was printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June, 1917, but the following extracts are here reproduced to round out the present story of German abuses:

The deportations began in October in the Etape, at Ghent, and at Bruges, as my brief telegrams indicated. The policy spread; the rich industrial districts of Hainaut, the mines and steel works about Charleroi were next attacked; now they are seizing men in Brabant, even in Brus-

*sels, despite some indications and even predictions of the civil authorities that the policy was about to be abandoned. * * **

*The rage, the terror, and despair excited by this measure all over Belgium were beyond anything we had witnessed since the day the Germans poured into Brussels. The delegates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, returning to Brussels, told the most distressing stories of the scenes of cruelty and sorrow attending the seizures. And daily, hourly almost, since that time appalling stories have been related by Belgians coming to the legation. * * **

The well-known tendency of sensational reports to exaggerate themselves, especially in time of war, and in a situation like that existing here, with no newspapers to serve as a daily clearing house for all the rumors that are as avidly believed as they are eagerly repeated, should of course be considered; but even if a modicum of all that is told is true there still remains enough to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records.

Treatment of City Governments

Municipal Governments in Belgium which appealed to the German authorities to observe their promises were insulted and offensively rebuked by the German commanders. The following two documents quoted in the pamphlet illustrate this:

RESOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF TOURNAI, OCT 20, 1916

In the matter of the requisition made by the German authorities on Oct. 20, 1916, (requisition of a list of workmen to be drawn up by the municipality) * * *

The Municipal Council resolves to maintain its attitude of refusal.

It further feels it its duty to place on record the following:

The City of Tournai is prepared to submit unreservedly to all the exigencies authorized by the laws and customs of war. Its sincerity cannot be questioned. For more than two years it has submitted to the German occupation, during which time it has lodged and lived at close quarters with the German troops, yet it has displayed perfect composure and has refrained from any act of hostility, proving thereby that it is animated by no idle spirit of bravado.

But the city could not bring itself to provide arms for use against its own children, knowing well that natural law and the law of nations (which is the expression of natural law) both forbid such action.

In his declaration dated Sept. 2, 1914, the German Governor General of Belgium declared: "I ask none to renounce his patriotic sentiments."

The City of Tournai reposes confidence in this declaration, which it is bound to consider as the sentiment of the German Emperor, in whose name the Governor General was speaking. In accepting the inspiration of honor and patriotism, the city is loyal to a fundamental duty, the liftiness of which must be apparent to any German officer.

The city is confident that the straightforwardness and clearness of this attitude will prevent any misunderstanding arising between itself and the German Army.

THE GERMAN REPLY TO THE RESOLUTION

Tournai, 23d October, 1916.

In permitting itself, through the medium of municipal resolutions, to oppose the orders of the German military authorities in the occupied territory, the city is guilty of an unexampled arrogance and of a complete misunderstanding of the situation created by the state of war.

The "clear and simple situation" is in reality the following:

The military authorities order the city to obey. Otherwise the city must bear the heavy consequences, as I have pointed out in my previous explanations.

The General commanding the army has inflicted on the city—on account of its refusal, up to date, to furnish the lists demanded—a punitive contribution of 200,000 marks, which must be paid within the next six days, beginning with today. The General also adds that until such time as all the lists demanded are in his hands, for every day in arrears, beginning with Dec. 31, 1916, a sum of 20,000 marks will be paid by the city.

HOPFER, Major General,
Etappen-Kommandant.

German Falsehood Exposed

The protests of the United States Government and other neutrals against the deportations have appeared in previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Former Ambassador Gerard in his book gives some new testimony on the subject, as follows:

The President [during my visit to America in 1916] impressed upon me his great interest in the Belgians deported to Germany. The action of Germany in thus carrying a great part of the male population of Belgium into virtual slavery had roused great indignation in America. As the revered Cardinal Farley said to me a few days before my departure, "You have to go back to the times of the Medes and the Persians to find a like

example of a whole people carried into bondage."

Mr. Grew had made representations about this to the Chancellor and, on my return, I immediately took up the question.

I was informed that it was a military measure, that Ludendorf had feared that the British would break through and overrun Belgium, and that the military did not propose to have a hostile population at their backs who might cut the rail lines of communication, telephones and telegraphs, and that for this reason the deportation had been decided on. I was, however, told I would be given permission to visit these Belgians. The passes, nevertheless, which alone made such visiting possible, were not delivered until a few days before I left Germany.

Several of these Belgians who were put to work in Berlin managed to get away and come to see me. They gave me a harrowing account of how they had been seized in Belgium and made to work in Germany at making munitions to be used probably against their own friends.

I said to the Chancellor, "There are Belgians employed in making shells contrary to all rules of war and The Hague Conventions." He said, "I do not believe it." I said, "My automobile is at the door. I can take you, in four minutes, to where thirty Belgians are working on the manufacture of shells." But he did not find time to go.

Americans must understand that the Germans will stop at nothing to win this war, and that the only thing they respect is force.—*James W. Gerard, "My Four Years in Germany,"* 1917, *pp.* 351-352.

Mr. Hoover's Scathing Testimony

Herbert Hoover, former executive head of the Belgian Relief Commission and now Food Administrator of the United States, contributed to the pamphlet his observations in the following words:

September, 1917.

I have been often called upon for a statement of my observation of German rule in Belgium and Northern France.

I have neither the desire nor the adequate pen to picture the scenes which have heated my blood through the two and a half years that I have spent in work for the relief of these 10,000,000 people.

The sight of the destroyed homes and cities, the widowed and fatherless, the destitute, the physical misery of a people but partially nourished at best, the deportation of men by tens of thousands to slavery in German mines and factories, the execution of men and women for paltry effusions of their loyalty to their country, the sacking of every resource through financial robbery, the battening of armies on the slender produce of the country, the denudation of the country of cattle, horses, and textiles; all these things we had to witness, dumb to help other than by protest and sympathy, during this long and terrible time—and still these are not the events of battle heat, but the effects of a grinding heel of a race demanding the mastership of the world.

All these things are well known to the world—but what can never be known is the dumb agony of the people, the expressionless faces of millions whose souls have passed the whole gamut of emotions. And why? Because these, a free and democratic people, dared plunge their bodies before the march of autocracy.

I myself believe that if we do not fight, and fight now, all these things are possible to us—but even should the broad Atlantic prove our present defender, there is still Belgium. Is it worth while for us to live in a world where this free and unoffending people is to be trampled into the earth and to raise no sword in protest? HERBERT HOOVER.

Summary of the German Outrages

By Vernon Kellogg

Of the Belgian Relief Commission

The following statement of Vernon Kellogg, dated September, 1917, *was prepared for the pamphlet reviewed in the preceding pages, as a summary of the practices which came under his observation in his work as a Commissioner for Relief in Belgium:*

It was my privilege—and necessity—in connection with the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium to spend several months at the Great Headquarters of the German armies in the west, and later to spend more months at Brussels as the commission's director for Belgium and occupied France. It was an enforced opportunity to see something of German prac-

tice in the treatment of a conquered people, part of whom (the French and the inhabitants of the Belgian provinces of East and West Flanders) were under the direct control of the German General Staff and the several German armies of the west, and part, the inhabitants of the seven other Belgian provinces, under the quasi-civil government of Governor General von Bissing. I did not enter the occupied territories until June, 1915, and so, of course, saw none of the actual invasion and overrunning of the land. I saw only the graves of the massacred and the ruins of their towns. But I saw through the long, hard months much too much for my peace of mind of how the Germans treated the unfortunates under their control after the occupation.

It would be an unnecessary repetition to describe again the scenes in Louvain, Dinant, Visé, Andenne, Tamines, Aerschott, and the rest of the familiar long list of the ruined Belgian towns. But too little has been said of the many, many ruined villages all over the extent of the occupied French territory from Lille in the north to Longwy in the south and from the eastern boundary of France to the fatal trench lines of the extreme western front.

Ruins of "Punished" Towns

As chief representative for the commission, it was my duty to cover this whole territory repeatedly in long motor journeys in company with the German officer assigned for my protection—and for the protection of the German Army against any too much seeing. As I had opportunity also to cover most of Belgium in repeated trips from Brussels into the various provinces, I necessarily had opportunity to compare the destruction wrought in the two regions.

I could understand why certain towns and villages along the Meuse and along the lines of the French and English retreat were badly shot to pieces. There had been fighting in these towns, and the artillery of first one side and then the other had worked their havoc among the houses of the inhabitants. But there were many towns in which there had been no fighting, and yet all too many of these towns also were in ruins. It was not ruin by shells, but ruin by fire and explosions. These were the famous "punished" towns. Either a citizen or perhaps two or three citizens had fired from a window on the invaders—or were alleged to have. Thereupon a block, or two or three blocks, or half the town, was methodically and effectively burned or blown to pieces. There are many of these "punished" towns in occupied France. And between these towns and along the roadways are innumerable isolated single farmhouses that are also in ruins. It is not claimed that there was any sniping from these farmhouses. They were just destroyed along the way—and by the way, one may say. When the roll of destroyed villages and destroyed farmhouses in occupied France is made known, the world will be shocked again by this evidence of German thoroughness.

Heartlessness of German Rule

The rigor of the control over the inhabitants of the occupied French territory is almost inconceivable. The lines delimiting the regions occupied by the various distinct German armies are lines of impassable steel for the inhabitants. If a member of the family in one town was visiting friends or relatives in another town a few kilometers away at the time of the outbreak of the war that family has remained separated through all the long months that have since elapsed. No messages can pass except by dangerous subterranean ways from town to town.

The requisitioning of everything from food to furniture, from farm animals to the blankets and mattresses from the beds, has been carried to such an extent that the people live on nothing amid nothing. These requisitions in the earlier days had a more or less official seeming in that Quartermaster's *bons* were given for the things taken. Even then the German sense of humor too often made the *bon* a crude jest. The *bons* were written in the German language in German script, illegible and beyond the understanding of the simple natives. A *bon*

might be given for a chicken when it was a pair of horses that was taken. But later, when these jests palled on the German soldiers, the requisitioning was simplified by the omission of *bon* giving. Where the villagers and peasants had tried to save something that could be buried or concealed, the searching out of these pitiful hiding places became a great game with the German soldiers. One ingenious Frenchman had secreted a few choice bottles of wine in a famous tomb on heights above the Meuse. But these bottles found their way to special tables at the Great Headquarters.

Brutal Methods of Deportation

In the Spring of 1916 the army authorities devised the plan of deporting a number of men and women from Lille and the industrial towns near it to the agricultural regions further south. These French were to work in the fields and held produce food for the German Army. As a matter of fact this plan had at bottom something to recommend it. The congestion in the industrialized northern region made the food problem there very difficult. Our commission had more trials in connection with the provisioning of the great city of Lille and the lesser but crowded towns of Valenciennes, Roubaix, and Tourcoing than with all the rest of the occupied territory. Also these people had no work to do, as the great factories were still. To come south and work in the open air in the fields and be allowed a fair ration would have been a real advantage to these people. It would also have helped in the whole food supply situation.

But the horrible methods of that deportation were such that we, although trying to hold steadfast to a rigorous neutrality, could not but protest. Mr. Gerard, our Ambassador to Berlin, happened at the very time of this protest to make a visit to the Great Headquarters in the west, and the matter was brought to the attention of certain high officers at headquarters on the very day of Mr. Gerard's visit and in his hearing. So that he added his own protest to that of Mr. Poland, our director at the time, and further deportations were stopped. But a terrible mischief had already been done. Husbands and fathers had been taken from their families without a word of good-bye; sons and daughters on whom perhaps aged parents relied for support were taken without pity or apparent thought of the terrible consequences. The great deportations of Belgium have shocked the world. But these lesser deportations—that is, lesser in extent, but not less brutal in their carrying out—are hardly known.

I went into Belgium and into occupied France a neutral and I maintained while there a steadfastly neutral behavior. But I came out no neutral. I cannot conceive that any American enjoying an experience similar to mine could have come out a neutral. He would come out as I came, with the ineradicable conviction that a people or a government which can do what the Germans did and are doing in Belgium and France today must not be allowed, if there is power on earth to prevent it, to do this a moment longer than can be helped. And they must not be allowed ever to do it again.

I went in also a hater of war, and I came out a more ardent hater of war. But, also, I came out with the ineradicable conviction, again, that the only way in which Germany under its present rule and in its present state of mind can be kept from doing what it has done is by force of arms. It cannot be prevented by appeal, concession, or treaties. Hence, ardently as I hope that all war may cease, I hope that this war may not cease until Germany realizes that the civilized world simply will not allow such horrors as those for which Germany is responsible in Belgium and France to be any longer possible.

Ruthlessness and the Law of Evolution

By John Burroughs

Mr. Burroughs at the age of 80 takes as keen an interest in the issues of the world war as he did in the secrets of nature during his earlier years. In this brief article, which appeared in The New York Tribune, he examines the German militarist theory of frightfulness from the viewpoint of evolutionary science and holds that it is both fallacious and suicidal.

WHEN a good thing, a great thing, has been turned to infernal uses, as science has been by the Germans in this war, one is half inclined to lay the blame on the thing itself. A pious friend of mine, thinking of these things, says science is the second fall of man and has resulted in expelling us from the paradise in which, but for it, we should still be living; it has filled our heads with forbidden knowledge and our hands with forbidden power, and is in a large measure responsible for the present world war.

But science is just as much on the side of peace as on the side of war. It is a two-edged sword, a tremendous instrument that the hand of man can turn to a multitude of uses, noble and ignoble, to build up and to tear down, to save and to destroy. It is certainly true that without science Germany could not cut much of a figure in this war, probably would not have begun it. It is equally true that without science the Allies would not be able to meet her on anything like equal terms.

The fundamental trouble is to be found in Germany's interpretation of scientific conclusions. She has perverted biological laws to suit her own purposes. The Darwinian conception of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, which certainly are great truths, (but not the whole truth when applied to the world of man,) got into her blood. They became her inspiration and the well-spring of her national philosophy. Her thinkers and teachers turn to the primary factors of evolution as they are operative in the non-human world as the final court of appeal in settling all questions of man's relation to man and the relations of one nation to another. They do not for a moment take into account that man is an exceptional creature in the animal kingdom, and that his true progress has been in reversing, or putting under his feet, the laws that rule in what we may call the brute stages of evolution.

When evolution gave man his moral consciousness and his concepts of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, justice and mercy, he was born again. Of course, it was a long, slow, and painful birth, a true dystocia; but after the throes and the travail a new being saw the light, and man was differentiated from all the other animals, and obligations were placed upon him that were his alone. This new birth made him the fittest to survive. Only through the development and freer and freer play of man's moral consciousness was modern civilization possible. Only by more and more subordinating the rule of might to the rule of right—fair dealing, the common weal, justice to the weak as well as to the strong—was the rise of States and organized Governments possible.

No matter how often States and Governments have run counter to this great law and waged aggressive wars and ruthlessly pursued the rule of might, which nearly all States and nations have at times been guilty of, the principle stands. Man would not be man without it. Reversals to the law of the jungle only prove how slow and painful man's complete evolution has been. The outbreak of Prussianism which has resulted in this terrible war is like the outbreaks of earth's primal energies as seen in earthquakes and volcanoes. Only the gradual subsidence and quiescence of these elemental energies have made the earth habitable and given us a stable

soil upon which to build and plant and sow. If the primal seismic forces were once more to break loose and begin their mad career anew, where should we be?

The course of the German military power in beginning and conducting this war has been precisely analogous to the outbreak of nature's merciless forces—earthquakes, tornadoes, lava flows, and the like. All these things are a part of the nature of which we ourselves are a part, and in the shaping of the earth and rendering it a fit abode for living beings their work has been immense.

The battle of the elements through the long geological ages has given us a planet upon which we can battle for existence with a fair prospect of success. So has the rule of might, in the long course of evolution—the supremacy of force and greed and selfishness among the prehistoric and early historic races—at last prepared the way for the rule and dominance of man's better nature. We say "better" because it makes life more and more attractive and worth while and leads to the greatest good of the greatest number. Again, meaning by "good" that which is in harmony with the human constitution and man's relation to his environment. It does not abolish struggle and the survival of the fittest, at least of the fit, but it enthrones justice, mercy, and truth, and arms us against tyranny, savagery, and the aggressive war spirit.

The appeal to nature for the justification of our conduct, whatever it be, is risky business. Nature is heaven on one side and hell on the other. In all creatures below man the rule of might prevails. The only sin is weakness and the only virtue strength. There is no question of right or wrong, of justice and mercy. The only questions are those of adaptation and power to survive. The trees in the forest, the plants in the field, the fowl of the air, the sea forms and the land forms are all under the same law of adaptation to the environment. The less adaptable, the poorly equipped for competitive struggle, defectives, unfortunates, the handicapped, fall out.

The law of variability, whatever be its cause, never ceases to act. Those that vary in the wrong direction suffer and fail; those that vary in the right direction prosper, and the more they vary in this direction the more they prosper. But variation in man brings in new problems and new factors. It is no longer a question of the survival of brute force, but one of force armed with the moral consciousness. The questions of fraternity, equality, liberty play prominent parts. Selfishness is tempered by altruism; instinct is guided by reason, power is wedded to conscience, and the strong in the long run prevail in proportion to their adherence to justice and truth.

During the last half century or more the Germans have varied or developed remarkably in the direction of organization, of material efficiency, State supremacy, and so on, but they have varied less than their neighbors in the direction of true culture, of humanism, altruism, refinement of spirit, political liberty, and of the other virtues that make for a noble, disinterested people. Hence their advantage in this war, so far as military efficiency is concerned, and their disadvantage, so far as the sympathy and good opinion of the rest of the world are concerned. They are the fittest to survive by reason of sheer power; they are the least fit by reason of sheer brutality—their reliance upon the predatory methods and the lower aims of earlier times. They have gone forth to battle in the spirit of their ancestral Huns, and in many ways in a worse spirit. * * * Wreckers of cathedrals, destroyers of libraries, despoilers of cemeteries, slayers of old men and women and children and priests and nuns, barbarians by instinct, pirates and incendiaries by practice, terrorists by training, slaves by habit and bullies by profession, void of humility, void of spirituality, resourceful but not inventive, thorough but not original, docile as individuals but brazen and defiant as a nation—ravishing, maiming, poisoning, burning, suffocating, deporting, enslaving, murderers of the very soul of a people, so far as it is in their power—the rest of the world can live on terms of peace and good-will with them only after they have drained to the dregs the bitter cup of military defeat.

When the War Is Over

Discussion of Some of the Serious Problems That Are Already Shaping Themselves

THE question of how the war will end is scarcely more portentous than that of how to solve the problems that will arise when the war is over. J. H. Thomas, a member of Parliament, Secretary of the British Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in an address at London, Dec. 7, 1917, presented some of the more serious phases of the labor question that will loom before England when the war is over. Eleven millions of English people were engaged in war service, including over a million women, he said, and when peace came manufacturers would have orders to cease making certain things on which they were now exclusively engaged, and would be faced with the possibility of having to discharge hundreds of thousands of men. In addition, there would be millions of men who had passed through the hell of trench and battle and had become callous of death. If they were to take places in long queues waiting for jobs there would arise in their minds the question, "Is this what we fought for?" and it might be that the feeling would come that it might be worth a scrap to alter such a state of things. Business men must realize that this was one of the immediate problems to be faced.

In the first place, every controlled establishment which today was making exclusively materials for war ought to be in a position, as soon as that manufacture ceased, to direct itself to making useful things. The Government must ascertain the world shortage in all things, and give orders so that industries in the transition stage might be carried on. The end of the war would bring the question what was to be the army of the future. If efforts were made, as he was afraid they might be, to make conscription a national institution, the feeling would be created among the people that by their sacrifices to destroy German militarism they had assisted to perpetuate militarism in their own country.

A Day of Reckoning

The working classes for a number of years before the war when agitating for old-age pensions, better housing, and other social reforms were told that to spend twenty-five or thirty millions on such things would mean bankruptcy. Now it was found that Great Britain could spend $40,000,000 a day in the destruction of humanity, apparently without any trouble. It was said there was plenty of money in the country. Was it realized that there must be a day of reckoning, and that from the beginning of the war Great Britain had only met 30 per cent. of its expenditure? If the war ended tomorrow it would have to provide $1,500,000,000 interest on present commitments; on pensions, another $250,000,000; on a sinking fund on a basis of thirty years, another $250,000,000. Adding the pre-war budget of $1,000,000,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the future would have to raise $3,000,000,000 a year at least. There was glib talk today about taxes on capital, and he recognized that it was a plausible thing to talk about, but it cut both ways, and anything that tended to check industrial development reacted on the working classes. Serious consideration, however, must be given to taxes on wealth, as distinct from capital. It had to be realized that, so far as workers were concerned, the pre-war standard would never be accepted again. Some people said that the taxation of German goods would bring relief, but he would not insult them by discussing that. He considered the situation in the light of facts.

The Future of Railways

There was approximately $7,000,000,000 invested in railways. If the war ended tomorrow and railways returned to

the old conditions, all ordinary and preference stock and all debenture stock interest would be wiped out by the wages bill and the cost of railway material. Nobody would suggest that shareholders would view that position with enthusiasm.

Supposing the State were to decide to take over the railways, would it be common sense to allow competition by motor traffic? Again, there were hundreds of boats working on the canals of France, and these might be used in development of British canal transport. It must be remembered, too, that railway rates were governed by coastwise traffic. These matters had to be considered with the transport system as a whole and worked out as a financial proposition. There was an unfortunate tendency to forget that we were now living an artificial life, and business and working men should think out these matters and not accept manufactured opinion.

The British Nation, he said, was faced with one of the most critical periods in its history, with the food problem more serious than people believed and with the industrial situation bristling with difficulties.

The Economic Weapon Against Germany

Sir Edward Carson's Plan

PRESIDENT WILSON in his address to Congress on Dec. 4, 1917, gave a broad intimation of a possible economic war against Germany. Alluding to the possibility that Germany would retain her "ambitious and intriguing masters, "interested to disturb the peace of the "world," he said that it "might be im- "possible also in such untoward circum- "stances to admit Germany to the free "economic intercourse which must in- "evitably spring out of the other part- "nerships of real peace."

Sir Edward Carson, in an address at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, Dec. 13, 1917, referred to the same subject in these words:

> The question of imperial trade is so closely connected with this war that you cannot dissociate the one from the other, and we are not going to lose the war through any consideration for Germany in our future trade policy. Never again are we going to have the peaceful penetration of amiable Germans. Never again are we going to allow Germany to build up her reserves of war under the guise of the peaceful carrying on of business. These are the great lessons that we ought to have learned. Nothing astonished me more than why Germany ever went into the war. She had taken possession of three-fourths of London and of almost every other city and town in the country; in fact, we were beginning to take off our hats to the Germans for allowing us to engage in any kind of commerce at all.
>
> As showing the thoroughness of their organization for the carrying on of peaceful commerce, some time ago I served on a committee which was inquiring into what was to be done with Hun businesses in this country by the Board of Trade, and this was one of the matters brought before us: A firm in Holland had contracted with an English firm to supply them with a large amount of machinery. Before proceeding with the contract the firm in Holland applied to an inquiry agent in London with a British name to know whether the English firm was in a position of solvency to enter into such a large contract, and they got back an answer from the inquiry agent, who was a German, that the firm in question was so insolvent and in such a parlous condition that they could not possibly carry out such a contract, but if the Dutch firm were in a hurry about the contract the agency could strongly recommend a particular German firm. Owing to the outbreak of the war the German firm was not able to carry out the contract, and it handed over all the documents to the English firm, and I have them now in my possession.
>
> That is the kind of thing that has been going on, and to people engaged in the carrying on of honest trade in this country it is absolutely intolerable. If the people of the British Empire ever again tolerate anything approaching the system that was in vogue before the war this war will have been waged in vain. On behalf of the martyrs of that system—because the men in the trenches and on the seas who have lost their lives during this war were the martyrs of that sys-

tem—I appeal to all to see that never again in this country shall these ghastly German ideas of trade or business be allowed to hold up their heads.

Raw Material as a Weapon

In addition to our splendid navy and army at the present moment we hold in our hands a weapon which is almost equal in importance to anything you can do in the field and on the sea. That is an economic weapon. Look around and see the position in which we stand along with the overseas dominions in the economic world! They talk of a League of Nations! Let us at all events commence with a League of British Nations. To what you can do by a proper League of British Nations there is no limit. Take the case of raw material. When this war is over there will be a lack of raw material to go round in order to rebuild the world which has been devastated by the Hun. The Germans are removing from gallant little Belgium every particle of machinery that can be of use to them and that might have been of help in the reconstruction of that country. Everywhere it is the same thing. At the same time, the Germans know perfectly well—we have evidence of it from day to day—that their own society and their own commerce never can be reconstructed unless the British Empire and her allies are willing to give them the lease.

I am not preaching the doctrine of boycott after the war. When we come to the terms of peace it will be time enough to talk of that. But I am preaching this emphatically, that we ought by our legislation and administration to make it perfectly clear to Germany that every day that passes on which devastation and loss goes on is to be to their sorrow and their loss. We ought to make it perfectly clear to the Germans, not merely in words but in acts, that the longer the war continues the less chance is there of their coming in for any share of that much too short supply of raw material that exists throughout the world for the reconstruction of the devastated nations. We have a vast amount of raw material in the British Empire. Almost the whole of the mineral wealth that goes to produce spelter, zinc, and lead and various other things comes from Australia, Canada, and other places in his Majesty's dominions. Before the war every particle of that in one way or another was within the clutches of Germany. After the war they should not be able to touch an ounce of it without our consent.

An Economic Offensive

Take, again, the question of shipping. We are suffering grievous losses in our ships, which are the very heart of our commerce and that of the dominions overseas. Ships go along the lines of communication which are kept open by our splendid navy. In consequence of the ruthless breaches of international law by the German submarines, after the war shipbuilding must be one of our most essential industries if we are to revive our trade. I suppose when we come to ask the House of Commons to give us some priority in shipbuilding we shall be told that it is an interference with trade and commerce. I believe the nation will rise against that kind of thing, and I hope that no ships will be allowed to be built in any shipyard here for any other country until we have made sure of having sufficient shipping to enable us to carry on the commerce of ourselves and our allies.

An economic offensive! I once called it bombing Hun businesses. I say bomb them till there is not a brick left in their foundations. Do it now. Do not wait. You have every justification, for this reason—Germany has rendered reconstruction necessary, and therefore in the reconstruction let us and our allies have priority. Do not let us be afraid of loving our friends and loathing our enemies. Do not let us be afraid of mutually assisting each other. We have shaken hands together and gone into the trenches together and left there hundreds of thousands of the best lives of the empire. Let us keep before our minds the ideals for which we are fighting. Let us really frame our policy with an eye for freedom and liberty, and let us take care that the fruits which have been cultivated by our peoples shall be reaped for their benefit as a whole.

An Imaginary Letter by the Head of the Hamburg-American Line

AS illustrating the state of mind of the Conservative English press, the following extracts are given from an article in The London Chronicle of Dec. 12, 1917. It pleased the author's fancy to put his ideas into the form of a letter supposed to be written by Albert Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, to Dr. Rathenau, the German Privy Councilor. The letter reveals the

trend of thought among the English Conservative classes and their idea as to what an intelligent German must be thinking at the present juncture. Herr Ballin is represented as saying:

What sorry lies have been dished up to our people on the subject of shipping! One reads of the resounding hammer strokes of riveters as they work at the creation of new leviathans for our overseas commerce. Hamburg, Bremerhaven, Danzig, Stettin are supposed to be buzzing with shipbuilding. Not long ago one journal asserted that nearly 400,000 tons were almost ready for launching! And there is hardly a vestige of truth in any of these statements. Our yards are only working for the navy, and, as for other ships, we have not the material or accommodation, and, above all, we have not the necessary labor, skilled and unskilled.

Believe me when I say that our mercantile marine is in a perilous condition. The bill to re-establish and strengthen it which is now before the Reichstag, even if passed in its integrity, will show no results for at least five years, and it is in these five years that our fate will be most adversely influenced. What will not our great maritime competitors make of these five years—Great Britain, the States, Japan? What will not neutrals make of them—neutrals who have enormously added to their reserve capital—Norway, Denmark, Holland? I almost despair when I think how different it all might have been. You and I, dear Herr Privy Councilor, were never advocates of this fatal policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. You will remember how I went to Berlin to seek to stay the hand of the authorities. I begged them to reflect, and they told me the country insisted on it. This was not true. I pointed out how it would inevitably draw America into the conflict. They poohpoohed me, smiled at America, and scorned her threat. Do they smile now? Let me tell you that in my opinion the entry of the United States into this struggle may spell absolute disaster for us.

Our people have little or no knowledge of the American character. You and I have made a most careful study of it. What stuff our publicists and journalists write about their mammon worship, their greed, their envy of other nations, their lack of discipline—oh, that blessed word discipline! You and I know that the Americans are probably the most idealistic nation on the earth's surface. We know that they would not have entered the lists of our foes had they had any doubt as to the justice of their cause. Nonsense to say they have been influenced by Britain. We are mad not to see where we are and whither we are driving. In antagonizing America we have done a disastrous thing—a thing which will throw its cold shadow on our economic life for a generation. * * *

How are we to resume our sea trade in face of an Anglo-Saxondom which loathes and must loathe our presence among them? Do our fools of Chauvinists realize that we have hardly a port at which our ships can call and where a friendly welcome will be extended to them? Dover, Falmouth, and Southampton; Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria; Aden, the Persian Gulf, Bombay, and Colombo; Singapore and Hongkong—what are they? Great British arsenals, naval bases, coaling stations, repairing docks, in which we dare not show our faces if Britain so wills. It is the same around the African Continent, the same in the West Indies and in the Pacific. We have not a coaling station of our own, not a place where we can effect repairs. Yet in face of this—a most deadly serious state of affairs—we go on piling up offense on offense.

But we must beat England, you say, no matter what the consequences. I agree. All I say is that, whether we beat her or she beats us, the consequences will be the same—disaster to our overseas trade if Britain so wills it. We may, in the event of victory, impose all sorts of conditions securing us most-favored-nation treatment, securing us free entry into British ports everywhere. No sane man believes that these conditions will help us.

And just one point more, and it is, perhaps, quite as serious. With a hostile British Empire, galled and fretted with our military success, raging at its losses, hopelessly alienated, how are we to procure the raw material which this empire alone can supply? You have studied this question, and I am sure of your agreement. You do not believe in the silly assertion that after the war these British markets for raw material will be open to us. Where are we to procure our supplies of jute if not from India? If we are driven from Africa, where are we to seek our full supplies of rubber, palm kernels, and copra?

What a prospect! Within the British Empire are produced countless articles on which we have hitherto relied, and which will be indispensable in the future if we are to swim and not to sink. Wool from South Africa and Australia, spelter, wolfram, nickel, cobalt, and endless more. That great empire is self-contained, and we are not. And all the military victories and all the wild will-o'-the-wisps about "Hamburg to Bagdad" will not help us.

The Doom of Germany After the War

Frederic Harrison's Letter to a German

The English essayist, Frederic Harrison, at the close of 1917, addressed the following open letter to his former friend, Emeritus Professor Lujo Brentano, of the Universities of Munich, Breslau, Strassburg, Vienna, and Leipsic:

PROFESSOR BRENTANO: I did not think I could ever again address a word to any German. But, in resigning your offices, you seem to us to be the one eminent German who foresees the appalling doom into which the Tyrant has thrust your people. It is now nearly fifty years since you came to our country, mastered our language and our history, studied our institutions, and were received as a colleague and a friend. You and I of old have exchanged books, letters, and friendly offices. All England recognizes your learning, your industry, your devotion to the cause of economic and social progress.

Can you do nothing to open the eyes of your nation, intellectual and far-seeing as it is, to the awful moral isolation into which the crimes of your soldier-caste have doomed them? If you have not yet grasped this fact, I will try to explain it to you. I am in England, as you are in Germany, an independent student of society, a social worker, wholly detached from politics, party, army, or Government. In extreme old age, your senior by so many years, untouched by those passions this war has roused in those who have to act and to fight, I tell you that for years to come the German name will spell shame to every true man and woman of English blood. We have no Hymn of Hate. One does not hate a mad dog or a hungry wolf. We guard our own, and close every door and wall against them. Henceforth in Europe a German will be taboo—outside the pale of civilized man.

Do you think any Englishman can take in friendship any German hand? I warn you that to us it would be like touching a thief or a murderer. Do you expect that we shall employ as before German men and women in our business or in our homes? Never again! We know now that the German servant, clerk, merchant, diplomat in Britain too often has been spy, rival, swindler, traitor. Do you think we shall trade again—"as usual"? No! If your great capitalists nurse such a dream, do not let them delude your workmen. It will not be.

This will not be an affair of treaties, laws, and Governments. Our business men, our workingmen will see to it themselves. Do you think that our seamen and maritime laborers who have seen tens of thousands of civilians done to death with every form of wanton barbarism will ever again welcome your ships in our docks? Do you think your "pirates" will ever again enter our ports—dump on us their cargoes—refit from our stores—"all as usual"? Your crimes against human nature have been too vast, too general, too revolting to be forgotten. You are yourself not only a great economist, but also a great moralist—an eminent social reformer. You know how the deep passion of indignation against savagery sweeps away in honest men the baser instincts of gain. We may have, too, a few men mean enough to desire a return to the old trade conditions. They are not so many nor so strong as your Krupps and Ballins fancy. No! Our profiteers, such as there are, will find themselves overborne and boycotted themselves by the indignation of our true-hearted people.

This war will not end as all modern wars have ended. We have often fought other nations, and quickly returned to civil intercourse in peace. But this has not been war. It has been the inundation of barbarism upon civilization of a kind unheard of since Oriental and mediaeval incursions. It is the deluge of a whole race, drunk with the lust of blood and booty, "running amok" upon their peaceful neighbors. In this orgy they have outraged every law of morality—defied every decency of civil life—

destroyed the sacred relics of past ages —prostituted science to become the tool of torture—proclaimed Terrorism to be the new Code of Nations. Every utterance of your Kaiser, of your Staff, of your press has been false—slanderous, treacherous, brazen lies to conceal their own disasters, to accuse their enemy of fictitious crimes. The tolerance, the good faith, the magnanimity we show has been perverted to some new murderous device. And your people to a man, woman, or child, with one voice accept, aid, applaud these treacheries, mendacities, and infamies. The whole German people have made themselves the docile creatures of their military drillmasters, who dominate the nation, in war, in trade, in education, in morals.

I leave it to you to warn your people of the ghastly conditions into which their industry will have fallen—of the universal ruin when your huge war debt is at last proved to be waste paper, when your factories are empty of material, your docks void of shipping, your braggart dreams of plunder all gone into the clouds. Where are you to get cotton, wool, metals, corn, ships, and overseas products? Not from us—not from Europe—not from America—not from Africa! We English could not restore your colonies, even if we wished or tried to do so. How, then, are the German workingmen to work? You are a great economist. Perhaps you can tell them. I have nothing to do with that. All I wish you to understand is this.

Professor! the German will stand outside the "Comity of Nations," which now he defies and ridicules, until he has shown the world that he is no longer the monster of ambition and cruelty which forty years of Bismarcktum and Kaisertum have made him. I await your answer to all this.

Offenses Against Food Regulations in Germany

ACCORDING to Vorwärts of Berlin, there were in Germany 189,806 indictments under the various food regulation acts between Oct. 1, 1916, and Sept. 30, 1917, or, roughly, 520 daily. One can take up no German daily paper without seeing columns occupied with the cases of delinquents who have wittingly or unwittingly sinned against one or other of the innumerable enactments with which every German citizen is supposed to be familiar. Sometimes he is the big provision merchant who has been criminally manipulating markets; more frequently the adulterator who has been palming off on the public poisonous substitutes for food; most frequently of all the hungry woman or child who has robbed a potato field or a hen-roost, and has been caught red-handed by the Constable. Nearly 130,000 of the indictments are the result of information laid by private informers. The following cites a case from each of these categories:

A large food merchant in Osnabrück was fined $1,250 for acts which gave him control of all the beans and peas in the district. He had bought stocks, for which he paid 27 pfennigs a pound, and had sold them at 95 pfennigs. His net profits amounted to $175,000.

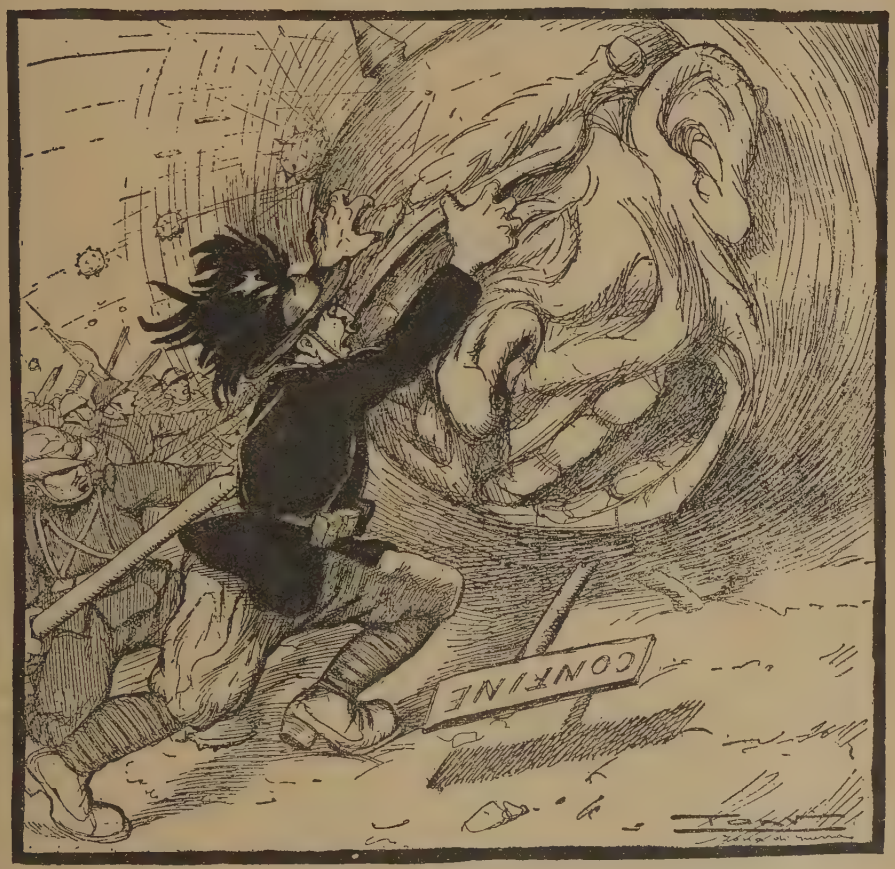
A master tailor of Duisburg, finding tailoring an unsatisfactory occupation, took to the manufacture of soap and soup tablets. The soap was composed of ingredients of a most deleterious character, and when used set up a violent inflammation of the skin. The soup tablets were salt mixed with the fatty scum of boiled offal. He was punished with three years' penal servitude, but he had scooped in over $18,000 profit.

Lisbeth Eckhardt, from a village near Crefeld, 72 years, her daughter and grandchild were severely punished for roaming the fields at night and for digging up twenty pounds of potatoes and cutting ten heads of cabbage. Moreover, they had told untruths to the gèndarme who had pounced on them. Old Lisbeth was fined $25, her daughter $15, with a fortnight's imprisonment, and the child, aged 7, was sent for a year to a reformatory.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

The Invasion of Italy



—*From Il 420, Florence.*

"The giant rolled into our plain
Shall yet be rolled back home again."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Teutonic Wolves in Italy

—*From Il Numero, Turin.*

This is the food they found on the Venetian plain.

[Russian Cartoon]

Defenders of the Revolution

—*From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.*

And while they argue.....!!!!

[Australian Cartoon]

Bruin on the Brink

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

[English Cartoon]

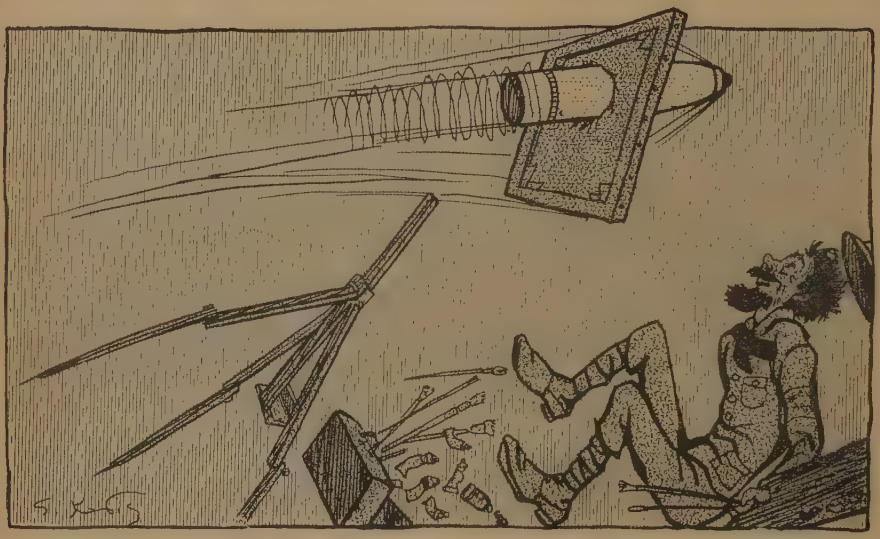
A Nursery Tale that Came True

—From The Passing Show, London.

Russia in the rôle of Little Red Riding Hood.

[French Cartoon]

Art at the Front

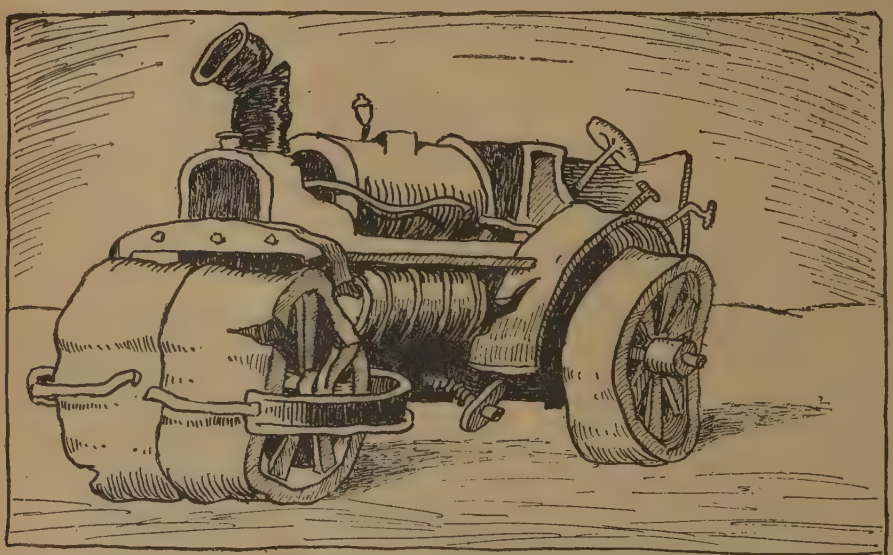


—From La Baionnette, Paris.

"It's astonishing! At Paris I can't dispose of a canvas, and here I can hardly finish one before it is carried off!"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Bids Invited

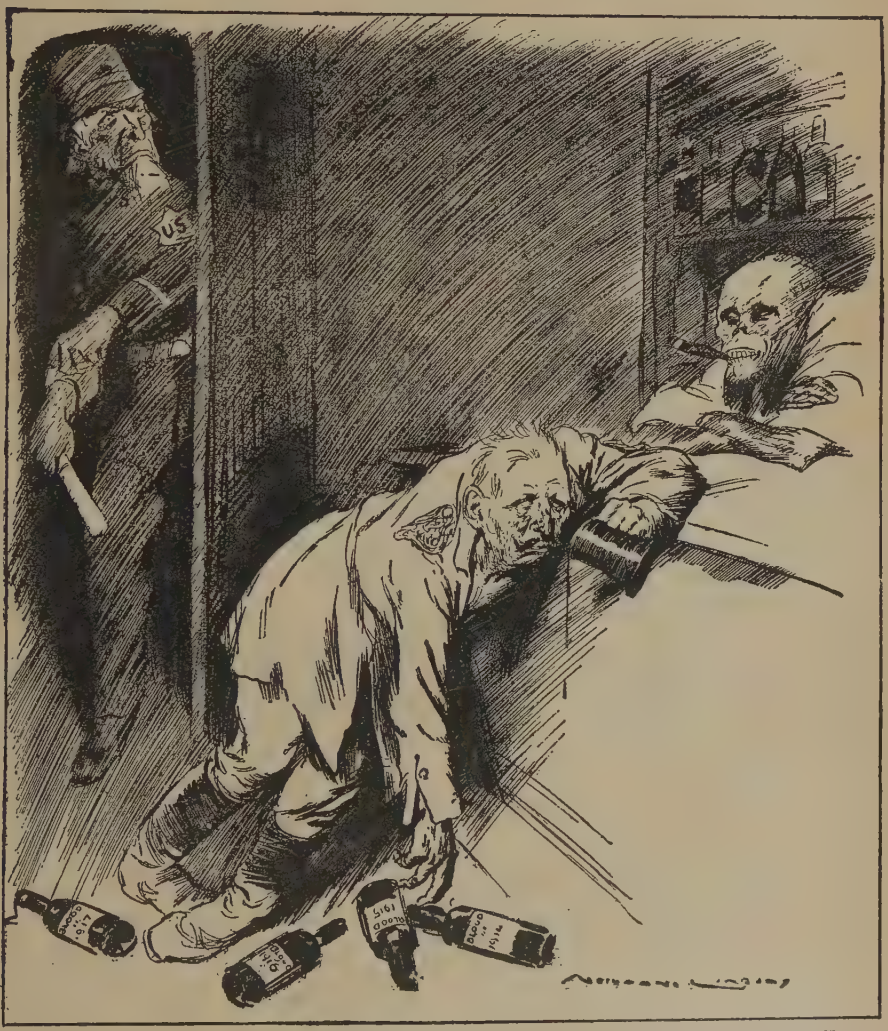


—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

Offers are invited for the conversion of the Russian steam roller into a steam plow. Bids to be sent to L. E. Nine & Co., Petrograd.

[Australian Cartoon]

The New Policeman on the Beat



—From The Sydney Bulletin.

[American Cartoon]

'Neath the Old Chestnut Tree

—*From The New York Times.*

"Come, let us sit down and be friends."

[English Cartoon]

Oh! Jerusalem!

—From The Passing Show, London.

The real magic carpet that tossed the Turk.

[American Cartoon]

Austria Pulls the Car of Victory

—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

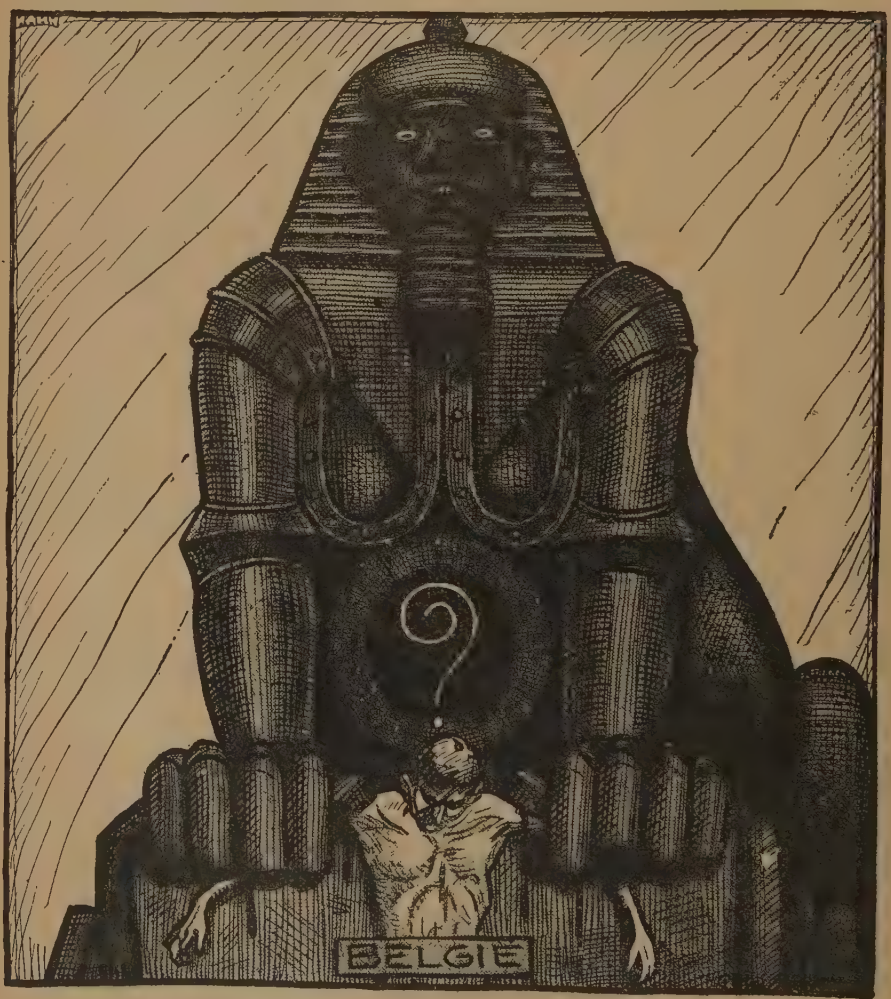
Russia's Plight

—From The Chicago Herald.

Treason, Anarchy, and Ignorance bind the Giant.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The German Sphinx



—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The mouth opens, but the saving word about Belgium is not spoken.

[American Cartoon]

Sudden Admiration

—From The Washington Times.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Hohenzollern Peace Bat

I am a bird
—hark while I sing!
I am a mouse
—the cats I dread!

I am sweet Peace
—look at my wing!
I am dread War
—look at my head!

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

The Only Answer

WHEN WILL THIS WAR END?
THE WAR WILL END WHEN THE ALLIES WIN
THAT WHINING, WHEEDLING, GERMAN INSPIRED DETERMINATION TO DESTROY THE QUESTION -

—*Dayton News.*

On His Way to Self-Government

—*San Francisco Examiner.*

A Necessary Tonsorial Operation

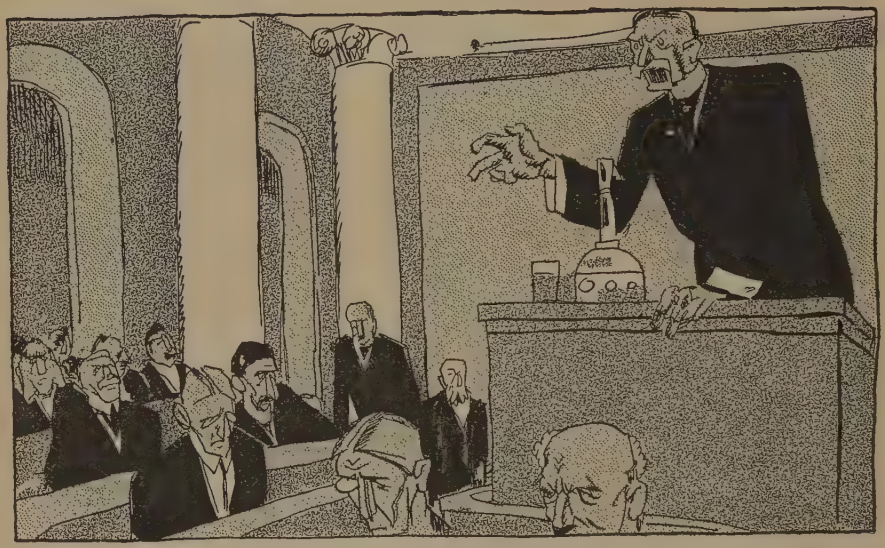
—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

The Two-Headed Monster

—*Dallas News.*

[Russian Cartoon]

A Difference in Position



The pacifists who stand for peace—

—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

—and the martyrs who have lain down for peace.

[English Cartoon]

The Pirate's Opportunity

—From John Bull, London.

"The struggle for the wheel."

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Military Balance

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The scales rise and fall, but the sword never stops cutting.

[American Cartoons]

Now on the Firing Line

—*New York Herald.*

Camouflage Diabolical

—*Providence Journal.*

[Polish-American Cartoon]

More Terrible as Friend Than Foe

—*Macauley in New York Globe.*

Hanging On to the End

—*From The Cepy, Chicago.*

"U-boats are now being sunk faster than Germany can build them."—British Admiralty Report.

A Prayer for Victory

—Philadelphia Press.

If Only the Crusaders Could Have Seen It!

—Des Moines Register.

The Manicurist

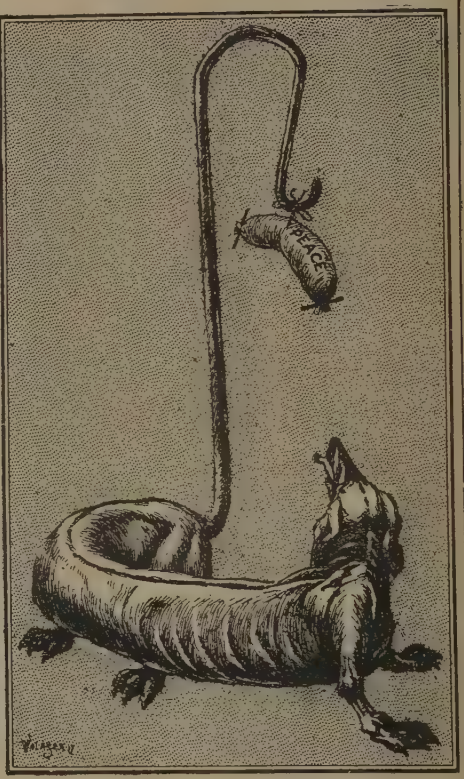
Toasting the Kaiser

—San Francisco Chronicle.

Stars and Stripes for Austria

—*Los Angeles Times.*

So Near and Yet So Far!

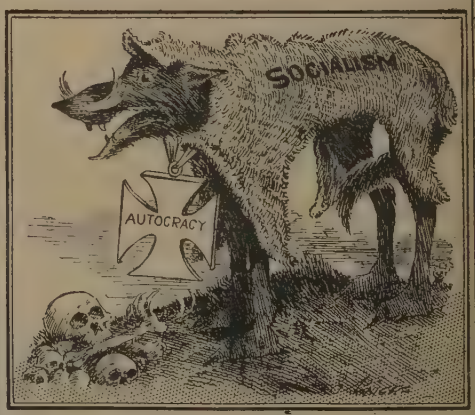


—*Chicago Herald.*

Putting the "E" on Slave

—*New York Herald.*

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing



—*Duluth Herald.*

MAJOR GENERAL PEYTON C. MARCH

Appointed Acting Chief of Staff of the United States Army, succeeding General Bliss.

(© Clinedinst Studio.)

GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

Who has relinquished active duty as Chief of Staff of the United States Army to become American military representative on the Inter-Allied Council.

PERIOD XLII.

The Peace Offensive—President Wilson's Reply to Hertling and Czernin—Premier Lloyd George on the Central Powers' Views—Speeches by King George and Kaiser Wilhelm—Progress of the War—The Sinking of the Tuscania—America in the War—President Wilson to the Farmers—The Ukraine and Its Separate Peace—The Republic of Finland—Russia's Withdrawal from the War—The Dissolution of the Russian Armies—The Supreme War Council: Third Session—Strengthening the War Department—What America Has Done for France—The Coal Crisis and "Heatless Days"—Case of the United States Against Germany—A German Exposure of the Hohenzollern Plot—Economic Distress in Germany—The New Paris and Its Daily Life—Germany's Claim to Alsace—Why Alsace-Lorraine Should Be Restored—Secret Treaty with Italy—The Serbian Mission in America—The Tragedy of the Lithuanians—How the War Transformed England—Full Text of General Haig's 1917 Report—General Review of the Summer's Fighting.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

A BIRDSEYE VIEW OF THE MONTH'S WAR EVENTS

THE chief military engagement in the month under review occurred in the invaded region of Italy; in co-operation with British and French batteries, the Italians drove the Austrians from the positions which threatened the Venetian plains and captured several thousand prisoners; the pressure on the critical fronts by the invaders was relieved and immediate danger of a further offensive by the Austrians was removed. General Allenby made further advances beyond Jerusalem. On the western front there were numerous skirmishes and trench forays, but no operations of consequence were undertaken. The movement of troops by Germany from the east to the west deepened the conviction that this concentration was preliminary to an offensive on a wider scale than any since the first invasion.

Politically the month was replete with events of profound significance. Chief of these was the withdrawal of Russia from the rôle of belligerents and the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers. The situation in Russia up to the signing of the peace treaty is described in detail elsewhere. Events since then have followed in quick succession. Chief of these was the announcement that Germany refused to construe Russia's refusal to sign a treaty of peace as equivalent to her withdrawal as an enemy. It was declared that Russia's action automatically ended the armistice, which had expired Feb. 18, and that Germany would resume hostilities even to the extent of occupying Petrograd. There was no news from the Bolshevist Government to indicate whether a new offensive by Germany would be resisted. Russia's army was practically dissolved, and her powers of resistance seemed ended, except by leaderless bands of demobilized soldiers, who could easily be swept aside by the German troops. The cession to the new Ukraine Republic by Austria of the Kholm district was bitterly denounced by the Poles as tantamount to another partition of Poland, and produced new alignments between the Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs in the Austrian Parliament, which foreshadowed serious political consequences. On Feb. 18 the German Government officially announced that the armistice had expired; the reports indicated that German troops would be sent to the aid of the anti-Bolshevist Rada in the Ukraine and the German military occupation of Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, and the Baltic ports extended and consolidated. There were reports of bloody excesses by lawless revolutionists in Petrograd on Feb. 18.

The interchange of views on peace through public addresses by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George for the United States and Great Britain, and by the German and the Austrian Premiers was interpreted as amounting to a preliminary peace discussion at long range. These four historic addresses are given in full in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The reception of President Wilson's latest address by the chief newspapers of Germany and Austria was much less violent and denunciatory than that given to previous utterances. This change was interpreted as indicating that the conflict had moved a step nearer the end. It was announced that both Count Czernin and Count Hertling would deliver addresses in reply to the latest proposals of the President and Premier before March 1.

There was some agitation in political circles in the United States over the charge made by Senator Chamberlain, (Democrat,) Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, that the War Department had failed in its task, and over his introduction of a bill to create a War Cabinet. The Senator was pub-

licly rebuked by the President in scathing terms, but he persisted in his determination to reorganize the War Department and defended his statement in a Senate speech in which he reiterated his charges. Other speeches were delivered, some by Democrats in support of Senator Chamberlain; one Republican who participated up to Feb. 16 was Senator Weeks of Massachusetts, who repeated the charges of inefficiency and added that President Wilson was responsible for dragging politics into the situation. Meanwhile the effect of the agitation was plainly shown in the quick reorganization of the War and Munitions Departments and in a definite movement by the Executive to bring about in effect the results aimed at by the War Cabinet measure.

The movement of American troops to France continued without interruption, and it was understood that fully 500,000 were expected to be on French soil early in the Spring.

There was political excitement in Great Britain, due to the suspicion that the Lloyd George Government was practically displacing Generals Haig and Robertson by the Versailles Council, but the British Premier defeated his critics by a significant majority. The resignation of General Robertson as Chief of Staff and the appointment of Sub-Chief General Wilson in succession was announced, and indicated that the Government had determined to speed up the Chief Command.

In France the Clemenceau Cabinet and the national defense were materially strengthened by the conviction of Bolo Pacha for treason; the atmosphere of intrigue and doubt, which had weakened the French armies in the Spring of 1917, was entirely dispelled; it was felt, as a result, that the French morale was higher and more unconquerable than at any time during the war.

The serious strikes in Austria and Germany late in January and early in February were symptomatic of war weariness and the fruits of the Russian revolution: they were repressed by stern military measures, but their influence was felt in the Reichstag.

Sir Douglas Haig's Report in Full

THIS issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contains the text of the official report of Sir Douglas Haig on the battles of Arras, Messines, Ypres, also the operations in the Lens area and at Bullecourt against the Hindenburg line, with subsidiary undertakings between April 9, 1917, and the end of the Flanders offensive in November, 1917. It is estimated that the Germans had 131 divisions in these engagements, while the British had between 65 and 70.

The official report on the battle of Cambrai, which was fought on Nov. 20, will be covered later.

General Haig reports that the battle of Arras, which opened April 9 and closed May 5, was fought on a front of 16 to 20 miles. The British wrested from the enemy 60 square miles of French territory and captured over 20,000 prisoners, with 257 guns, including 98 of heavy calibre. In the battle of Messines 7,000 prisoners and 67 guns were captured and the objectives were attained. The third battle of Ypres began July 31 and continued intermittently through September and October, reaching its final stage Nov. 10 with the capture of Paschendaele. In this battle 78 German divisions were used, and the British captured 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars.

* * *

The Historical Background of Ukrainia

THE readiness of the Ukrainians to make peace with Austria is clear when it is remembered that the affiliations of the Ukraine were always rather with the West than with the North. The Ukraine grew up as a prolongation of the Kingdom of Poland, as a frontier State barring the advance of the Turks and Tartars and as a refuge for fugitives from Russia. In the days of the second Romanoff, Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, the oppression exercised by the Polish feudal lords over the people of the Ukraine became so intolerable that a series of desperate revolts against Polish domination broke out, under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitski. For years repeated appeals were made to Czar

Alexei to take the Ukraine under his protection; he finally consented in 1654, and, after a long war, the Ukraine was attached to Moscow as a semi-independent State.

Two tendencies then became active in the Ukraine: a movement for more complete assimilation with the Russian realm; and a countermovement toward nationalism and practical independence both of Poland and Russia. Under Peter the Great, the son of Czar Alexei, Mazeppa headed a separatist movement in the year 1709, entering into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, with whom Peter was at war. Peter completely triumphed over both his opponents. At first the Ukraine continued to elect its own Hetman, or Cossack Generalissimo, but the position gradually fell into abeyance as Russian administration extended itself throughout the Ukraine. Finally, under Catherine the Great, the Ukraine became an integral part of the Russian Empire, which it continued to be for a century and a quarter.

But the old separatist movement never quite died out. It was always strongly supported by Austria as successor to Southern Poland, (Galicia,) and Lemberg was made a strong centre of Ukrainian, anti-Russian propaganda, the practical object of which was to bring under Austrian influence the southwestern corner of Russia. It thus happened that, when the Russian Empire broke to pieces, there was a strong Ukrainian movement which was also strongly pro-Austrian; this led naturally to the separate peace with Austria, and to the annexation to Ukrainia of the Polish district of Kholm, which has a considerable proportion of Ukrainian inhabitants.

* * *

Rumania and Bessarabia

WHILE the name of Rumania, or, more properly, Romania, is comparatively modern, the political existence of the Rumanian people is of old date. During the late Middle Ages the Rumanian Nation was divided into the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and through considerable periods Rumanian-peopled Eastern Transylvania adhered to the two principalities. This was true particularly in the days of Michael the Brave, who, with Vlad the Impaler, receives almost divine honors in Rumanian tradition. Michael reigned in the closing days of the English Queen Elizabeth. The northward expansion of Turkey after the capture of Constantinople presently submerged the principalities, but fell short of the grinding tyranny suffered by the Serbians and Bulgarians.

When, in the reign of Catherine the Great, the frontiers of Russia touched the margin of the Sultan's realm, the principalities became the inevitable battleground between Russian and Turk. By several treaties, Russia won considerable rights for the Rumanians, as by the treaty of Kutshuk Kainardji, in 1774. In 1808 the Russians once more occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, and, by the peace of Bucharest, in 1812, Bessarabia, which takes its name from the old Rumanian princely house of Bassarab, was ceded to Russia. In 1856, after the disastrous Crimean War, Russia was compelled to return to Turkey a strip of Bessarabia. Five years later the two principalities were practically separated from Turkey, and united under the name of Rumania.

After the war of 1877, in which Russia advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople, the Czar wished to recover the strip of Bessarabia which Russia had held from 1812 to 1856, but had been compelled to relinquish during a period of twenty-one years. But this meant a loss of territory to Rumania, which had come into existence precisely in that interval, and Rumania never really forgave this, though nominally accepting as compensation the Dobrudja —the quadrangle below the mouths of the Danube. It was probably the loss of the Bessarabian strip which drove Rumania secretly to join Germany and Austria about 1883, and the possibility of regaining a part or the whole of Bessarabia may induce Rumania once more to make a treaty with the Central Empires. Bessarabia is genuinely Rumanian; if ethnical reasons are conclusive, then it should be rejoined to the Rumanian realm.

The Lines of Fracture in the Russian Realm

THE genuinely national Russia is better described by its older title of Muscovy, or Moscovia, "the Land of Moscow," under which John Milton, author of "Paradise Lost," wrote an admirable history of that country, incorporating the very valuable records and vivid observations made by the early English expeditions to Russia by way of the White Sea, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

The region of which Moscow is the centre is uniform in race, language, and character; a genuine ethnical unit. From this central region the waves of conquest and expansion went north, west, south, and east during the whole three centuries of the Romanoff rule; and practically all that was thus added, since 1613, is not genuinely Russian in the ethnical sense. As a part of the movement which, in Milton's day, added the Ukraine to Moscovia, a war with Poland added to the dominion of the Czars the cities of Polotsk, Mohilev, and the rest of White Russia; Smolensk, Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, and the rest of Lithuania, as well as Lublin, which is distinctively Polish. The two partitions of Poland simply extended this movement further west. Dvinsk and Dorpat (Yuriev) were taken from Charles X. of Sweden during the same period; and the movement toward the northwest, (Courland, Esthonia, Livonia,) was completed by Peter the Great, when he conquered Charles XII. of Sweden.

This region on the Baltic and Gulf of Finland has, therefore, been a part of Russia for just over two centuries. In 1809 Finland passed from Swedish to Russian suzerainty, rounding out the northwestern expansion. The story of the Ukraine, to the southwest, has already been told. East of the Ukraine the Russian conquest of the Mussulman Tartars of the Crimea and Southern Volga was a slow process, lasting centuries; the conquest of the Caucasus was completed only in 1864; it included many tribes grouped under four nations: the Tartars and Circassians, both Mussulman; the Armenians and Georgians. Turkestan was added to Russia by a compaign under Skobeleff and Kuropatkin, thus completing the expansion of Russia to the southeast, in the direction of India. These additions, therefore, to Moscovia, mark the natural lines of fracture in the dissolution of the Russian Empire. The position of Siberia is somewhat different.

* * *

Siberia and Russia's Pacific Littoral

IN Shakespeare's day the region east of the Ural Mountains was still under Tartar and Turcoman rule, the final stages of the great movement of expansion started by Genghis Khan in the early thirteenth century. The town of Sibir was the capital of the region nearest the Urals. A Cossack adventurer, Yermak, crossed the Urals about 1580, in the reign of John the Terrible, almost the last ruler of the old dynasty of Rurik. He captured Sibir and offered the territory to the Russian Czar. By 1628 the Russians had reached the River Lena. In 1637 they built the fort of Yakutsk. Between 1631 and 1641 they fought the Buddhist Buryats about Lake Baikal, where there is now a ferry of the Siberian Railroad. In 1650 Khabarov reached the Amur, which flows into the Pacific. But the Chinese blocked Russian advance in this direction for just two centuries. In 1648 the Cossack Dejnev, sailing from the River Kolyma, (160° east longitude,) reached the strait later named after Bering, who rediscovered it in 1728. In 1741 Captain Vitus Bering and Chirikov explored Alaska, which then became Russian territory and so remained for a century and a quarter. In 1784 a Russian settlement was established at Kodiak. In 1852 Muraviev explored the Amur and immediate Russian colonization followed, China recognizing Russian occupation by treaty in 1860, while the explorer received the title of Count Muraviev of the Amur. Finally, while Count Cassini was Russia's representative at Peking, a treaty gave Russia certain advantages in Manchuria, with a terminal at Port Arthur, which Russia lost in the Japanese war of 1905, with the southern half of the bleak island of Sakhalin. There was an ironical pro-

posal to confer on the statesman who negotiated the peace with Japan the title of Count Witte of Half-Sakhalin. Taking the more than 4,000,000 square miles of Siberia, with its population not much larger than that of Scotland, more than 80 per cent. of its inhabitants are of Russian blood, while there are about a million natives remote kindred of the Aleuts and Eskimo. But these native tribes can hardly be called nations. They are more accurately an ethnical museum.

* * *

Junior Officers' Pay

IT was announced in London, in the middle of January, that the War Cabinet had decided to increase the pay of junior officers in the British Army and Navy, the principle adopted being that the minimum rate for an army officer should be half a guinea, or 10s. and 6d. a day. For convenience in comparison, we give the equivalents of the new rates of British Army pay in American money, taking the pound sterling as equal to $4.80, or taking the cent as equal to a halfpenny. Under the new scale, the pay of British junior officers will be:

	—Per Day.—		Per Month.
Second Lieutenant	10s. 6d.	$2.52	$75.60
Lieutenant	11s. 6d.	2.74	82.20
Captain	13s. 6d.	3.24	97.20
Major	18s. 0d.	4.32	129.60
Lieutenant Colonel	23s. 0d.	5.52	165,60

In the middle of February Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, requested the Chairmen of the Military Affairs Committees of Congress to provide legislation immediately granting certain allowances to all officers on field service in the United States and in foreign lands, which will practically amount to increased pay. It was found that an officer doing desk duty in Washington received allowances, while an officer living in a tent in France received nothing but his pay; for example, a Colonel occupying a chair in the War Department receives pay of $444.14 a month, while a Colonel in camp or in France receives $333.33, or a quarter less.

The monthly pay of American officers of the same rank as in the British list is at present as follows:

	Monthly Pay.
Second Lieutenant	$141.67
Lieutenant	166.67
Captain	200.00
Major	250.00
Lieutenant Colonel	291,67

* * *

Revolutionary Russia's Finances

DETAILS have just been received in this country of a statement made by M. Nekrasoff, then Minister of Finance, at the Moscow Conference in August, 1917—details which shed a somewhat ominous light upon the internal situation of Russia, as expressed in financial terms. During the war months of 1914, the issue of Russian paper money amounted to $109,500,000 per month; during 1915 it amounted to $111,500,000 per month; during 1916 to $145,000,000 a month; during the five revolutionary months, from March to August, 1917, the issue of paper money rose to the enormous sum of $416,000,000 per month, from three to four times that under the Imperial Government. At the same time, said M. Nekrasoff, all revenue enormously declined during the first months of the revolution; in August it had almost completely ceased; and the Minister of Finance went on to say that any measures of confiscation or expropriation of capital or real estate would lead to the complete disappearance of revenue, and would react disastrously upon the people at large. Further, the revolution had almost stopped the output of textiles, so that, it was stated at the Moscow Conference, the total visible supply of cotton cloths in August, 1917, amounted to only seven inches of material per head of the Russian population. So the peasants had to go about in rags or skins, reverting to the costume of the cave man. The cities of Russia are now living on the money and food set apart for the armies which have been disbanded. When these come to an end, no alternative to starvation seems to exist. Even the villages will suffer greatly, owing to the huge areas left uncultivated. The Petrograd Soviet pay roll was $350,000 monthly.

Food Prices in Switzerland

IT is reported that there is an ample quantity of food in Switzerland, but that prices have more than doubled since 1914. Food is rationed as follows, with prices in centimes, each centime being approximately one-fifth of a cent:

	Ration.	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Bread	225 grs. daily (nearly ½ lb.)	7 2-5	15¾
Milk	6 litres daily (about 1 pint.)	10 4-5	18-19 4-5
Butter	100 grs. monthly (about 3½ oz.)	32	65
Rice	400 grs. monthly (about 14 oz.)	20	40
Sugar	600 grs. monthly (about 1 lb. 5 oz.)	28 4-5	77
Macaroni	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	22½	33
Corn	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	5	20

Persons engaged in especially hard manual labor receive an additional 50 grams of bread a day. There is a monthly ration of 150 grams of butter and 350 grams of oil and fat. The following are the prices for unrationed commodities, those marked (*) being temporarily unobtainable:

	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Meat, 500 grs., (1 1-10 lb.)	90	185
*Lard, " "	90	400
Tea, " "	300	700
Coffee, " "	120-130	180-250
*Oatmeal, " "	16- 30	69
Cheese, " "	170	180-200
Potatoes, " "	3½	20
Wool, " "	275	850
Coal, " "	3	12
Eggs, each, (average)	10	30
Cotton, 1 meter, (approximately 1 1-10 yd.)	65- 80	200-220
Soap, Sunlight, 1 piece	35- 40	120
Firewood, beech, 1 cubic meter	1,700	2,900
*Oil, olive, 1 litre, (1 7-10 pt.)	150-180	520

A London Times correspondent reports the following:

A somewhat belated attempt is being made to increase the agricultural output. There are said to be between 20,000 and 30,000 deserters from various armies—none are English—in Switzerland at the present moment, and it is proposed to make them work on the land. Many country hotel keepers have been unable to keep going. In the large towns, on the other hand, the hotels have never been more prosperous. Accommodation in Berne, for instance, is practically unobtainable. As in the case of other neutral countries, there has been much money made in the war by those who had anything to sell.

* * *

A Month's Air Raids

AIR raids on leading cities of Europe marked the early weeks of 1918. On the nights of Jan. 29 and 30 German aviators made two attacks on the southeast coast of England and on London. The casualties in the first were: Killed, 58; injured, 173; and in the second: Killed, 10; injured, 10. On Jan. 30, 1918, Paris was attacked by air raiders for the first time since July 27, 1917. The number of persons killed was 20; injured, 50. One of the German machines was brought down and its crew captured. The German official account of the raid on Paris read:

On Christmas Eve and during January enemy aviators, in spite of our warning, again dropped bombs on open German towns outside the region of operations. Thanks to our measures of defense the losses and damage were slight. As a reprisal fourteen tons of bombs were dropped last night on the City of Paris in our first systematic attack from the air.

According to the British official communication of Jan. 14, a daylight air raid was made on Karlsruhe, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden. One and a quarter tons of bombs were dropped on factories and railway tracks. Bursts of flame were seen to follow the explosions. Observers reported that a very large fire was started in the factories alongside the railway, which was confirmed by photographs taken after the raid. This was not the first time Karlsruhe was visited by allied airmen, several raids having been made in 1917, and earlier in the war. More extensive aerial operations against German towns were carried out on Jan. 24 by British aviators, who, according to official report, made direct hits on factories, docks, and in the town of Mannheim. The barracks and railway station at Treves, the steel works at Thionville, and the railway stations at Saarbrücken and Oberbillig also were attacked. The pilots reported large explosions at all objectives, and a big fire at Treves.

An attack was made on Venice on Feb. 3, when a number of bombs fell into the water at the eastern end of the Grand Canal. One fell near the Church of

Santa Maria del Giglio, another in the Calle Furlain, and three on the Lido. No one was killed. At Mestre, a suburb of Venice, the Church of San Lorenzo was almost entirely destroyed by bombs. The raid made it clear that the belief that the enemy had decided to respect the remaining art treasures of Venice was ill-founded. Padua was visited by enemy airplanes on Feb. 5. Buildings in the centre of the city were damaged, and a few persons injured.

* * *

A Soldier's Life in France

LIEUTENANT MILTON SEE, Jr., of the Coast Artillery, U. S. R., in a letter written Oct. 12, 1917, from France, refers to the cordiality of the greetings to Americans by the French soldiers in the following terms:

We have become well acquainted with many of the French officers, who have treated us like kings. They have given us all the privileges of their officers' club, where we can drop in in our spare time and play bridge with them and gossip over tea and coffee and the ever-present wine of the country.

The French "Capitaine" gave a dinner in our honor the other night, at which Generals Muteau and Mounier were present. The French and American officers alternated at the long tables, which, of course, were loaded down with wine and champagne.

After the meal, which was thoroughly French, the "Capitaine" made a speech in English and repeated it in French. He touched on the close relations between France and America, Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, &c., and evoked very much enthusiasm on both sides. The band played the "Marseillaise" and "Star-Spangled Banner," and there were toasts to Presidents Wilson, Poincaré, and the armies of France and America, now fighting side by side. We then treated them to some choice selections of American ragtime, and they came back with a lot of French songs. When we were getting our hats and coats on, one of our fellows started to play "Tipperary," and the Frenchmen went wild. They threw their caps in the air and grabbed ours, and burst out of the place. Outside they started a "snake dance" and, singing "Tipperary," wound down past the old cathedral and through the nearly deserted streets of the town in one grand rough house. After many a "Vive la France" and "Vivent les Etats-Unis," and a few more cheers and songs, every one called it a night and went home to bed.

The next night they gave a show in our honor. Every one of the actors was in the army. This is nothing extraordinary, as everything in pants seems to be in uniform—even Arabians, Turks, and French Indo-Chinese, who work in the munitions factories. * * *

The railroads treat the soldiers generously in this country, as it costs us only about $2.50 for a first-class fare which takes all together eight hours. The dearth of men is very noticeable, especially in France. Women run the stores, theatres, and are conductresses on the tramways, &c. Nearly every one is in mourning, and the convalescent wounded are everywhere.

* * *

Hindenburg Through German Eyes

THE worship of General Hindenburg in Germany is almost universal, and the entire newspaper press is fulsome in its flattery. A newspaper editor named Auernheimer, in a recent publication, gives his impression of the General in the following terms:

Hindenburg's appearance is immense, but it is one of greater tenderness and goodness than his picture would lead one to gather. To me also his head is lighter, his features clearer, the expression less forbidding than in the best-known pictures. This was my first impression as I looked through the half-open doors of his reception room and saw the mighty figure of the Field Marshal in profile as he greeted his guests singly with German thoroughness and punctilio.

Hindenburg has not a face to which justice can be done by the photographer or portrait painter. You only see him as he is when he is in motion. In repose he is the buttoned-up soldier, with stern and forbidding demeanor. But in any case it is a face you can never forget. [Then follow details of forehead, cheeks, eyes, and mustache, neck, upper lip, and of a remarkable "serpent line," whatever that may be.]

When we approach him we feel like Gulliver in the land of the Brobdingnags. Like Odysseus, Hindenburg appears greater when sitting than standing. As we all sat at a round table with him, we felt that he overtopped us as an Alpine summit overtops its foothills.

* * *

A DISPATCH from Paris on Feb. 10 stated that General Cadorna, former Commander in Chief of the Italian Army, had been replaced as Italian delegate to the Supreme War Council by General Gaetano Giardino, Assistant Chief of Staff to General Diaz, the present Italian Commander in Chief.

DURING 1917 the British took 114,544 prisoners and 781 guns, divided as follows:

	Captures.		British Losses.	
	Prisoners.	Guns.	Prisoners.	Guns.
Western theatre...	73,131	531	27,200 (Approx.)	166
Saloniki.....	1,095	...	202	...
Palestine	17,646	108	610	...
Mesopotamia	15,944	124	267	...
East Africa	6,728	18	100	...
Total	114,544	781	28,379	166

* * *

DURING January, 1918, the total British casualties were 1,484 officers and 72,912 men, of whom 368 officers and 13,980 men were killed or died of wounds. The figures for September, October, November, and December were:

Officers	2,938	Men	109,200
Officers	6,205	Men	80,195
Officers	4,906	Men	124,896
Officers	3,984	Men	59,031

The casualties in the Admiralty during January were 84 officers and 1,357 men, of whom 44 officers and 456 men were killed.

* * *

BOLO PACHA, the Frenchman with a Levantine title, was convicted of high treason by a court-martial at Paris on Feb. 14 and sentenced to death. The case was appealed. Bolo was charged with having received large sums of money—through American banks and other institutions—from German sources, and with having undertaken to purchase or corrupt French newspapers with a view to producing internal unrest and thus discourage the prosecution of the war. The testimony was conclusive. His activities were said to be part of the general movement which former Premier Caillaux was charged with engineering, and for which he is in prison awaiting trial on charges of treason.

* * *

BESSARABIA AND THE DOBRUDJA

BESSARABIA, a triangular territory on the Black Sea and the Rumanian border, is preponderantly Rumanian in race and tongue. As a part of the Turkish Empire, it was ceded to Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its western half being again lost by Russia after the disastrous Crimean war. But Russia demanded this piece of territory again in 1878, when she was at the gates of Constantinople, disregarding the fact that it had since become a part of restored Rumania and strongly Rumanian in sentiment. Russia demanded, as compensation for Rumania, the Dobrudja, the square block of land between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, which Rumania accepted, though cherishing bitter resentment against Russia.

The Dobrudja is peopled chiefly by Turks and Bulgarians, and has always been claimed by Bulgaria. In 1913, when the threat of Rumanian intervention against Bulgaria, on the side of Greece, Serbia, and Turkey, compelled Bulgaria to surrender, Rumania exacted an added slice of the Dobrudja as her compensation. This incensed Bulgaria, and was a contributing cause of the alliance between Bulgaria and the Central Powers. According to the principle of nationalities, it would seem that the arrangement of 1878 should be reversed, Bessarabia going back to Rumania, while the Dobrudja would revert to Bulgaria, which at present holds it by armed force.

* * *

THE daily rations of prisoners of war in England consist of the following:

PER DAY.

	Ozs.		Ozs.
Bread	9	Salt	½
Broken biscuit.....	4	Potatoes	20
Meat (five days a week; pickled beef on one of these days).....	6	Other fresh vegetables	4
		Split peas or beans	2
Salt-cured herrings (two days a week)	10	Rice	1
		Margarine	1
		Oatmeal	1
Tea	¼	Jam	1
Or coffee.....	½	Cheese	2
Sugar	1	Pepper 1-72	
		Maize meal.....	½

* * *

SIR WILLIAM GOODE, in a statement made at London Feb. 13, announced that the self-denial in food consumption that had been practiced by the American people within three months as a result of the conservation campaign had resulted in a surplus of food available for Great Britain of 150,000,000 pounds of bacon and 25,000,000 pounds of frozen meat in excess of what had previously been estimated as likely to be available.

THE PEACE OFFENSIVE

Official Peace Declarations of President Wilson, Premier Lloyd George, Count Hertling, and Count Czernin

What amounts to a long-distance exchange of peace negotiations between the Allies and the Central Powers took place in the period beginning with President Wilson's war-aims address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918. *This was preceded, on Jan.* 5, *by an address by Premier Lloyd George to the labor unions of England, in which the war aims of Great Britain were restated. Both these addresses were printed in full in the February* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *Count Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, replied to these addresses before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan.* 24, *and Foreign Minister Czernin replied the same day before the Austrian Parliament, President Wilson replied to both of these declarations in an address to Congress on Feb.* 11, *and Premier Lloyd George replied in Parliament on Feb.* 12. *The last four addresses are given herewith in the order in which they were delivered before their respective bodies.*

The German Chancellor's Reply to America and Great Britain

[*Delivered before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan.* 24, 1918]

After referring to the negotiations with the Russians at Brest-Litovsk and saying that he held fast to the hope that a good conclusion would be arrived at, both with the Bolsheviki and with the Ukrainians, the Chancellor continued:

THE Russians last month proposed to issue an invitation to all the belligerents to participate in the negotiations. Russia submitted certain proposals of a very general character. At that time we accepted the proposal to invite the belligerents to take part in the negotiations, on the condition, however, that the invitation should have a definite period for its acceptance. At 10 o'clock on the evening of Jan. 4 the period expired. No answer had come, and as a result we were no longer under obligations and had a free hand for separate peace negotiations with Russia. Neither were we longer bound, of course, by the general peace proposals submitted to us by the Russian delegation.

Instead of the reply which was expected but which was not forthcoming, two declarations were made by enemy statesmen—Lloyd George's speech and President Wilson's speech. I willingly admit that Lloyd George altered his tone. He no longer indulges in abuse, and appears desirous of again demonstrating his ability as a negotiator, which I had formerly doubted.

I cannot go so far, however, as many opinions which have been expressed in neutral countries, which would read in this speech of Lloyd George a serious desire for peace, and even a friendly disposition. It is true he declares he does not desire to destroy Germany, and never desired to destroy her. He has even

words of respect for our political, economic, and cultural position. But other utterances also are not lacking, and the idea continually comes to the surface that he has to pronounce judgment on Germany, charging her with being guilty of all possible crimes.

That is an attitude with which we can have nothing to do, and in which we can discover no trace of a serious purpose to attain peace. We are to be the guilty ones, over whom the Entente is now sitting in judgment.

That compels me to give a short review of the situation and the events preceding the war, at the risk of repeating what long ago was said. The establishment of the German Empire in the year 1871 made an end of dismemberment. By the union of its tribes the German Empire in Europe acquired a position corresponding to its economic and cultural achievements and the claims founded thereon.

Bismarck crowned his work by the alliance with Austria-Hungary. It was purely a defensive alliance, so conceived and willed by the exalted allies from the first. Not even the slightest thought of its misuse for aggressive aims ever occurred in the course of decades. The defensive alliance between Germany and the Danube monarchy, closely connected by old traditions and allied to us by common interest, was to serve especially for maintenance of peace.

SAYS GERMANY WAS MENACED

But Bismarck had even then, as he was often reproached for having, an obsession in regard to coalitions, and events of subsequent time have shown it was no vision of terror. The danger of hostile coalitions which menaced the allied Central Powers often made its appearance. By King Edward's isolation policy the dream of coalitions became a reality. The German Empire, progressing and growing in strength, stood in the way of British imperialism. In French lust of revenge and Russian aspirations of expansion this British imperialism found only too ready aid. Thus future plans, dangerous for us, were formed.

The geographical situation of Germany in itself had always brought near to us the danger of war on two fronts, and now it became increasingly visible. Between Russia and France an alliance was concluded whose participants were twice as numerous as the population of the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. Republican France lent the Russia of the Czar billions to construct strategical railways in the Kingdom of Poland, in order to facilitate an advance against us. The French Republic drew on its last man for three years of service. Thus France, with Russia, built up armaments extending to the limit of the capabilities of both, thereby pursuing aims which our enemies now term imperialistic.

It would have been a neglect of duty had Germany remained a calm spectator of this game and had we not also endeavored to create an armament which would protect us against future enemies. I may, perhaps, recall that I, as a member of the Reichstag, very frequently spoke on these matters, and, on the occasion of new expenditures on armament, pointed out that the German people, in consenting to these, solely desired to pursue a policy of peace, and that such armaments were only imposed upon us to ward off the danger threatening from a possible enemy. It does not appear that any regard was paid to these words abroad.

CLAIMS ALSACE-LORRAINE

And Alsace-Lorraine, of which Lloyd George speaks again? He speaks of the wrong Germany did in 1871 to France. Alsace-Lorraine—you need not be told, but abroad they appear still to be ignorant of things—Alsace-Lorraine comprises, as is known, for the most part purely German regions which by a century of violence and illegality were severed from the German Empire, until finally the French Revolution swallowed up the last remnant. Alsace and Lorraine then became French provinces.

When, in the war of 1870, we demanded back the districts which had been criminally wrested from us, that was not a conquest of foreign territory, but, rightly and properly speaking, what today is called disannexation. This disannexation was then expressly recognized by the

French National Assembly, the constitutional representatives of the French people at that time, March 29, 1871, by a large majority of votes.

And in England, too, gentlemen, language quite other than is heard today has been heard. I can appeal to a classic witness. It is none other than the famous British historian and author, Thomas Carlyle, who in a letter to The Times in December, 1870, wrote:

> No people has had such a bad neighbor as Germany has possessed during the last 400 years in France. Germany would have been mad had she not thought of erecting a frontier wall between herself and such a neighbor when opportunity offered.

Observe that I have not repeated a very hard expression which Carlyle used about France. I know of no law of nature, no resolution of heavenly Parliaments, whereby France alone of all earthly beings was not obliged to restore stolen territories if the owners from whom they had been snatched had an opportunity of reconquering them. And respected English press organs expressed themselves in a like sense. I mention, for example, The Daily News.

REPLY TO WILSON TERMS

I now come to President Wilson. Here, too, I recognize that the tone appears to have changed. The unanimous rejection of Mr. Wilson's attempt, in reply to the Pope's note, to sow discord between the German Government and the German people has had its effect. This unanimous rejection might of itself lead Mr. Wilson on the right path. A beginning to that end has perhaps been made, for now there is at any rate no longer talk about oppression of the German people by an autocratic Government, and the former attacks on the House of Hohenzollern have not been repeated.

I will not enlarge upon the distorted representation of German policy which is contained in Mr. Wilson's message, but will deal in detail with the points which Mr. Wilson lays down there—not less than fourteen points, in which he formulates his peace program—and I pray your indulgence in dealing with these as briefly as possible.

The first point is the demand that there shall be no more secret international agreements. History shows that it is we above all others who would be able to agree to the publicity of diplomatic documents. I recall that our defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary was known to the whole world from 1888, while the offensive agreement of the enemy States first saw the light of publicity during the war, through the revelations of the secret Russian archives. The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk are being conducted with full publicity. This proves that we are quite ready to accept this proposal and declare publicity of negotiations to be a general political principle.

In his second point Mr. Wilson demands freedom of shipping on the seas in war and peace. This also is demanded by Germany as the first and one of the most important requirements for the future. Therefore, there is here no difference of opinion. The limitation introduced by Mr. Wilson at the end, which I need not quote textually, is not intelligible, appears superfluous, and would therefore best be left out.

> [The limiting clause reads "except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."]

It would, however, be highly important for the freedom of shipping in future if strongly fortified naval bases on important international routes, such as England has at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hongkong, the Falkland Islands, and many other places, were removed.

Point 3. We, too, are in thorough accord with the removal of economic barriers which interfere with trade in a superfluous manner. We, too, condemn economic war which would inevitably bear within it causes of future warlike complications.

LIMITING ARMAMENTS

Point 4. Limitation of armaments: As already declared by us, the idea of limitation of armaments is entirely discussable. The financial position of all European States after the war might most effectively promote a satisfactory solution. It is therefore clear that an understanding might be reached with-

out difficulty on the first four points of Mr. Wilson's program.

I now come to the fifth point—settlement of all colonial claims and disputes. Practical realization of Mr. Wilson's principles in the realm of reality will encounter some difficulties in any case. I believe that for the present it may be left for England, which has the greatest colonial empire, to make what she will of this proposal of her ally. This point of the program also will have to be discussed in due time, on the reconstitution of the world's colonial possessions, which we also demand absolutely.

Point 6. Evacuation of Russian territory: Now that the Entente has refused, within the period agreed upon by Russia and the Quadruple Alliance, to join in the negotiations, I must in the name of the latter decline to allow any subsequent interference. We are dealing here with questions which concern only Russia and the four allied powers. I adhere to the hope that, with recognition of self-determination for the peoples on the western frontier of the former Russian Empire, good relations will be established, both with these peoples and with the rest of Russia, for whom we wish most earnestly a return of order, peace, and conditions guaranteeing the welfare of the country.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

Point 7. Belgium: My predecessors in office repeatedly declared that at no time did the annexation of Belgium to Germany form a point in the program of German policy. The Belgian question belongs to those questions the details of which are to be settled by negotiation at the peace conference. So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion, I must adhere to the standpoint hitherto always adopted and refuse the removal in advance of the Belgian affair from the entire discussion.

Point 8. The occupied parts of France are a valuable pawn in our hands. Here, too, forcible annexation forms no part of the official German policy. The conditions and methods of procedure of the evacuation, which must take account of Germany's vital interests, are to be agreed upon between Germany and France.

I can only again expressly accentuate the fact that there can never be a question of the dismemberment of imperial territory. Under no fine phrases of any kind shall we permit the enemy again to take from us territory of the empire which with ever increasing intimacy has linked itself to Germanism, which has in highly gratifying manner ever and increasingly developed in an economic respect, and of whose people more than 87 per cent. speak the German mother tongue.

The questions dealt with by Mr. Wilson under Points 9, 10, and 11 touch both the Italian frontier question and questions of the future development of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the future of the Balkan States; questions in which, for the greater part, the interests of our ally, Austria-Hungary, preponderate. Where German interests are concerned we shall defend them most energetically.

But I may leave the answer to Mr. Wilson's proposals on these points in the first place to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. Close contact with the allied Dual Monarchy forms the kernel of our present policy, and must be the guiding line in the future. Loyal comradeship in arms, which has stood the test so brilliantly in wartime, must continue to have its effect in peace. We shall thus on our part do everything for the attainment of peace by Austria-Hungary which takes into account her just claims.

The matters touched upon by Mr. Wilson in Point 12 concern our loyal, brave ally, Turkey. I must in nowise forestall her statesmen in their attitude. The integrity of Turkey and the safeguarding of her capital, which is connected closely with the question of the strait, are important and vital interests of the German Empire also. Our ally can always count upon our energetic support in this matter.

Point 13 deals with Poland. It was not the Entente—which had only empty words for Poland and before the war

never interceded for Poland with Russia —but the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which liberated Poland from the Czaristic régime which was crushing her national characteristics. It may thus be left to Germany and Austria-Hungary and Poland to come to an agreement on the future constitution of this country. As the negotiations and communications of the last year prove, we are on the road to this goal.

The last point, the 14th, deals with a bond of the nations. Regarding this point, I am sympathetically disposed, as my political activity shows, toward every idea which eliminates for the future a possibility or a probability of war, and will promote a peaceful and harmonious collaboration of nations. If the idea of a bond of nations, as suggested by President Wilson, proves on closer examination really to be conceived in a spirit of complete justice and complete impartiality toward all, then the Imperial Government is gladly ready, when all other pending questions have been settled, to begin the examination of the basis of such a bond of nations.

THE PERORATION

Gentlemen, you have acquainted yourselves with the speech of Premier Lloyd George and the proposals of President Wilson. We now must ask ourselves whether these speeches and proposals breathe a real and earnest wish for peace. They certainly contain certain principles for a general world peace, to which we also assent, and which might form the starting point and aid negotiations.

When, however, concrete points come into the question, points which for us allies are of decisive importance, their peace will is less observable. Our enemies do not desire to destroy Germany, but they cast covetous eyes on parts of our allies' lands. They speak with respect of Germany's position, but their conception, ever afresh, finds expression as if we were the guilty who must do penance and promise improvement. Thus speaks the victor to the vanquished, he who interprets all our former expressions of a readiness for peace as merely a sign of weakness.

The leaders of the Entente must first renounce this standpoint and this deception. In order to facilitate this I would like to recall what the position really is. They may take it from me that our military position was never so favorable as it now is. Our highly gifted army leaders face the future with undiminished confidence in victory. Throughout the army, in the officers and the men, lives unbroken the joy of battle.

I will remind you of the words I spoke Nov. 29 in the Reichstag. Our repeatedly expressed willingness for peace and the spirit of reconciliation revealed by our proposals must not be regarded by the Entente as a license permitting the indefinite lengthening of the war. Should our enemies force us to prolong the war they will have to bear the consequences resulting from it.

If the leaders of the enemy powers really are inclined toward peace let them revise their program once again, or, as Premier Lloyd George said, proceed to reconsideration.

INVITES NEW PROPOSALS

If they do that and come forward with fresh proposals, then we will examine them carefully, because our aim is no other than the re-establishment of a lasting general peace. But this lasting general peace is not possible so long as the integrity of the German Empire and the security of her vital interests and the dignity of our Fatherland are not guaranteed. Until that time we must quietly stand by each other and wait.

As to our purpose, gentlemen, we are all one. Regarding methods and "moralities," there may be differences of opinion, but let us shelve all those differences. Let us not fight about formulas, which always fall short in the mad course of world events, but above the dividing line of party controversies let us keep our eyes on one mutual aim —the welfare of the Fatherland. Let us hold together the Government and the nation, and victory will be ours. A good peace will and must come.

The German Nation bears in an admirable manner the sufferings and the burdens of a war which now is in its fourth year. In connection with these

burdens and sufferings I think especially of the sufferings of the small artisans and the lowly paid officials. But you all, men and women, will hold on and see it through.

With your political knowledge, you do not allow yourselves to be fooled by catch phrases. You know how to distinguish between the realities of life and the promises of dreams. Such a nation cannot go under. God is with us and will be with us also in the future.

Count Czernin's Reply on Behalf of Austria-Hungary

[*Delivered before the Austrian Parliament, Jan.* 24, 1918]

IT is my duty to give a faithful picture of the peace negotiations, [at Brest-Litovsk,] discuss the various phases of the results reached to date, and to draw from these conclusions which are true, logical, and justified.

It seems to me above all that those who seem to find the course of the negotiations too slow cannot have even a slight idea of the difficulties which are naturally met in them everywhere. In what follows I shall describe these difficulties, but would like to point out in advance the cardinal difference between the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and all those which ever took place in history.

Never, so far as I know, have peace negotiations taken place in open view. It is quite impossible that negotiations which approach the present ones in extent and depth can take their course smoothly and without obstacles from the very beginning. Our task is to build a new world and rebuild all that which this most trying of wars has destroyed and trampled to the ground.

OPEN DIPLOMACY

The various phases of all the peace negotiations of which we know have developed more or less behind closed doors, and their results have been told to the world only after the negotiations have been completed.

All histories teach, and it is easily understood, that the troublesome road of such peace negotiations always leads up and down, that prospects are more faforable some days, less favorable on others. But when these various phases and these details are telegraphed each day to the world it is quite easily understood that they act like electric shocks in the present condition of nervousness which rules in the world and that they excite public opinion.

We were completely aware of the disadvantage of this procedure. Still, we immediately gave way to the desire of the Russian Government for publicity because we wished to show ourselves friendly and because we have nothing to hide, and also because we might have made a false impression had we insisted on a method of provisional secrecy.

But the consequent other fact of this complete hostility of the negotiations is that the great public, that the country, and that, above all, the leaders, kept their nerves steady. The game must be finished in cold blood, and it will come to a good end if the peoples of the monarchy support the responsible representatives at the peace conference.

NO ANNEXATIONS

In advance let it be said that the basis on which Austria-Hungary treats with the various newly created Russian Governments is that of no indemnities or annexations. That is the program which I stated briefly to those who wanted to speak about peace after my nomination as Minister, which I have repeated to the Russian people in power on their first offer of peace, and from which I will not deviate.

Those who believe I can be crowded off the road which I purpose to go are bad psychologists. I have never let the public be in doubt as to the road which I

SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN

Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and leader of the attack on Secretary Baker's war administration.

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EDWARD R. STETTINIUS

Formerly chief buyer for J. P. Morgan & Co. as agents for Allies, and now Surveyor General of all purchases for the United States Army.

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go, and I have never allowed myself to be crowded from this road a hair's breadth, either to the right or to the left.

Since then I have become the undisputed darling of the Pan-Germans and those in the monarchy who imitate the Pan-Germans. At the same time I am calumniated as an inciter to war by those who want peace at any price, of which innumerable letters are proof. Neither has ever troubled me. On the contrary, these double insults are my only amusement in these hard times. I declare once more, I demand not a square foot nor a penny from Russia, and if Russia, as it seems to do, puts itself on that point of view also, peace will be made.

Those who want peace at any price might have doubted as to my non-annexationist purposes toward Russia if I did not tell them with the same inconsiderate openness that I shall never allow myself to make a peace which transcends the form I have just sketched. Should our Russian fellow-peacemakers demand the cession of territory from us, or indemnity, I should continue the war despite a desire for peace which I have as well as you, or would resign if I could not make my view prevail. * * *

THE NEW RUSSIA

The Governments in question are, first, that part of Russia which is led by Petrograd; secondly, our own new neighboring State, Great Ukrainia; thirdly, Finland, and, fourthly, the Caucasus.

With the first two States we treat directly, with the two others now only more or less indirectly, because they have to date sent no negotiator to Brest-Litovsk. These four Russian fellow-peacemakers are met by us four powers, and the case of the Caucasus, in which we naturally have no difficulty to remove, but which is in conflict with Turkey, shows the extent of the subjects under discussion.

What interests us especially and chiefly is the newly created great State which will be our neighbor in the future, Ukrainia. We have gotten very far in our negotiations with this delegation. We have agreed on the above-mentioned basis of no annexations nor compensations and have agreed what and how commercial relations with the newly created republic are to be established.

But this very example of Ukrainia shows one of the ruling difficulties. While the Ukrainian Republic holds the point of view that it has the right to treat with us quite autonomously and independently, the Russian delegation stands on the basis that the boundaries of its country and those of Ukrainia have not been definitely fixed, and that St. Petersburg, consequently, has the right to participate in the negotiations with Ukrainia, a view which the gentlemen of the Ukrainian delegation do not care to agree with. But this troubled situation of domestic conditions in Russia was the cause of enormous delay. * * *

ATTITUDE ON POLAND

We want nothing at all of Poland, the boundaries of which have not been definitely settled. Poland's people shall choose their own destiny, free and uninfluenced. I consider the form of popular decision of this question not especially important; the more surely it reflects the general will of the people the more I shall be pleased. For I desire only voluntary union on the part of Poland, and only in the desire of Poland in this matter do I see a guarantee of lasting harmony.

I hold irrevocably to the point of view that the Polish question must not delay the conclusion of peace by a single day. Should Poland seek close relationship with us after the conclusion of peace, we shall not refuse, but the Polish question shall and will not end after peace. I should have liked to see the Polish Government take part in the negotiations, for, according to my opinion, Poland is an independent State. The St. Petersburg Government, however, thinks that the present Polish Government is not entitled to speak in the name of the country and failed to recognize it as a competent exponent of the country. Therefore, we desisted from our intention in order not to create possible conflict. The question is certainly important, but more important for us is the

removal of all obstacles which delay the conclusion of peace.

The second difficulty which we encountered and which found the greatest echo in the press is the difference of opinion between our German ally and the St. Petersburg Government in the matter of interpretation of the right of the Russian nations to determine their own destinies—that is, those territories occupied by German troops.

Germany holds the point of view that it does not intend to make forcible territorial acquisition from Russia, but, to express it in two words, the difference of opinion is a double one.

First, Germany holds as justified the point of view that the numerous expressions of desire for independence by legislative bodies, communal bodies, &c., in the occupied provinces should be considered as a provisional basis for popular opinion which would be tested later by a plebiscite on a broad basis. The Russian Government is now opposed to this point of view, since it cannot recognize the right of existing organizations of Courland and Lithuania to speak in the name of these provinces any more than in the name of the Polish province.

The second difficulty is that Russia demands that the plebiscite should take place after all German troops and administrative organizations have vacated the occupied provinces, while Germany contends that by such evacuation, carried through to its extreme consequence, a vacuum would be created, which undoubtedly would bring about an outbreak of complete anarchy and the greatest misery.

Here it must be explained that everything which today permits political life in the occupied provinces is German property. The railways, posts, telegraph, all industries and administrative parts of police and justice are in German hands. The sudden withdrawal of these parts would indeed create a condition which does not seem practically tenable. In both questions we must find compromise. The difference between these two points of view is, in my opinion, not big enough to justify the failure of the negotiations. But such negotiations cannot be completed over night. They take time.

GENERAL PEACE IN SIGHT

Once we have reached peace with Russia, a general peace cannot long be prevented, in my opinion, despite all the efforts of Entente statesmen. We have heard that it was not understood in places why I declared in the first speech after the resumption of the negotiations that it was now not a question of general peace, but of a separate peace with Russia in Brest-Litovsk. That was a necessary statement of clear fact which Trotzky has inevitably recognized and was necessary because we were treating on a different basis; that is, in a more limited scope, when the question was one of separate peace with Russia rather than a general peace. Although I have no illusions that the effort for a general peace might mature over night, I am still convinced it is maturing and is only a question of our holding through whether we are to have a general honorable peace or not.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

I have been strengthened in this view by the peace offer which the President of the United States of America has made. To the whole world this is a peace offer, for in fourteen points Mr. Wilson develops the basis on which he attempts to bring about general peace.

It is evident that no such offer can be an elaboration acceptable in all details. Should this be the case, negotiations would be unnecessary, for then peace might be made by simple acceptance—by a simple yes and amen. That, of course, is not the case. But I do not hesitate to say that I find in the last proposals of President Wilson considerable approach to the Austro-Hungarian point of view, and among his proposals are some to which we can agree with pleasure.

If I shall now be allowed to discuss these proposals in greater detail I must say two things in advance: As far as those proposals relate to our allies—and in them there is mention of the German holding of Belgium and of the Turkish Empire—I declare that, faithful to the duties of the alliance which I have ac-

cepted, I am determined to go to every extreme in defense of our allies. The state of the property of our allies before the war we shall defend as our own. This is the point of view of the Allies in complete reciprocity.

Secondly, I should say that I must refuse politely but definitely any advice as to our internal government. We have a Parliament in Austria, elected by common, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. There is no more democratic Parliament on earth, and this Parliament, in conjunction with other constitutionally authorized factors, alone has the right to decide the internal affairs of Austria. I speak only of Austria because I am speaking in the Austrian delegation and not about the general affairs of the Hungarian State. I should not consider that constitutional. We do not interfere in American affairs, and we wish as little foreign guardianship by any other State. Having said this in advance, I allow myself to answer the remaining points as follows:

SECRET DIPLOMACY

I have nothing to say on the point which discusses abolishing secret diplomacy and complete publicity of negotiations. As for the question of publicity of negotiations, nothing can be said against this method from my point of view as far as it is based on complete reciprocity, although I have serious doubts whether it is always the most practical and quickest way to reach a result.

Diplomatic treaties are nothing but business affairs. I can easily think of cases, for instance, when commercial treaties are being made between States, and when it would be undesirable that the incomplete results should be told to the whole world beforehand.

In such negotiations both sides naturally begin by making as large as possible demands and by using one desire after another as compensation until that balance of interest is present which must be reached to make the conclusion of a treaty possible.

Should such negotiations be conducted before the eyes of the general public, it could not be avoided that the public should passionately take sides for every single one of the demands, so that the renunciation of such a demand, even if made only for tactical reasons, would be considered a defeat.

Should the public take sides especially strongly for one disideratum, then the conclusion of a treaty might become impossible, or the treaty, should it be concluded, might be felt as a defeat perhaps on both sides. This would not further peaceful relations, and the points of friction between the States would be increased. But what is valid for commercial treaties would be just as valid for political ones which treat of political business.

If abolishing secret diplomacy means that there are to be no secret treaties —that treaties shall not be made without the knowledge of the public—I have nothing to say against the realization of this. How the realization of this principle and its safeguard is to be considered I know not. When the Governments of two States agree, they will always be able to make secret treaties without any one discovering it. But these are minor points. I do not stick to formulas and will never be responsible for the failure of reasonable arrangement because of more or less formalities. We can, therefore, dismiss Point 1.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Point 2 relates to the freedom of the seas. In this postulate President Wilson has spoken from the heart of all, and I subscribe to this desire of America's completely, especially because the President adds the clause: "Outside territorial waters," that is, freedom of open sea. But I cannot subscribe to the violation of the sovereign rights of our faithful Turkish ally. Its point of view on this question will be ours.

Point 3, definitely against future economic war, is so just and so reasonable and has been so often demanded by us that I have nothing to add to it.

Point 4, demanding general disarmament, explains in especially good and clear style the necessity of forcing free competition in armaments after war to a point which the domestic safety of States demands. President Wilson explains

this clearly. I permitted myself to develop the same a few months ago in a Budapest speech. It is part of my political creed.

As far as Russia is concerned, we are proving with deeds that we are ready to create a friendly, neighborly relationship.

As far as Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro are concerned, I can only repeat the point of view which I have expressed already in the Hungarian delegation.

I refuse to figure as surety for enemy war adventures. I refuse to make one-sided concessions to our enemies who remain stubbornly on the point of view of war to final victory concessions which would forever injure the monarchy and give immeasurable advantage to our enemies and drag on the war indefinitely.

I trust Mr. Wilson will use the great influence he doubtless has on all his allies that they explain conditions on which they are willing to negotiate, and he will have gained the immeasurable merit of having called a general peace conference to life.

Just as openly and freely as I am here replying to President Wilson, I will also speak to all those who desire to speak themselves, but it is quite comprehensible that the time and continuation of the war cannot remain without influence on our relations in this connection.

ITALY'S ENTRANCE

I said this once before, and may refer to Italy as an example. Italy had the opportunity before the war to attain great territorial acquisitions without a shot. She refused, entered the war, lost hundreds of thousands of dead, billions in war costs and destroyed property, brought upon her population misery and need, and all this only for advantages which she could have had once, but which are now lost forever.

Regarding Point 13, it is an open secret that we are supporters of the idea that there must be "an independent Polish State," which shall "include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." Regarding this, I am also of the opinion that we could soon reach an agreement with Mr. Wilson.

Nor will the President find anywhere in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy any opposition to his proposal regarding the idea of the league of nations.

As may be seen, then, from this comparison of my views with those of Mr. Wilson, we agree not only on great principles in general, according to which the world is to be newly regulated after the end of this war, but our views also approach each other on several concrete peace questions. The remaining differences do not seen to me great enough to lead to the belief that a discussion at this point should not bring clearness and rapprochement.

This situation, which probably arises from the fact that Austria-Hungary and the United States of America are the two great powers among the two groups of enemy States whose interests least conflict, suggests the thought that an exchange of ideas between these two powers might be the starting point for conciliatory discussions between all States which have not entered into peace conversations. So much for President Wilson's propositions.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA

I now hasten to finish, and the conclusion is perhaps the most important thing I have to say. I am working on a peace with Ukrainia and with St. Petersburg. But peace with St. Petersburg does not change our definite situation. Nowhere do Austrian troops oppose those of the St. Petersburg Government. Ukrainian troops do oppose us.

Nothing could be exported from St. Petersburg because it has nothing but revolution and anarchy to export, articles which Bolsheviki would like to export, but acceptance of which I politely refuse. Still, I desire peace with St. Petersburg also, because it makes general peace nearer, as does the conclusion of any peace.

Affairs with Ukrainia are definite, for Ukrainia has stocks, foodstuffs, which it will export if we agree. The food question is today a world worry. Everywhere, with opponents, as with neutral States, it plays an important rôle.

The way to help out the population is by concluding peace with those Russian Governments which have for export a quantity of foodstuffs. We can and will hold out even without this aid, but I know my duty commands me to attempt everything to lessen the suffering of our population.

Therefore, I will not reject this advantage for our population from hysterical nervousness in order to bring about peace a few days or weeks earlier. Such a peace needs time. It cannot be concluded over night, for in the conclusion of peace it must be discovered whether, and what, and how the Russian fellow-peacemakers will supply us. This is because Ukrainia wishes to settle this business during the peace negotiations and not afterward.

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES

I have said already that the troubled relations of these newly created Governments involve great hindrance and natural delay in the negotiations. If you attack me in the back, force me to finish hastily, then we will have no economic advantages and our people must go without the advantage which it might derive from peace.

If a doctor has to make a difficult operation and people stand behind him with a watch and force him to finish the operation in a few minutes, the operation will probably be done in record time, but the sick person will not be grateful for the technique of the operation. If you make a wholly wrong impression on your opponents that we must make peace at any price and immediately, we will not get a bushel of grain and our success will be more or less platonic.

Chiefly, it is not at all a question of ending the war after we have agreed on a basis of no annexations. The question is not one—I repeat it for the tenth time—of imperialistic or annexationist plans and intentions, but is to assure our population a deserved reward for steadily holding out and give it those foodstuffs which it will gladly accept.

But our partners are good arithmeticians, observing exactly whether or not I am being forced into a bad position by you. If you want to spoil peace and refuse grain shipment, then it is logical to force my hand by speeches, resolutions, strikes, and demonstrations.

It is a thousand times untrue that we are in a position where we would rather make a bad peace without economic advantages today than one with economic advantages. Food difficulties in the last analysis do not come from the lack of food. The crises which must be allayed are coal transportation and organization. If behind the front you arrange strikes you move in a vicious circle. Strikes increase and make the existing crisis more acute and the transportation of foodstuffs and coal more difficult. You are cutting your own flesh, and all those who think that such methods hasten peace are in an awful error.

People are said to spread rumors in the monarchy that the Government is not unconcerned in the matter of strikes. I leave these people the choice of whether they desire consideration as criminal slanderers or fools. If you had a Government which wanted another peace than the overwhelming majority of the population; if you had a Government which was continuing the war because of annexationist intentions, then the battle of the country behind the front against the Government might be comprehensible.

Since the Government wants exactly what the majority of the monarchy wants—an honorable peace as soon as possible without annexations—it is madness to attack it in the back, slander it, and disturb it. Those who do that do not fight against the Government, but blindly against the peoples whom they pretend to wish to help and against themselves. * * * If you have confidence in me to conduct peace negotiations, then you ought to assist me. If you have not that confidence, then you ought to dismiss me. There is no third way.

President Wilson's Reply to Hertling and Czernin

[*Address delivered before Congress Feb.* 11, 1918]

ON the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of views on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address on the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments.

He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

GERMAN REPLY ANALYZED

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.

His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international council. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities, and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignity, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three States now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood.

He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party, with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected

in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We can not and will not return to that.

PEACE OF THE WORLD

What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is, in fact, living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between State and State.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security and peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained.

They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

NATIONS ARE JUDGING

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

We cannot have general peace for the asking or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful States. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it, because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied.

But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would

or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is intrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered, as nearly as may be, impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost.

COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENTS

If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful Governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern, and must, of course, be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind.

If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much further had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost

satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

CAN NEVER TURN BACK

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays.

We are indomitable in our power of independent action, and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail, is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in motion, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

Premier Lloyd George on the Central Powers' Views

[*Delivered in Parliament Feb.* 12, 1918]

After stating that he would reply to the questions of the opposition as represented by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George said:

THE Government stand by the considered declaration of war aims which I made on behalf of my colleagues to the trade union representatives early this year. I read with profound disappointment the replies given to President Wilson's speech and to one which I delivered on behalf of the Government by the German Chancellor and Count Czernin. It is perfectly true that, as far as the tone is concerned, there was a deal of difference between the Austrian and German speeches; but I wish I could believe there was a difference in the substance.

I cannot altogether accept that interpretation of Count Czernin's speech. It was extraordinarily civil and friendly in

tone, but when you come to the real substance of the demands put forward by the Allies it was adamant.

Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia were put in exactly the same category as Belgium. They were apparently to be restored to the Turks on the same terms as Germany was to restore Belgium. When you come to the demands of Italy, Count Czernin said that certain offers had been made before the war to Italy, and they were now withdrawn as far as the Slavonic population of Austria was concerned.

It was a purely polite statement to President Wilson and to others that it was none of their business to inquire. There was not a single definite question dealt with about which Count Czernin did not present a most resolute refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace.

HERTLING HARDLY SERIOUS

When you come to the German reply, it is very difficult for any one to believe that Count von Hertling could be even serious about some of the demands which were put forward.

What was his answer to the very moderate terms put forward by the Allies? His answer was that Great Britain was to give up her coaling stations throughout the world, and he named half a dozen. That demand was put forward for the first time, and I confess that I think that it was the last demand that Germany ought decently to have put forward. These coaling stations have been as accessible to the Germans as to British ships in the past.

The German fleet has always received most hospitable treatment at all these coaling stations, and in 1913 something like fifty to sixty German men-of-war and transports visited these stations, where they received exactly the same treatment as British men-of-war. The same thing applies to German merchant ships.

This demand is the best possible proof that the German Empire, or those who at present are in control of it, are not in the mood to discuss reasonable terms of peace with the Allies. I regret it profoundly, but it is no use crying peace when there is no peace. These terms were examined carefully, with a real desire to find something in them which indicated that the Central Powers were coming somewhere near a basis of agreement. I confess that that examination of these two speeches proved profoundly disappointing to those who are sincerely anxious to find a real and genuine desire for peace in them.

GERMAN INSINCERITY SHOWN

The action of Germany in reference to Russia proves that all her declarations about no annexations and no indemnities have no real meaning. No answer has been given in regard to Belgium which any one can regard as satisfactory. There is no reference to Poland or the legitimate claims of France for the restoration of her lost provinces, and no word is said about the men of the Italian race and tongue who are now under Austrian rule.

As to Turkey, there was nothing said by either Count von Hertling or Count Czernin indicating that they are prepared to recognize the rights of the Allies in regard either to Mesopotamia or Turkey. There was nothing but pure denial of those rights.

Until there is some better proof than is contained in these speeches that the Central Powers are prepared to consider the war aims of the Allies it will be our regrettable duty to make all preparations necessary in order to establish international right in the world.

My right honorable friend [Asquith] asked me questions in regard to the Versailles conference. He seemed to think it possible to answer them without giving away any information as to the conduct of our actual military operations. It is no use giving partial information, and I think that if he will reflect as to the character of the decisions there arrived at, he will find it is impossible to make a statement to the House as to those decisions without giving information as to the plans of the Allies.

Just let the House consider what the position is. It is perfectly true that when in November I came here after the Rapallo conference to announce that an International Council had been set up for

the purpose of conducting the strategy of the Allies, I then stated that it was not the intention of the Allies that it should have any executive functions.

What has happened since then? Since then Russia has gone out of the war. Since then a very considerable number of German divisions have actually left the eastern front and been brought to the west. The situation has become very much more menacing than it was at that time, and the Allies met at Versailles to consider the best method of meeting that menace during 1918.

Up to the present the Allies have had an overwhelming majority of troops upon the western front. That is giving no military information away. Gradually, even rapidly, that superiority has diminished, especially during the last few weeks. In spite of the undertaking given by the Germans to the Russians that during the period of the armistice no troops would be moved from the east to the west, they are moving them as speedily as railway and transport arrangements will allow. That has to be kept in mind when we discuss terms of peace, because it has a real bearing upon guarantees.

NEW WAR SITUATION

That was the situation with which we were confronted at Versailles. Up to this year there was no attack which the Germans could bring to bear upon either our army or upon the French Army which could not in the main have been dealt with by the reserves of each individual army.

The situation has been completely changed by the enormous reinforcements brought from the east to the west, and the allied representatives at Versailles had to consider the best methods of dealing with a situation which was a completely different one from what it was before.

It is absolutely essential that the whole strength of the armies of France, Britain, Italy, and America should be made available for the point at which the attack comes. Where would the blow come? Will it come here, or there, or there? Who can tell? All we know is that it is preparing. They have a gigantic railway system behind, which can swing it here and there, and it is essential that arrangements should have been made by which the Allies should treat their armies as one to meet the danger and menace, wherever it comes.

That was the problem with which we were confronted at Versailles, and if we had not dealt with it we should have been guilty of gross dereliction of duty. What happened there? In old conferences to which I have been accustomed the military members met there together, and the civilian members met there, and then the military members came there with a written document stating what they had decided. I don't mind saying that as conferences to discuss strategy they were pure farce.

UNANIMITY IN COUNCIL

Here we had for days civilian members and military members sitting together—four or five days. Commanders in Chief were there; Chiefs of Staff were there; military representatives were there; the Prime Ministers of three countries were there, and other Ministers as well.

Discussions took place freely during the whole of those days, and the military members took part as freely as the civilian members, and there was an interchange of views; and let me say this: that the result of it was that complete unanimity was established. There was no division of opinion upon any resolution which was to come.

With regard to this critical action which is involved in the extension of the Versailles power I must speak with caution, because I am talking of military decisions in a War Council. Ah! I wish there had been some one in Germany and in Austria whose ears were glued to the keyhole of the War Council of Austria and Germany, and who published their decisions in the newspapers! The man who had done that, who would tell us what arrangements the Austrians and Germans have come to together, co-ordinated in order most effectively to attack our force—he would be worth twenty army corps to the Allies.

When talking about the War Council and its decision I have got to talk with caution, because if information is to be

given away to the enemy I had rather the responsibility were on other shoulders than mine.

I know what it means. There are millions of gallant lives depending upon it. The honor and safety of our native land depends upon it. Those great war aims upon which the future of the world depends depend upon it, and to give away information that will imperil that is treason. I decline to do it.

SECURITY OF ARMIES

It is enough for me to say that decisions that were come to there were come to unanimously. We have got to consider the best methods of carrying them out; and may I say the word further? There is no army whose security more depends upon those conditions being carried out than the British Army.

I felt flattered in France, and I felt flattered at the council, when I realized that this new army which has sprung into being in the course of the last two or three years has been intrusted by France, with its great army, with the defense of its capital, with the defense of the most vital parts of France—all voluntarily handed over by France to the defense of the British Army—and the demand of France was not that we should take less, but take more—or the responsibility. That in itself is a vote of confidence on the part of France in the gallantry and prowess of our army.

And let me say here a word as to leadership. My right honorable friend talks about the leadership of the army. No man has talked of it in more glowing terms than I did at this very table. I do not withdraw a syllable of what I said then, but I do beg the House and my right honorable friend, who has had the responsibility of two or three years of conduct of the war—I beg him not to press the Government to give information which any intelligence officer on the other side would gladly pay large sums of money to get as to the arrangements which this country and the Allies have made for countering that great blow.

[At this point the Premier was interrupted by former Premier Asquith, who resented the imputation in the preceding remark. Premier Lloyd George replied that he intended no reflection. Continuing, he said:]

We took the opinion not merely of the Council at Versailles, but each of the separate representatives referred it to their Governments at home, and it was only after we had the reply of each separate Government that in their judgment it would be undesirable to publish these facts that we issued the prohibition to the press. Again I say, does my right honorable friend wish to take the responsibility of forcing the Government to publish information which the whole of the allied representatives at Versailles deemed undesirable for publication, which each separate Government considered afterward on a report of their representatives and came to the same decision upon it? I cannot believe it.

[A member: "You have said too much already."]

I quite agree. What can be gained? Is it suggested that when the whole of the allied powers were in agreement as to the desirability of doing this, Great Britain should stand out? This was something that was agreed upon after the most mature discussion. When you are conducting a war there are questions which the Government must decide. The House of Commons, if it is not satisfied, in my judgment has but one way of dealing with the situation. It can change the Government.

HAIG AND ROBERTSON ASSENTED

This is a military decision, and a military decision of the first magnitude, a military decision at which some of the greatest soldiers of the Allies were present.

Mr. Lambert—Did Sir Douglas Haig and Sir William Robertson approve of this decision?

Lloyd George—Certainly. They were present. I could carry it further with regard to that. It is very difficult. The House must realize that I am anxious not to give information which would be of the slightest help to the enemy. It cannot possibly be of any help to the allied partnership. There is only one way when you go to councils of war. You must

leave it to those who are there to decide. If you have no confidence in them, whether military or civil, there is only one way—to change them.

[Mr. Lloyd George denounced as an "absolute and unmitigated falsehood" the implication that the Government was in any way privy to any newspaper agitation directed against Generals Haig and Robertson, and dispelled the idea that the Government was out of sympathy with them or with their viewpoint. The Government was sustained by a vote of 159 to 28. A change, however, occurred in the High Command. It was announced Feb. 17 that Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had resigned, and had also declined to accept appointment as military representative on the Supreme War Council. General Sir Henry Wilson, Sub-Chief, succeeded as Chief of Staff; he was former Director of Military Operations at headquarters; an Irishman, aged 54.]

Speeches by King George and Kaiser Wilhelm

King George, in his speech from the throne on Feb. 12, said:

The aims for which I and my allies are contending were recently set forth by my Government in a statement which received the emphatic approval of my peoples throughout the empire and provided a fair basis for settlement of the present struggle and re-establishment of national rights and international peace in the future.

The German Government has, however, ignored our just demands that it should make restitution for the wrongs it has committed and furnish guarantees against their unprovoked repetition. Its spokesmen refuse any obligations for themselves, while denying rightful liberties of others. Until a recognition is offered of the only principles on which an honorable peace can be concluded it is our duty to prosecute the war with all the vigor we possess.

Kaiser Wilhelm, in replying, on Feb. 11, to an address presented by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

We have gone through hard times. Every one has had a burden to bear—anxiety, mourning, grief, tribulation—and not the least he who stands before you. In him were combined the care and grief for the entire people in its sorrows.

We often entered false paths. The Lord pointed out to us by a hard school the path by which we should go. The world, however, at the same time has not been on the right path. We Germans, who still have ideals, should work to bring about better times. We should fight for right and morality. Our Lord God wishes us to have peace, but a peace wherein the world will strive to do what is right and good.

We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

On Feb. 12, in a telegram to the manager of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, the Kaiser said:

Many thanks for your congratulations over our first peace. It is only a small beginning made by Germany's sword against the closed door leading to a general peace. I am filled with gratitude. May God help further.

Military Events of the Month

From January 17 to February 16, 1918

By Walter Littlefield

AGAIN it has been a month in which the interest in tactics has surpassed that in strategy. The movements on the western front, whether conducted by patrols or aircraft, have been almost entirely those of reconnoissance. There was a natural curiosity to divine the position of the American troops and their movements, and a keen military interest in the closing of the last two gates which lead to the Venetian plains.

But all these things have been subordinated, in the official as well as the public mind, to the movement of Teutonic troops westward. In some respects this matter remains problematical at the present writing; nor have the political manoeuvres of the Ukraine, the Bolsheviki, or the conflicting stories which have emanated from Rumania and Bessarabia furnished any true key to the situation. It is known, however, that in the last month Germany has sent west a maximum of 40,000 men, between the ages of 25 and 35, as the skeletons of twenty or more divisions; and that a few battalions of Austro-Hungarian troops were probably removed from Bukowina and Rumania for refitting. All else apparently remains as indicated in this review a month ago.

On the French front or near it there are not more than 1,000,000 Germans, from the North Sea to St. Quentin, a sector of 135 miles; not more than 600,000 on the Vauquois-St. Mihiel (the Verdun) sector of 55 miles, while elsewhere on the static sectors, measuring 270 miles, there are possibly 1,350,000. The 75,000 carefully selected German troops moved between Oct. 1 and Jan. 18 from the Russian front westward to their refitting depots on the watershed of the Moselle and Rhine, or behind the latter, as the skeletons of fifty divisions, have not yet reached their maximum strength of 700,000. On the Russian front there remain 1,085,000 (1,200,000 minus 75,000 plus 40,000) in skeleton division formations. The total in the west, therefore, remains probably below the maximum of 3,650,000. And the German mobile division still remains under the maximum of 20,000 men. A month ago it was calculated at 13,000. Since then some official observers have placed the figure at 12,000; others as low as 10,000.

On the Italian front of 200 miles there were, a month ago, according to Italian official observers, sixty divisions, of which forty-nine were Austro-Hungarian. In all they believed the enemy's strength here to reach 1,200,000 men.

G. H. Perris, who is with the French armies in the field, stated on Feb. 2 that "the number of German divisions on the western front is now between 180 and 190, and of these 115 are in the line and 65 to 75 in reserve." These divisions were calculated to contain "rather more than 10,000 combatants" each.

Major Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, Chief Director of the British War Office, said on Feb. 6:

> The chief event of military importance in the past month has been the continued movement of German troops to the west front. We long ago calculated the rate at which this movement could be carried on, and it is not going on any faster than expected. The Germans are now stronger on the west front than at any time during the war, but they are not yet numerically equal to the Franco-British forces.

An authorized military statement appearing in the Echo of Paris on Feb. 8 contained the information that the Germans had at the outside in the west 174 divisions, estimated at 12,000 men each, (2,088,000 men,) which was only 21 more (about 252,000 men) than at the time of the allied offensive last Spring, when the enemy was proved to be on the defensive at every point.

A French official statement issued from the Grand Headquarters five days later contained this passage:

> One hundred and twelve divisions (1,344,000 troops at 12,000 men to a division) occupy the German front line facing the French, British, American, and Belgian troops, while their immediate reserves total sixty-three divisions, (756,000 men, or 2,100,000 in all.) * * * At any rate, it is agreed by the authorities here that the greatest possible number the Germans could add to their forces on the western front does not exceed twenty divisions, which would bring the total to 195 divisions, (2,340,000 men.)

UNENDING TRENCH RAIDS

Most of the movements on the western front during the last thirty days come within the category known as reconnoissance—even those on the American sector and in the air over the German depots in the neighborhood of the Rhine. Exceptions to the general character of the actions have been heavy German bombardments followed by raids, which were for a short time successful on the French positions east of Nieuport, and turned to nought in Champagne and at Verdun, and the taking over by the British of the French sector enveloping the southwestern suburbs of St. Quentin, on Jan. 26. Yet, day after day the French have reported with frequency, suggestive, when paralleled with the vivid accounts from the fronts of Crown Prince Rupprecht, the Imperial Crown Prince, and the Grand Duke Albrecht: "*A notre aile gauche, rien de nouveau.*" Yet all the time the unending struggle has gone on, positions being taken, lost, and retaken, while the eyes of the air have sought to penetrate the secrets of the earth.

On Jan. 17, what promised to be an important series of German raids west of the Oise were repulsed by the French. A week later the Germans, preceded by bombardment, made a spirited attack on the sector of Hill 344, and the front of Chaume Wood, (Verdun front,) only to meet with the same result. On the 25th it was the British who received the attention of the enemy by cannon and infantry attack between the Lys and Poelcappelle, near the coal pits of Lens, and on both sides of the Scarpe. On the 27th the British repulsed an incipient assault on their line south of Lens. And so the first month of the year ended.

RAIDING PARTIES REPULSED

On Feb. 3 a French detachment captured a German post of thirty men on the Aisne front, while the British east of Polygon Wood, on the Ypres sector, drove back a hostile raiding party. From the 5th to the 6th the Germans, taking advantage of the fine weather, carried on a brisk bombardment from Passchendaele, on the Ypres sector, south into the Cambrai area. Simultaneously they were active east of the Meuse, in the region of Fosses Wood.

For the last fortnight the French and British seem to have had the upper hand as raiders. On the 9th the former in a raid on a post near Dioncourt bagged another garrison of thirty. On the 12th 250 fell into their hands west of Remenauville in the Woevre, and the next day they captured 100 southwest of Butte Mesnil in Champagne. On the 11th the British captured 28 southeast of Messines.

Altogether between Feb. 2 and the 9th the Imperial Crown Prince suffered seven defeats with relative heavy losses on the Verdun sector—still his cherished abattoir. Large bodies of troops were employed in every instance, yet not a single permanent advantage was gained.

The costliness of these combats of attrition cannot be judged by the bulletins announcing them, for in the week ended Jan. 21 the British casualties amounted to 17,043; Jan. 28, 8,588; Feb. 4, 6,354; Feb. 11, 7,077. In the last there were 1,433 deaths; the rest were either wounded or taken prisoners.

THE AMERICAN SECTOR

Early in October the American troops, who had been gradually concentrating in camps south of Toul and Nancy since July, began to supplement the French 47th Division on a sector lying across the Marne-Rhine Canal. This was the "quiet sector on the French front," where it was officially announced by Washington on Oct. 27 that our troops had begun the trench stage of their intensive training, and here, according to a Berlin dispatch less than a week later,

some "North American troops" were captured in a raid. Although raids and counter-raids, and artillery duels succeeded across No Man's Land on this sector, with casualties on both sides, it does not appear that the front was ever taken over in force by our troops, but was rather employed as a school under French tuition.

Early in January, however, it was learned that American regiments with artillery were actually taking the place of French troops on the southern slopes of the plain of the Woevre. This fact was simultaneously confirmed from Washington and Berlin on Jan. 31, when accounts were given out describing a German raid against the first-line trenches here on the preceding day, in which the Americans had suffered seven casualties—two killed, four wounded, and one missing—and the Germans had covered theirs by taking them away.

The bulletins of the French War Office gave the limits of this position—the French were holding Fliry and Remenauville on the east and Apremont on the west, and between were the Americans, who, according to deductions made from the localities where subsequent fighting has taken place, cover an eight-mile front.

This eight-mile sector occupies the middle of the line St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson, which is the southern leg of the St. Mihiel salient established by the army from Metz in the last fortnight of September, 1914, when it attempted to pierce the French line of barrier forts, Verdun-Toul, and cross the Meuse. The angle of the salient incloses that part of the Meuse-Moselle watershed called, as has been said, the plain of the Woevre, flanked on the west by the forts of Verdun and on the east by those of Metz, lying in the bowl of the Moselle, within cannon shot of the French positions on the heights just below Pont-à-Mousson.

HISTORY OF THE SALIENT

The history of this salient is interesting. Away back in the Summer of 1912 a German company obtained a concession to establish a manufacturing plant on a piece of property near St. Mihiel. Unusually deep cellars were dug and concreted, but the buildings erected over them were of the flimsiest sort. The plant was soon abandoned and all entrances boarded up. Thus when the Army of Metz reached this site on Sept. 23 they found concrete emplacements already prepared for their seventeen-inch howitzers, and by them the Germans were enabled to reduce the French fort at the Roman Camp, as well as other redoubts within a seven-mile range, and to establish a bridgehead across the Meuse, which they have maintained ever since.

To strengthen this position they built a railway in March, 1915, from Thiaucourt down to St. Mihiel. In the following April the French attempted to get possession of this railway, but in vain. Little change took place on the sector facing the railway until Jan. 9 of the present year, when the French troops, soon to be replaced by American, as a parting gift to the Germans made a drive north of Seicheprey, destroying some enemy defenses recently erected and capturing prisoners. Under cover of this assault, it may be presumed, the Americans moved up to the front.

A description of the American front and what occurred there up to Feb. 18 is given on Page 423 of this issue. The nature of the terrain is graphically indicated in the full-page map herewith presented.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

When the snows came, in the last fortnight of December, blocking the Teuton lines of communication extending along the upper Piave—together with the railway leading down the same course from Belluno to their newly established depot at Feltre and thence to where their line crossed the river, north of Pederobba—and seriously interfering with their transportation by the two highways and one railway which lead from Trent, via the Val Sugana, down the Brenta, two gates still threatened the Plains of Veneto. In the west, there was that formed by the angle of the Brenta and the Frenzela Torrent, just above Valstagna on the road to Bassano; in the east, there was the Monte Tomba salient, extending to the enemy bridgehead on the Piave.

One was the complement of the other.

WALKER D. HINES

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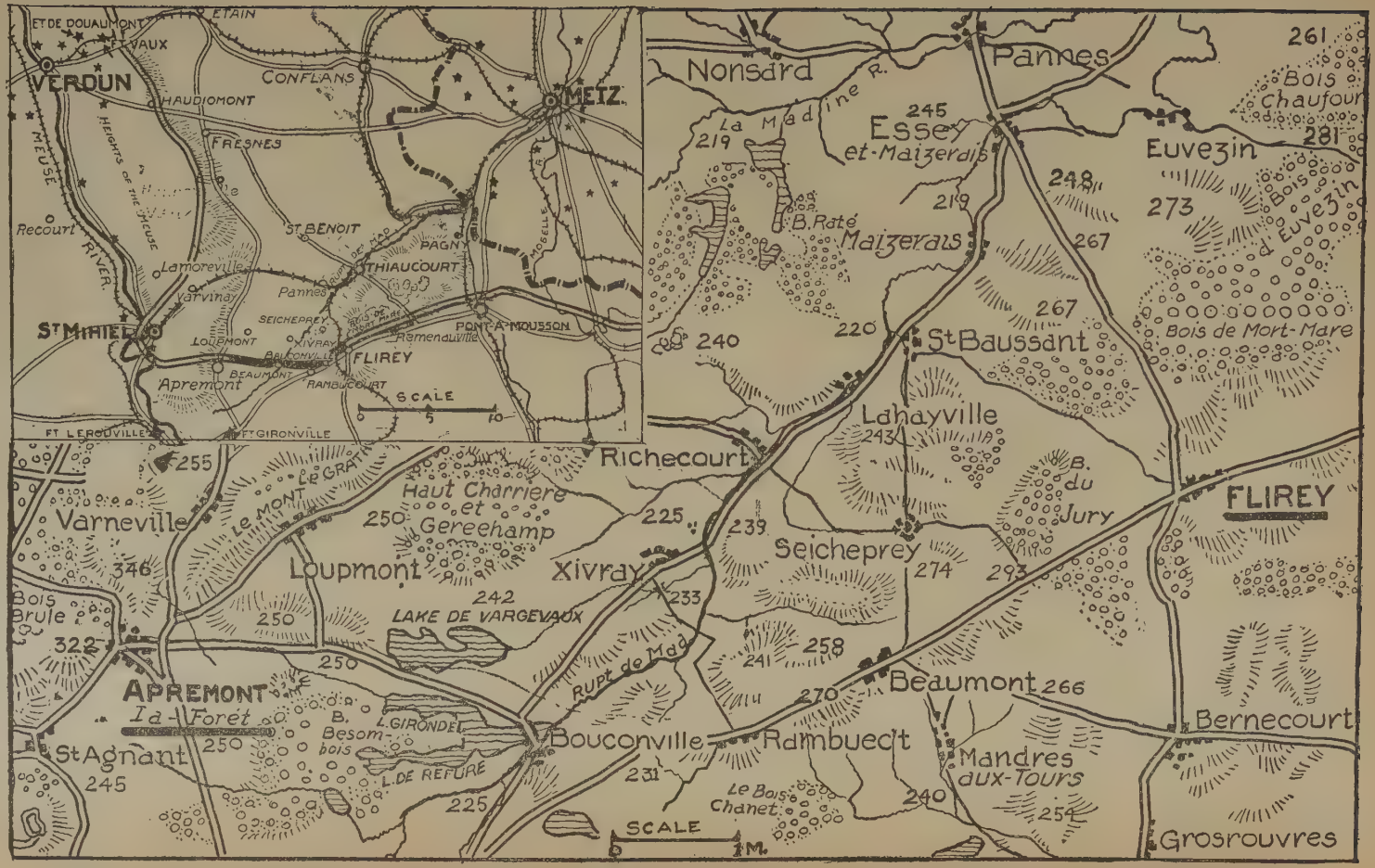
SIGNING THE ARMISTICE AT BREST-LITOVSK, DEC. 16, 1917

Prince Leopold of Bavaria, commander of the Austro-German forces on the east front, is putting his signature to the Russo-Teutonic armistice. Sitting directly opposite him is Joffee, President of the Russian delegation.

(Photo International Film Service.)



REGION HELD BY AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE: SMALL MAP IN THE CORNER SHOWS RELATION TO WHOLE BATTLE FRONT

Each presented special strategic advantages to the invader, the successful utilization of which would lead to a widely differing employment of tactics. Valstagna was like the neck of a bottle passing through which the enemy could reach Bassano and apparently be able to cut off the 4th Italian Army lying across the northern approaches of the Monte Grappa Range, between the Brenta and the Piave. A successful drive from the Monte Tomba salient would inevitably reach Pederobba and permit the enemy, if in sufficient force, to deploy along two highways, both running southwest to the Brenta Valley, one via Possagno, Crespano, and Borso to Romano, on the slopes of the mountains, and the other, via Asolo, to Bassano, on the plains themselves. A simultaneous breaking through the gates would not only jeopardize the 4th Army and cause a hurried retreat of the 1st, lying westward before Rovereto, but it would also imperil the 2d and the 3d Armies with their French and British auxiliaries on the Piave, and cause a general retreat to the Adige line, with the surrender of the famous cities of the Venitian plains, including the Pearl of the Adriatic itself.

It became necessary, therefore, before the enemy could reinforce himself, to close the two gates. The prospect for something else was also alluring, for, while the Italians enjoyed extensive mobility and supply, the Teutons, on account of the snows, did not.

TWO ITALIAN SUCCESSES

On Dec. 31, therefore, the French troops recaptured the northern summit of Monte Tomba, which the Austrians had held since November, inflicting numerous casualties on the enemy, including 1,400 prisoners. In the middle of January the French made a drive four miles east up the Piave in the direction of Quero, which had been held by the Austrians since Nov. 15. These two movements caused the Austrians, between Jan. 20 and 23, to yield the whole salient, moving their defense line north from Monte Monfenera to the shelter of the Calcina Torrent and Monte Spinoncia, in the northern hills of which the torrent rises and then flows southeast into the Piave four miles away. Thus the eastern gate was closed.

Then, on Jan. 28, the Italians themselves closed the other, just in time to smash an Austrian drive directed down the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys, and captured 1,500 prisoners, including 62 officers. The Italian surprise was at once pressed home throughout the entire region, extending from south of Gallio in the Val di Nos eastward across the Frenzela Torrent, via Bertigo, Monte Sisemol, the Col del Rosso, and the Monte di Val Bella, to the Brenta.

In this series of actions, it has been reported by the Italian General Headquarters Staff, the Austrians lost, all told, close to 10,000 men. For example, their 21st Rifle Division is known to have had 5,000 men, or about 70 per cent. of its complement, put out of action. Brigades of the 18th and 6th Divisions lost 50 per cent. But the most terrible loss was inflicted on the 160th Landsturm, which had only a few hundred left. When the offensive was well under way British and French batteries joined those of the Italians, which caused an Italian staff officer to remark: "At last we have realized unity of command right in the face of the enemy fire."

ENEMY ON THE DEFENSIVE

Other actions of the month have been a putting up of more bars across the two gates on the part of the Allies, and, on the part of the enemy, attempts to take them down. On Jan. 31 the enemy, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to regain lost ground in the area of Sasso Rosso, diverted his attack to Monte di Val Bella, whence the Italians had reached by a sudden thrust at dawn the head of the Melago Valley. This attack was also quickly dispersed by the Italian artillery fire. On Feb. 10 the enemy made similar thrusts east and west of the Frenzela Torrent, and at the Italian new positions on Monte di Val Bella and Col del Rosso; again the Italian artillery knew its business and did it. On succeeding days it has been the same story, with ever-increasing evidence that the enemy is growing short of munitions and is unable to reinforce himself.

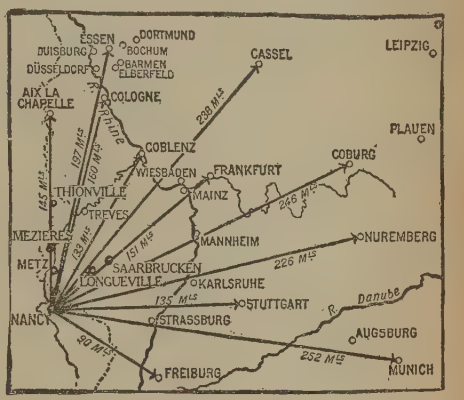
As early as Jan. 21 General Borovich

was appointed to succeed the Archduke Eugene in command of the entire enemy front against Italy. Emperor Charles looked for quick returns. He got them of a sort. Heretofore Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf had commanded the mountain front and Borovich the Piave. Conrad still commands in the north, and the promotion of Borovich to supreme command is not considered a criticism of his work—merely a sop thrown to the Slav element of Austria-Hungary, as Borovich is of Slavo-Croatian origin. It was the Archduke Eugene who planned the offensive of Austria into the Setti Comuni in May and June, 1916, which cost him between 80,000 and 100,000 men.

ACTIVITY OF AIRCRAFT

Never before has there been such activity in the air as during the period under observation. Aside from the customary bombing of the open towns of England and the open, historic towns of Italy, and the usual duels over the western front, the operations have conspicuously fallen into two categories—the bombing of the great supply stations of the Germans in the Rhine area by English, French, and American airmen, and the enormously successful offensive carried out by the Allies against the Teuton aircraft on the Italian front. Here, in a period of eleven days, fifty-six enemy airplanes were brought down in combats in which the casualties to the Italian, French, and British aviators were nil. For the first time since July 27-28, 1917, German airplanes, on Jan. 30, visited Paris, killing twenty and injuring twenty. The first American airmen to lose their lives in Italy were three cadets, who fell while training on the fields near Foggia.

Much has been written about the inhumane method of the Germans in periodically bombing the open towns of England. It has been said to have for its aim the terrorizing of the people. It is much more: it has constantly kept employed for home defense hundreds of batteries of anti-aircraft guns and hundreds of airplanes which would have taken the offensive on the Continent. When the so-called campaign of reprisals began against German cities—not open towns, but supply and concentration posts—the enemy did not adopt the British methods of defense. They placed large bodies of prisoners in the exposed places. There is no doubt of this, as it is confirmed,



AIR RAID REPRISALS BY ALLIES—FROM NANCY AS A BASE

at least as to Stuttgart and Karlsruhe, by the Cologne Gazette of Jan. 7.

BRITISH AIR RAIDS

On Jan. 24 extensive air raids were carried out by the British against Mannheim, the principal commercial city of the Rhine Valley; against the garrison and supply towns of Treves and Saarbrücken, in Rhenish Prussia; Thionville, in German Lorraine, and enemy bases in Belgium, either concentration camps or airdromes. Mannheim, which is about 115 miles north of Nancy, has been repeatedly visited. Below the town, at the mouth of the Neckar, is Germany's great inland submarine base. On Feb. 5, French airmen dropped several tons of bombs on Saarbrücken, and on the 10th the British paid a visit to the forts of Metz and dropped ten tons of bombs on the railway tracks at Courcelles.

These raids are directed against arsenals, supply depots, lines and junctions of communication, naval repair shops, and airdromes. They seriously interfere with the enemy's movements.

BATTLE WITH TURKISH CRUISERS

On Sunday morning, Jan. 20, the British naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean engaged the German battle cruiser Goeben, (Turkish name Sultan Selim,)

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the light cruiser Breslau, (Turkish name Midullu,) and destroyers. The Breslau was sunk, the Goeben was beached, and then escaped into the Dardanelles. The two German ships mentioned are those which, at the beginning of the war, escaped from Admiral Troubridge's clutches, reached the Golden Horn, and, before Turkey entered the war, were announced as having been sold to her and receiving Turkish names and the Turkish flag.

As genuine naval actions are rare nowadays the full British Admiralty report on the engagement may prove of interest:

At 5:20 A. M., (Jan. 20,) when his Majesty's destroyer Lizard was about two miles from the northeasterly point of Imbros on patrol duty, she sighted Breslau steaming in a northerly direction to the southeast of Cape Kephalo, shortly followed by Goeben, about a mile astern.

His Majesty's ship Lizard at once gave the alarm, and, opening fire, proceeded to keep in as close touch as possible with the enemy ships. Goeben and Breslau engaged Lizard at about 11,000 yards, straddling her without hitting.

Goeben now sighted the monitors in Kusu Bay, on the northeast corner of Imbros, and engaged them, Breslau continuing to engage Lizard, who was prevented from closing to torpedo range by the accuracy of the enemy's fire at shorter range.

His Majesty's destroyer Tigress now joined Lizard, and the two destroyers endeavored to cover the monitors by forming a smoke screen, in attempting which they were subjected to an accurate fire from Goeben. Meanwhile his Majesty's ship Raglan had been heavily hit and sunk, and the small monitor M-28, which was on fire amidships, blew up and finally disappeared about 6 A. M. The enemy then ceased fire and altered course to the southward.

Tigress and Lizard, observing that trawlers were coming to the assistance of the monitors, followed the enemy. At 7 A. M., when Breslau was about six miles south of Kephalo, a large explosion was observed abreast her after-funnel. Two or three minutes later three more explosions took place, and at 7:10 she sank by the stern, heeling over as she went down. On seeing Breslau sink Goeben turned and circled round her once, and then continued on her southerly course.

Immediately after this four enemy destroyers were sighted coming out of the Dardanelles, supported by an old Turkish cruiser. Tigress and Lizard at once engaged the enemy destroyers, which hurriedly retired up the strait, the nearest one being hit repeatedly and set on fire.

Goeben continued on her southerly course until an attack by our aircraft forced her to alter course and head for the Dardanelles.

In the act of turning, however, she struck a mine, which caused her to settle down aft with a list of 10 to 15 degrees, and which considerably reduced her speed. She proceeded slowly up the Dardanelles, escorted by enemy seaplanes and the four Turkish destroyers, which had returned to her assistance.

Our aircraft repeatedly attacked her and obtained two direct hits when off Chanak. Goeben was now in such a damaged condition that she was steered for the shore, and was beached at the extreme end of Nagara Point, about 100 yards from the lighthouse. Shortly after beaching two more direct hits were made on her by our aircraft, who were heavily engaged by several enemy seaplanes. In the encounters which took place one of our seaplanes failed to return.

The shore batteries at Cape Helles then opened an accurate fire on Tigress and Lizard, who had been following Goeben, and in view of the activity of our naval aircraft the two destroyers retired out of range and proceeded to rescue the survivors of Breslau.

During these operations the periscope of a submarine was sighted, and the work of rescue was seriously interfered with while the destroyers hunted the submarine.

The German survivors from Breslau expressed intense dislike for the Turks, and stated that they had hoped to be sent back to Germany on Goeben's return to Constantinople after the raid.

Our aircraft reported on Monday afternoon that Goeben was still ashore in the same position. She is still being bombed.

The Turkish report of the encounter sent by wireless to Berlin on Jan. 21 reads as follows:

In a clever attack the Sultan Selim, the Midullu, and some torpedo boats advanced yesterday out of the Dardanelles, in order to destroy enemy forces which had been located near Imbros. Two enemy monitors, the Raglan, (4,500 tons,) with two 35.6 centimeter (14-inch) guns, and M-28, (500 tons,) with one 23.4 centimeter (9.2-inch) gun and one 15.2 centimeter (6-inch) gun, a transport ship of 2,000 tons, a signal station, and numerous munition depots were destroyed. Lively aerial activity reigned on both sides. An enemy airplane was shot down in an aerial fight and a second was seriously damaged. The coastal batteries successfully bombarded enemy torpedo boats. On the return the Midullu was sunk by striking several mines.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From January 18, 1918, Up to and Including February 15, 1918

UNITED STATES

A bill providing for the creation of a Department of Munitions was introduced in Congress by Senator Chamberlain on Jan. 5, and on Jan. 22 he introduced a bill providing for a War Cabinet. Both measures were opposed by President Wilson.

Secretary Baker, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs in defense of the work of the War Department Jan. 28, announced that 500,000 men would be in France early in 1918, and 1,000,000 more would be sent before the end of the year.

Announcement was made on Jan. 31 that United States troops were occupying first-line trenches. On the same day news was received of a German raid on the American line, in which two Americans were killed, four wounded, and one reported missing. On Feb. 3 an official statement was made that Americans were on the Lorraine front. Two Americans were killed and nine wounded in the bombardment of that sector. American prisoners were taken at Xivry Feb. 9. From that date on daily reports of trench raids, with a few casualties, were received.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the army Feb. 1.

New regulations to prevent goods leaving the United States in neutral bottoms from reaching Germany, and to make it impossible for ships to supply submarines, went into effect Feb. 1 by order of the War Trade Board. On Feb. 15 President Wilson issued proclamations making subject to control by license the entire foreign commerce of the United States.

The War Finance Corporation bill was introduced in the House and Senate Feb. 4.

Nine German subjects and two American citizens, among the former Franz von Rintelen, were convicted and sentenced for attempting to blow up the British transatlantic cargo steamer Kirk Oswald.

A bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Overman on Feb. 6 to give the President unrestricted power to co-ordinate and consolidate all Governmental activities as a war emergency.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Announcement was made on Jan. 30 that since the launching of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917, 69 American ships, totaling 171,061 gross tons, had been sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders, and 300 persons drowned. To offset this loss, 107 German and Austrian ships, having a gross tonnage of 686,494, were seized and added to the American merchant marine, 426 vessels totaling more than 2,000,000 tons were requisitioned through the Shipping Board, and contracts were awarded for 884 more ships.

The total tonnage lost by Allies and neutrals from Jan. 1, 1917, to Jan. 26, 1918, was 6,617,000. Great Britain lost 1,169 ships.

A statement made in the British House of Commons on Feb. 5 revealed the fact that German U-boats had killed 14,120 non-combatant British men, women, and children since the beginning of the war.

England's losses for the week ended Jan. 19 included eight ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Jan. 26, nine; for the week ended Feb. 2, ten, and for the week ended Feb. 9, nineteen. The armed escort vessel Mechanician was torpedoed in the English Channel on Jan. 30 and thirteen men were lost. The Cunard liner Andania was torpedoed off the Ulster coast Jan. 27, and her sister ship, the Aurania, was attacked Feb. 6, but remained afloat. The Irish steamship Cork was sunk Jan. 28, and twelve persons were lost. On Jan. 21 the armed boarding steamer Louvain was sunk in the Mediterranean, with a loss of 217 lives.

The British steamer Tuscania, serving as a transport for American troops, was sunk off the coast of Ireland on Feb. 5. Eighty-two known dead were reported, and 216 were unaccounted for.

The American freighter Alamance was sunk off the English coast Feb. 6, and six lives were lost.

The Argentine steamship Ministro Irriendo was sunk in the Mediterranean Jan. 26. On Feb. 1, Argentina's military and naval attachés were recalled from Berlin and Vienna.

French and Italian losses averaged one or two ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

The Swedish steamship Fridland, loaded with grain from an American port, was torpedoed Feb. 7. Six men were killed.

Spain sent a protest to the German Government, Feb. 7, against the looting and torpedoing of the Spanish steamer Giralda on Jan. 26. Announcement was made on Feb. 9 that the Spanish steamship Sebastian was torpedoed while on its way to New York, and the Italian ship Duca di

Genova was reported sunk in Spanish territorial waters. The sinking of another Spanish ship, the Ceferino, was announced Feb. 13.

The Norwegian Government announced that from the outbreak of the war to the end of January, 1918, a total of 714 Norwegian ships, of 1,050,583 gross tonnage, had been sunk, and 883 seamen had lost their lives. Fifty-three other ships, with more than 700 members of their crews, were reported missing.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 18—German raids south and west of the Oise repulsed by the French.

Jan. 23—Germans gain footing east of Nieuport, but are expelled in counterattack.

Jan. 26—French repulse German raids west of St. Gobain, between the Oise and the Ailette Rivers.

Jan. 29—French penetrate deep German intrenchments in Upper Alsace.

Feb. 1—Two Americans killed, four wounded, and one missing after German raid on their salient.

Feb. 3—Germans bombard American sector on the Lorraine front; two Americans killed, nine wounded.

Feb. 4—French repulse a raid west of Fresnes.

Feb. 5—Fighting renewed in the sector held by Americans.

Feb. 6—Violent artillery engagement on the Verdun front.

Feb. 9—American prisoners taken at Xivry; French repulse German raids in the region of Nieuport and Juincourt and Moronvilliers.

Feb. 10—German attack near Caurières Wood repulsed; Australians raid German positions southeast of Messines.

Feb. 13—French penetrate German third-line positions southwest of Butte-Mesnil; Canadians and Germans engage in hand-to-hand combats northwest of Passchendaele.

Feb. 14-15—American gunners aid French raid in the Champagne sector, between Tahure and Butte de Mesnil.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 19—Italians on the Lower Piave repulse attack on the Capo Sile bridgehead.

Jan. 24—Teutons evacuate territory on the Monte Tomba front from the Piave River westward and move their defense lines back to Monte Spinoncia.

Jan. 29—Italians break Teuton lines at several points east of the Asiago Plateau and disperse reinforcements which are rushed through the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys.

Jan. 30—Italians extend their gains on the Asiago Plateau, taking Monte di Val Bella.

Jan. 31—Italians advance northeast of Col del Rosso.

Feb. 1—Italians advance their lines as far as the head of the Melago Valley.

Feb. 2—Teutons repulsed at Monte di Val Bella.

Feb. 11—Italians shatter violent attacks west of the Brenta River.

NAVAL RECORD

The Turkish cruiser Midullu, formerly the German Breslau, was sunk by a mine, and the Sultan Yawuz Selim, formerly the German Goeben, was beached, after an engagement with British forces at the entrance to the Dardanelles on Jan. 20. The British lost the monitor Raglan and the small monitor M-28. The Goeben was later refloated and entered the Dardanelles. The British submarine E-14, which was sent into the Dardanelles on the night of Jan. 27 to complete the destruction of the Goeben, was sunk off Kum Kale.

Ostend was bombarded by allied naval forces on Jan. 20 and Feb. 6.

The French freight transport La Drome and the trawler Kerbihan were sunk by mines off Marseilles Jan. 23. Forty-five men were lost on the Drome.

Italian torpedo craft forced their way west of Dalmatia into the Bay of Buccari, Feb. 11, and torpedoed the largest Austrian steamer anchored there.

A raiding flotilla of German destroyers sunk eight British boats that were hunting submarines in the Strait of Dover Feb. 15.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators, on the nights of Jan. 21 and 24, raided towns in the occupied parts of Belgium and in German Lorraine. Mannheim, Treves, Saarbrücken, and Thionville were bombarded.

Several raids were made on towns in Italy. On the night of Jan. 26 Austrian airmen dropped bombs on Treviso and Mestre, killing three women. Three hospitals at Mestre were damaged, and two Americans, William Platt and Richard Cutts Fairfield, who were attached to the American Red Cross, were killed at Mestre. Venice, Padua, Treviso, and Mestre were attacked Feb. 4 and 6. In the raid on the 4th eight citizens were killed at Treviso and the Church of San Lorenzo was wrecked. Five enemy machines were brought down on the 5th. Calliano, Bassano, Treviso, and Mestre were raided on Feb. 6. Announcement was made that between Jan. 26 and Feb. 7 fifty-six Teuton airplanes had been brought down by the Allies on the Italian front. An Italian aviator dropped a ton of bombs on the hostile aviation grounds at Motta di Livenza Feb. 6.

London was raided on the night of Jan. 28. Fifty-eight persons were killed and 173 injured. The next night another raid was made and ten persons were killed and ten injured.

Paris and its suburbs were attacked on the night of Jan. 30. Forty-five persons were killed and 207 injured.

Announcement was made Feb. 3 that Ger-

many had tried two British airmen by court-martial and sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment for dropping a hostile proclamation in Germany.

RUSSIA, RUMANIA, POLAND

On Jan. 18 the Revolutionary Committee of the Ninth Russian Army sent a two-hour ultimatum to the Rumanian military authorities demanding free passage for Russian troops through Jassy. King Ferdinand was placed under the protection of the Allies. The Russians were defeated at Galatz on Jan. 26. The Bolshevist Government severed diplomatic relations with Rumania on Jan. 28, and Rumanian Legation and Consular officials were ordered out of Russia. Lieut. Gen. Tcherbatcheff was outlawed. Kishenev was occupied by the Rumanians on Feb. 1, and on the same day the Bolsheviki seized Rumanian ships in the Black Sea. The Rumanian Cabinet resigned Feb. 10 after receiving an ultimatum from Germany demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days.

The Constituent Assembly, which met at Petrograd on Jan. 19, was dissolved on Jan. 20 by the Council of National Commissioners, although the All-Russian Railway Men's Congress passed a resolution supporting it and calling upon the People's Commissaries to aid the majority in forming a Government responsible to the assembly. On Jan. 26 the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates passed a resolution of confidence in the Government of the National Commissaries and approved all measures enacted by it, and on Jan. 30 the Congress adopted the Constitution of the "Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic."

A. I. Shingaroff and Professor F. F. Kokoshine, Cadets and former Ministers of the Provisional Government, were murdered by the Bolsheviki in the Marine Hospital at Petrograd Jan. 23.

Odessa and Orenburg were captured by the Bolsheviki on Feb. 1 and Niepin was taken by their troops in Minsk on Feb. 4.

The American Ambassador, David R. Francis, notified the State Department on Jan. 30 that he had been threatened by Russian anarchists and warned that he would be held responsible for the life and liberty of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who were imprisoned in the United States for conspiracy to obstruct the army draft law.

The Bolshevist Government announced on Feb. 2 that British and other foreign embassies would not be allowed to draw on funds deposited in the Russian banks until the Bolshevist Government should be allowed to have complete disposal of Russian funds in the Bank of England.

The Petrograd Soviet issued a decree on Feb. 4, signed by Lenine and other members of the de facto Government, separating the Church and the State. As a result of the seizure of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Petrograd by the Bolsheviki on Feb. 1, the Metropolitan of Moscow issued an anathema threatening the participants with excommunication.

A counter-revolutionary plot, headed by Ensigns Sinebrukoff and Wolk, was unearthed in Petrograd on Feb. 1. Wolk was arrested and killed. General Verkhovski, who was War Minister in the Kerensky régime, was arrested on Feb. 4.

A Congress of Cossack Socialists was inaugurated at the military station of Kamesky on Jan. 26 and passed a resolution declaring war on General Kaledine and assuming all authority.

The Tartars held a constituent assembly in the ancient Tartar capital of Bakhtchisarai on Feb. 1 and announced the establishment of an autonomous Crimean republic. Yalta, in the Government of Taurida, was occupied by the Tartars on Feb. 4, and they then advanced on Sebastopol.

A revolution began in the eastern province of Finland on Jan. 28. The loyal army, or White Guards, under General Mannerheim, occupied Uleaborg and Tammerfors on Feb. 6 after an encounter with the Red Guards, or revolutionists, who were aided by the Russians. Viborg was taken by the White Guards Feb. 8.

Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevist Commander in Chief, issued a decree on Feb. 7, ordering that all supplies be cut off from the Polish legion in the Russian Army and declaring its commander, Dovbor Mousnitsky, an outlaw. He also appealed to all Bolsheviki to leave Polish commands. The decree was prompted by the refusal of the Polish commands to reduce their officers to the ranks and submit to Bolshevist democratization. Smolensk was captured by the Poles Feb. 10.

Kiev, the seat of the Ukrainian Rada, fell under control of the Bolsheviki on Jan. 30. Mussulmans in South Russia, including the Crimea, co-operated with the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviki. The Ukrainians claimed a great victory over the Bolsheviki at Sarny Feb. 8, and the same day the Bolsheviki failed in an attempt to occupy Kiev. M. Holubowicz was appointed Premier of the Ukraine.

Russian delegates to the Brest-Litovsk conference decided on Jan. 24 to reject Germany's peace terms, which called for the cession of Courland and the Baltic provinces to Germany. Another conference opened on Jan. 30. The question of Poland presented a difficulty. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, while declaring his readiness to recognize the independence and right of self-government of the Polish State, contended that the fact of foreign occupation prevented him from recognizing the repre-

sentatives of the State under existing conditions.

Announcement was made on Feb. 7 that steamship service between the Asiatic ports of Russia and Constantinople had been resumed in the Black Sea since Jan. 11, and the Russians were reported to be supplying the Turks with food.

A peace treaty between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed Feb. 9.

Germany announced on Feb. 11 that the Bolsheviki had declared the state of war with the Teutonic powers at an end and had demobilized the Russian armies.

The Belgian Government's reply to Pope Benedict's peace note was made public Jan. 23.

On Jan. 24 Chancellor von Hertling, in an address before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag, replied to President Wilson's statements on war aims, and on the same day Count Czernin addressed Austrian delegations of the Reichsrat on the attitude of Austria-Hungary on peace. Philip Scheidemann replied to von Hertling in the Reichstag, accepting eleven points of President Wilson's program, and attacking the German military leaders. On Jan. 25 and 26 the German Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, made speeches in the Main Committee of the Reichstag justifying the policy pursued by the German representatives at Brest-Litovsk and denouncing the Bolsheviki as ruling by force. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Nessimy Bey, expressed complete accord with the Czernin and Hertling speeches in an address before the Chamber of Deputies, Feb. 8.

Replies to Hertling and Czernin were delivered by President Wilson in an address to Congress Feb. 11, and by Lloyd George in a speech to Parliament Feb. 12.

The British House of Commons on Feb. 13 rejected a resolution expressing regret that in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme War Council at Versailles prosecution of the military effort was the immediate task of the war.

Peace strikes occurred in Austria-Hungary and in Germany, but were suppressed by the military forces.

Count Rudolph von Valentini was displaced by Herr von Berg as Chief of the German Emperor's Civil Cabinet Jan. 20.

Sir Edward Carson resigned from the British War Cabinet Jan. 21. His resignation was followed by that of Lieut. Col. James Craig, Lord Treasurer of the Household.

The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Man-Power bill on Jan. 24.

The Supreme War Council of the Allies convened at Versailles Jan. 29. It was decided to continue the vigorous prosecution of the war.

A War Trade Board was established in Canada to co-operate with the United States War Trade Board.

Bolo Pacha was convicted of treason in France and sentenced to death Feb. 14. His co-defendant, Darius Porchère, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and Filippo Cavallinie, another co-defendant, under arrest in Italy, was sentenced to death.

The Sinking of the Tuscania

America's Greatest Military Loss to Date

THE first serious military loss of the United States in the war against Germany occurred on Feb. 5, 1918, when a submarine torpedoed and sank the British steamship Tuscania of the Anchor Line. The vessel was under charter to the Cunard Line and serving as a transport for American troops, mostly National Guardsmen from Michigan and Wisconsin. On Oct. 1, 1917, the United States Army transport Antilles had been sunk by a German submarine while returning from France under convoy, with a loss of sixty-seven men, the majority of them wounded soldiers. That was the first disaster of the kind. The sinking of the Tuscania was the second, and the death roll was much larger.

There were 2,179 American soldiers on board the Tuscania at the time the vessel was torpedoed off the north coast of Ireland. The total number of victims is still in doubt at this writing, (Feb. 18,) but it is known to include 164 whose bodies were washed ashore on the Scottish coast and buried there with appropriate services. Thirty or more of these had not been identified. Many of the passengers were still unaccounted for. The members of the crew who lost their lives were nearly all killed in the explosion in the engine room.

The survivors were for the most part

quartered in hotels, private residences, and hospitals along the north coast of Ireland. Two groups were sent off to Belfast by rail and thence by boat to England. Everywhere the inhabitants gave the Americans a warm welcome and spared no pains to make them comfortable.

The possibility of being torpedoed had been discussed almost daily from the time the Tuscania left American shores. Several hundred lumberjacks from the Northwest and Pacific Coast States were eating their evening meal when the disaster occurred. Hundreds of other American troops were waiting for their meals when the general alarm sounded. False alarms had been sounded for boat drill every day on the trip, but all knew that this one was genuine. Officers shouted instructions to the men. Many of them were husky youths, and, despite their brief military training, they displayed wonderful coolness as they marched to their boat stations. There was no running about, nothing resembling a panic. In a few isolated cases there were signs of nervousness on the part of some of the youngsters as the ship took a heavy tilt to starboard, and they slid to the rail, to which they clung for dear life. But that was all. Veteran British officers in the crew, who had themselves been on torpedoed ships, marveled at their coolness.

The rescue work was done by British destroyers, trawlers later coming on the scene and picking up survivors whom the destroyers had missed. One of the trawlers rescued the record number of 340, all Americans.

The Tuscania was attacked in the early evening of Feb. 5, while proceeding under convoy in sight of the Irish coast. With other troop and provision ships, which after a long passage across the Atlantic were entering what, until recently, were considered comparatively safe waters, the Tuscania was moving along in the dusk, the land just distinguishable in the distance, when a torpedo struck the liner amidships. No sign of a submarine had been seen before the blow was struck, according to most accounts. Apparently two torpedoes were launched at the liner. The first, according to some survivors, passed just astern of the vessel, while the second struck in the vicinity of No. 1 boiler.

The steamship at once took a heavy list to starboard, but the damage done was seen to be not so serious as to cause immediate sinking. Instead of plowing forward as most vessels do under the circumstances, the Tuscania stopped dead. A shiver ran through her, and she heeled over at a dangerous angle. The list to starboard so elevated the lifeboats on the port side as to render them practically useless, and only a few boats on that side were launched. The first of these struck the water unevenly, capsizing and throwing the occupants into the sea. After that several boats were launched successfully, but the vessel's list became more perilous, and some of the men who were trying to get into the boats from the starboard side now climbed along the deck to the rail, to which they clung. Many by this time had donned lifebelts and jumped overboard. Hundreds of others were preparing to follow this example when a British destroyer drew up right alongside the Tuscania.

When the men saw this many of them leaped from the boat and saloon decks to that of the waiting destroyer. This destroyer took off several hundred men, all she could carry, and moved away. She had come up along the starboard side of the Tuscania. As she steamed away with her deck loaded down with Americans another British destroyer emerged out of the darkness on the Tuscania's port side, now high out of the water. When the men on the doomed ship recovered from their surprise at this skillful manoeuvring of the British commander there was another scramble to reach the elevated port rail, from which some of the men slid down the ship's side by the aid of ropes, and others on their hands and knees. All the time this rescue work was progressing, cool heads were getting the few other lifeboats afloat.

The troops on board the Tuscania included 750 of the First Forestry Engineers, recruited from different parts of the country; one battalion of Michigan Engineers and one battalion of Wisconsin

Engineers, parts of three regiments of former Wisconsin infantry, detachments of former National Guard troops from Michigan, and three Aefo Squadrons, largely from New York.

Most of the deaths were caused by the capsizing of lifeboats in the attempt to lower them from the port side of the ship. Many of those thus thrown into the icy waters perished of exposure even after they had reached rafts or other boats.

The Month's Submarine Warfare

Although the latter part of the period indicates a tendency toward greater losses, the number of British ships sunk during the last month shows a considerable decrease in contrast with the month before:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Jan. 20.....	6	2	..
Week ended Jan. 27.....	9	6	..
Week ended Feb. 3.....	10	5	4
Week ended Feb. 10.....	13	6	3
Total for four weeks.....	38	19	7
Total previous 4 weeks...	53	9	7

Two great tragedies of the sea were revealed by the British Admiralty announcement of the sinking of two transports, with a loss of 809 lives. The transport Aragon was torpedoed and sunk in the Eastern Mediterranean on Dec. 30, 1917. A British destroyer, while picking up survivors, was herself torpedoed and sunk. The mercantile fleet auxiliary Osmanieh struck a mine and sank on Dec. 31 in approximately the same locality as the Aragon. The lives lost were: Captains and officers of the two steamers, 7; crew, 36; military officers, 11; soldiers, 747; female nurses, 8; total, 809.

Another revelation of the ravages of the German submarines was made by Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, in a speech on Jan. 26, when he said that in one week in December cargoes including 3,000,000 pounds of bacon and 4,000,000 pounds of cheese were sunk.

According to a reply given by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons on Feb. 5, German submarines had up to that date been responsible for the death of 14,120 noncombatant British men, women, and children.

A complete survey of Norwegian vessels during 1917 shows that the number lost was 434, aggregating 686,862 tons. The number of Norwegian sailors known to have been killed was 401, while 258 were missing or unaccounted for.

In the first twelve months of unrestricted warfare launched against American and allied shipping by Germany on Feb. 1, 1917, there were sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders 69 American vessels, representing 171,061 tons. On the other hand, former German and Austro-Hungarian ships seized by the United States numbered 107, having an aggregate tonnage of 686,494. The credit balance in America's favor was, therefore, 38 ships and 515,435 gross tons. The loss of life caused by the sinking of the 69 American vessels was more than 300 persons.

The first definite information as to the scope of the new danger zones decreed by the German Government was made public in Washington on Jan. 29, when the Secretary of State issued the text of the German order, which had been received through the Swiss Legation. The decree bore date of Jan. 5, 1918, and was described as a supplement to the decree of Jan. 31, 1917. It established two very large barred areas in the North Atlantic Ocean. One was around the Cape Verde Islands, off the Senegalese coast of Africa. The other extended from the Madeira and Azores Islands, and included both these groups. The metes and bounds of the new barred areas, charted on the naval hydrographic chart of the North Atlantic Ocean, showed that both zones covered routes between South American ports and Europe and North American and European ports and Africa.

HOSPITAL SHIP TORPEDOED

The British hospital ship Rewa, a vessel of over 7,000 tons, brilliantly lighted with all the distinctive Red Cross mark-

ings, was torpedoed and sunk in the British Channel on the night of Jan. 4, 1918, while on the way home from the Mediterranean. Before the vessel sank all the wounded, nearly 300, were saved, and the only casualties were three Lascars, who were probably killed by the explosion. The sinking of the Rewa caused great indignation in Great Britain, because the vessel was not, and had not been, the British official statement said, "within the so-called barred zone as delimited in the statement issued by the German Government on Jan. 29, 1917." The Germans originally sought to justify their attacks on Red Cross ships by alleging that these vessels were misused and carried ammunition. With a view to preventing further outrages by the enemy, the British Government agreed that each hospital ship should carry a neutral Commissioner, appointed by the Spanish Government, as a guarantee against any abuse of the privileges attaching to Red Cross vessels. On Sept. 9, 1917, it was announced that King Alfonso had obtained from the belligerent Governments an agreement which would permit the free passage of French and British hospital ships in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic as far north as the English Channel. Spanish officers were to board the hospital ships at Gibraltar and Toulon. In accordance with the agreement, a Spanish representative traveled in the Rewa from Saloniki, but left the vessel at Gibraltar. This was the ship's last port of call, so that there was no possibility of the sanctity of the Rewa as a hospital ship, of which the Spanish officer would have satisfied himself, having been violated afterward.

America in the War

A Record of the Month

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

PROGRESS in America's war preparations, both at home and abroad, was very considerable during January and February. The taking over of a part of the French line in Lorraine indicated that Pershing's army was emerging from the state of preparation. As will be seen from the article on Page 423, by the middle of February the training operations included work on the firing line which involved casualties and had already produced a death roll.

The navy has been growing at a rapid rate, as was shown in the report issued on Jan. 16, 1918, by William B. Oliver, Chairman of the special sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee which inquired into the conduct of the naval side of the war. Mr. Oliver showed that 424 war vessels were under construction or contract by the Navy Department, in addition to submarine chasers; that this was the largest building program undertaken by any navy, and that the progress made in warship construction and in expanding naval shipbuilding facilities had been "phenomenal." One destroyer was recently finished by a navy yard in fifty-one weeks, one week less than a year, whereas before the war the shortest time on record for the building of an American destroyer was eighteen months, while very few of our destroyers were built in less than two years in the pre-war period. The investigating committee was impressed by the "efficient and expeditious methods" employed in the naval Bureaus of Ordnance, Construction, and Steam Engineering. These bureaus did not wait for the outbreak of war, but began making extensive preparations, began accumulating stores on a large scale, and took other important military steps before the actual outbreak of war. The statement disclosed that since the United States entered the war the navy has taken over and converted to war use between 700 and 800 passenger and freight vessels, yachts, tugs, fishing boats, and other craft.

Simultaneously with the growth of the armed forces on land and sea, the drafting of civilians into the new armies and their training and equipment, there was a considerable amount of criticism in Congress and the press. Secretary Baker's war administration was the particular object of attack, and demands for reorganization were insistent in many quarters. A full review of the attack in Congress and Secretary Baker's defense will be found on Pages 457-73 of this issue.

While the management of the War Department has been productive of controversy, the industrial mobilization of the nation has encountered the first serious emergency since the United States entered the war. The crisis, which reached its height in January, 1918, arose from a shortage of coal in the great cities and manufacturing centres of the East. But the shortage was really due to the absence of sufficient transportation facilities to move coal and other freight and also adequate terminal accommodation to cope with the congestion of merchandise, in its turn due to the lack of enough shipping. This phase is treated on Page 473 of this issue.

It became more obvious than ever before that the basis of America's aid to the Allies was the providing of ships for the transport of troops, for the continuous stream of supplies to keep the armies in the field properly equipped, and for the supply of food and other necessities for the Allies. Pershing summed up the vital need of the situation in the exhortation to make "a bridge of ships" to France. Under Chairman Hurley the Shipping Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation increased their efforts to hasten the production of ships from the many new yards which came into existence during 1917. Everything in the way of material necessary for the carrying out of the great building program was available, but at the critical moment, early in February, 1918, when a call was sent out for skilled labor and a recruiting campaign initiated to obtain 250,000 additional shipyard workers, discontent on the part of the workingmen threatened to tie up every yard on the Atlantic Coast. Several thousand men went on strike, and by the middle of February the stoppage seemed about to extend unless a considerable advance in wages were granted.

William L. Hutcheson, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in a statement on Feb. 15 issued demands for a "closed shop" in shipyards and a wage scale similar to that in force on the Pacific Coast, ignoring at the same time the suggestion that differences should be settled by the Government Labor Adjustment Board. This was the first serious labor trouble, apart from the I. W. W. agitation in the West, with which the Government had been confronted since the nation went to war, and was more serious because the shipyard workers belong to well-organized unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, presided over by Samuel Gompers, whereas the I. W. W. is very loosely organized, sporadic in its action, and strongly discountenanced by the American Federation of Labor.

The trouble was ended by the intervention of President Wilson, who, on Feb. 17, addressed a telegram to Mr. Hutcheson in which he said:

> I feel it to be my duty to call your attention to the fact that the strike of carpenters in the shipyards is in marked and painful contrast to the action of labor in other trades and places. * * *
>
> All the other unions engaged in this indispensable work have agreed to abide by the decisions of the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board. * * *
>
> If you do not act upon this principle, you are undoubtedly giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whatever may be your own conscious purpose. * * *
>
> It is the duty of the Government to see that the best possible conditions of labor are maintained, as it is also its duty to see to it that there is no lawless and conscienceless profiteering, and that duty the Government has accepted and will perform. Will you co-operate or will you obstruct?

Mr. Hutcheson promptly replied that he was doing his utmost to induce the striking carpenters and joiners to return to work. With his staff of brotherhood officials he took energetic steps, issuing instructions to all local officials to get the strikers back to work on the following day, Monday, Feb. 18.

In the sphere of finance and trade, the most interesting developments were the Government's proposal to create a corporation to control issues of bonds and stocks, and the placing of the whole of the country's foreign trade under a licensing system. The object of the new finance corporation is to stabilize monetary conditions in connection with the issue of Government loans; while the control of foreign trade is dictated by the necessities of the shipping situation; no imports or exports of any character can be handled except by special license, and it is believed that the foreign commerce of the country will be reduced considerably and enable fully one million additional tons of shipping to be diverted for the transport of troops and supplies to the oversea forces.

America on the Battle Front

[See map on page 411.]

THE announcement was authorized by the War Department on Jan. 31, 1918, that American soldiers in France were occupying front-line trenches and bearing the full brunt of the defense of certain sectors of the line. This was the first time that the War Department authorized mention of the fact that the American expeditionary forces were occupying trenches for other than training purposes.

A dispatch, dated Feb. 5, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France stated that the sector occupied by the American troops was northwest of Toul, which indicated that they were on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient. Writing in the Paris Temps, Commandant de Civrieux described the American sector in the following terms:

> According to indications given, the region in which our allies are established for their début is that of the Woevre, in a district which, at this season, is most impracticable for the movements of troops. It is a low plain, shut in on one side by the Highlands (Hauts) of the Meuse, and on another by the hills of the Moselle—all of it covered with pools and swamps.
>
> To the west may be seen the skyline of the forests of Apremont, where the prolonged combats of Ailly and the Bois Brulé took place.
>
> To the east is the Bois de Mort-Mare, often mentioned in the dispatches, extending in a succession of clumps of trees as far as the grove of Le Prêtre, within which so much heroism has been displayed.
>
> The plain sinks toward the centre like a bowl, where the ground is quite impassable except in the dry weeks of Summer. The pools, variously cut up, terminate in a series of gullies, along which run stone-laid trails, which, at least until May, constitute the only available roads.
>
> In the rear, and sustaining the first lines, obviously parallel with the route St. Mihiel-Pont à Mousson, which, to a large extent they inclose, extends the forest of the Reine, with its many patches of stagnant water.
>
> Finally, the horizon to the south is obstructed by the cliffs of the Meuse, running from Lérouville toward Toul, and whence the long-range batteries on the emplacements at Forts Lérouville and Gironville command the entire sector.
>
> Hence this sector is exceptionally favorable for the trying out of soldiers, because no serious attack against it seems possible in existing conditions.
>
> Here our allies will be able to learn their lessons of experience through their limited daily actions, which are the elements of which the greater are made; they will be able, in this rude school, to put through their successive contingents, and thus, under the very best conditions, prepare their vast collaboration for the common work.

Ever since the American forces in France went into the trenches for training there were indications that part if not all of the Lorraine section of the line would be taken over by our men. The sentimental and moral value of placing the American forces along the Lorraine front is great in the minds of the French people on account of the national aspiration of the French for the recovery of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. There were also good military reasons why the American forces should be stationed along the Lorraine front, which, until they were placed in their stations there, was described as "a quiet sector of the front." This section of the

French line is the one nearest to Germany, and it was here that Americans were sent for training in October, 1917. [A map of this region is shown on Page 411.]

During the last month the Americans and the Germans engaged in a series of trench raids and skirmishes, with incidental sniping and artillery fire. The German official report of one of these minor affairs gave a further clue to the location of the American troops. It states that some American prisoners were captured north of Xivry, ten miles east of St. Mihiel. In this preliminary warfare the Americans suffered a certain number of casualties, but those reported killed or wounded in actions up to the time when this record closed was under twenty, with ten or twelve reported captured.

The most interesting engagement of the American troops in the period under review was reported Feb. 14. In the region east of Rheims in the Champagne the French troops broke into the German lines between Tahure and the Butte de Mesnil on a front of a mile and to the depth of two-thirds of a mile, and captured 160 prisoners. The American artillery participated in the preparatory bombardment and in the ensuing barrage fire while the operation was being executed, furnishing "very effective support," according to the French official bulletin.

On Feb. 15 it was reported that the Germans were bombarding the American lines with gas shells, making necessary the wearing of gas masks in all the trenches for three hours. So excellent was the anti-gas training of the men that not a case of gas poisoning was reported.

Although progress was steady in making the American Army abroad an efficient fighting force, General Pershing expressed himself dissatisfied in several important respects. Extracts from his reports, published in Washington Feb. 2, contained strong recommendations that Generals, Colonels, and other line officers of high rank be held directly responsible for the training of the officers under them. General Pershing also criticised the lack of military knowledge on several vital points displayed by such officers, presumably of the regular army, on their arrival in France. He said that there was an "almost total failure to "give instructions in principles of minor "tactics and their practical application "to war conditions." He added: "Of- "ficers from Colonels down, and includ- "ing some general officers, are found "ignorant of the handling of units in "open warfare, including principles of "reconnoissance, outpost, advance guard, "solution of practical problems, and for- "mation of attack. No training what- "ever has been given in musketry effi- "ciency as distinguished from individual "target practice on the range."

The former German steamships taken over at American ports when war was declared, though they had been disabled by the Germans, were entirely restored by American engineers. It was announced on Jan. 29 that these vessels had an approximate total tonnage of 600,000 and were conveying men and supplies to France. Among these vessels were the Leviathan, formerly the Vaterland, of 54,000 tonnage, and fifteen others of the largest of the seized ships. It was stated that the Leviathan carried 10,000 troops on her first voyage.

President Wilson to the Farmers

President Wilson, in an address to the Farmers' Conference, which met at Urbana, Ill., on Jan. 31, 1918, *said:*

YOU will not need to be convinced that it was necessary for us as a free people to take part in this war. It had raised its evil hand against us. The rulers of Germany had sought to exercise their power in such a way as to shut off our economic life so far as our intercourse with Europe was concerned, and to confine our people within the Western Hemisphere, while they accomplished pur-

poses which would have permanently impaired and impeded every process of our national life and have put the fortunes of America at the mercy of the Imperial Government of Germany.

This was no threat. It had become a reality. Their hand of violence had been laid upon our own people and our own property in flagrant violation not only of justice but of the well-recognized and long-standing covenants of international law and treaty. We are fighting, therefore, as truly for the liberty and self-government of the United States as if the war of our own Revolution had to be fought over again, and every man in every business in the United States must know by this time that his whole future fortune lies in the balance. Our national life and our whole economic development will pass under the sinister influences of foreign control if we do not win. We must win, therefore, and we shall win. I need not ask you to pledge your lives and fortunes with those of the rest of the nation to the accomplishment of the great end.

You will realize, as I think statesmen on both sides of the water realize, that the culminating crisis of the struggle has come and that the achievements of this year on the one side or the other must determine the issue. It has turned out that the forces that fight for freedom, the freedom of men all over the world as well as our own, depend upon us in an extraordinary and unexpected degree for sustenance, for the supply of the materials by which men are to live and to fight, and it will be our glory when the war is over that we have supplied these materials, and supplied them abundantly, and it will be all the more glory because in supplying them we have made our supreme effort and sacrifice. * * *

The banking legislation of the last two or three years has given the farmers access to the great lendable capital of the country, and it has become the duty both of the men in charge of the Federal Reserve banking system and of the Farm Loan banking system to see to it that the farmers obtain the credit, both short term and long term, to which they are entitled, not only, but which it is imperatively necessary should be extended to them if the present tasks of the country are to be adequately performed.

Both by direct purchase of nitrates and by the establishment of plants to produce nitrates, the Government is doing its utmost to assist in the problem of fertilization. The Department of Agriculture and other agencies are actively assisting the farmers to locate, safeguard, and secure at cost an adequate supply of sound seed. The department has $2,500,000 available for this purpose now, and has asked the Congress for $6,000,000 more.

The labor problem is one of great difficulty, and some of the best agencies of the nation are addressing themselves to the task of solving it, so far as it is possible to solve it. Farmers have not been exempted from the draft. I know that they would not wish to be. I take it for granted they would not wish to be put in a class by themselves in this respect. But the attention of the War Department has been very seriously centred upon the task of interfering with the labor of the farms as little as possible, and under the new draft regulations I believe that the farmers of the country will find that their supply of labor is very much less seriously drawn upon than it was under the first and initial draft, made before we had had our present full experience in these perplexing matters. The supply of labor in all industries is a matter we are looking to with diligent care. * * *

You remember that it was farmers from whom came the first shots at Lexington that set aflame the Revolution that made America free. I hope and believe that the farmers of America will willingly and conspicuously stand by to win this war also. The toil, the intelligence, the energy, the foresight, the self-sacrifice and devotion of the farmers of America will, I believe, bring to a triumphant conclusion this great last war for the emancipation of men from the control of arbitrary government and the selfishness of class legislation and control, and then, when the end has come, we may look each other in the face and be glad that we are Americans and have had the privilege to play such a part.

The Ukraine and Its Separate Peace

Rise of the New Russian State, Its War With the Bolsheviki, and Its Peace Treaty With Germany

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, a new State carved out of the southwestern corner of the old Russian Empire, signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918. It was the first national unit to take that step. The next day the representatives of the Bolshevist Government of Petrograd formally withdrew from the war without signing a treaty, and the armies of the whole Russian front were ordered demobilized. The doors were thrown open for the rich products of Ukrainia to enter Austria and Germany, nullifying the Atlantic blockade to that extent. The remaining German forces on the eastern front were released for use against the Allies in France. The war had entered upon a new phase.

Long before the war the Ukrainian movement had been fomented by Austria through the Austro-German "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine." After the Czar's fall the movement gained new impetus, ostensibly distinct from enemy influence, but constantly suspected by the Provisional Government. The Rada, or Parliament, established at Kiev, was created by the leaders of the secret Austrian Bund, and the peace so easily negotiated was to some extent at least a product of German money and intrigue. The Rada's pro-Teutonic character was one (minor) cause of its conflict with the Bolshevist leaders, which has eventuated in civil war.

The British Government announced that it would not recognize the Ukrainian Treaty. Up to Feb. 15 none of the nations except the Central Powers had taken any formal notice of the new treaty, or announced a recognition of the new State. In consequence of the ceding of the territory of Kholm in Poland to Ukrainia by Austria-Hungary, the Polish Ministry resigned, and it was announced that there was much dissatisfaction among Galician-Polish leaders.

The Ukrainian movement on its purely Russian side is partly a national, partly a land question, and herein lies the main cause of its clash with the Lenine-Trotzky régime. The Great Russians are mainly interested in getting and keeping the farm lands, while the Ukrainians stand for the recognition of their separate nationality and insist that the "self-determination of peoples" must be as fully applied to them as to any other nationality in Europe. They demand home rule, though they desire that their State shall be part of a Federal Russian Republic. The explanation of recent events in the Ukraine is to be found in the struggle between these opposing points of view.

AGREEMENT WITH KERENSKY

Even under the Provisional Government there was increasing friction between Petrograd and the Rada at Kiev. On July 14 the Provisional Government, on the advice of Kerensky, Terestchenko, and Tseretelli, came to terms with the Rada, agreeing that the General Secretariat was to be recognized as the highest administrative power in the Ukraine, but that the future Constitution of the Ukraine was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. The powers of the General Secretariat were extended over Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, and Tchernigov, (except in four districts.)

This agreement led to the resignation of the Cadet members of the Provisional Government, and was the immediate cause of the riots in Petrograd which began on July 16. On the 22d Kerensky became Prime Minister with a coalition Cabinet. On Aug. 8 a group of delegates from the Ukraine arrived in Petrograd to discuss points of difference that were still acute, but they were put off with dilatory tactics and returned home planning further opposition. One of their first moves was a change of tactics. They announced that they had cut loose entirely from the Austro-German "Bund

GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM

The Commander in Chief of the Palestine expeditionary force entered the Holy City Dec. 11, 1917. He went in by the Jaffa Gate on foot, accompanied by the commanders of the French and Italian detachments.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM, DEC. 11, 1917

The historic scene when the proclamation of martial law was read in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian outside the Tower of David.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IS SHOWN IN THE SHADED PORTION, WITH A DARKER SHADING TO INDICATE THE CORNER OF POLAND TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW STATE

zur Befreiung der Ukraine," and on Aug. 24 all the party leaders denounced the German attempts to sow discord between Russia and Ukrainia. Kovalevsky, leader of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries; Vinnitchenko, President of the General Secretariat and leader of Social Democrats, with Professor Hrushevsky, President of the Rada, all issued official statements intended to clear themselves of charges of complicity with the Germans.

CONFLICT WITH BOLSHEVIKI

A new period in the history of the Ukraine opened with the Bolshevist coup d'état at Petrograd, Nov. 7, 1917. The conflict between the two movements was at once intensified. As explained by a writer in The New Europe, the General Secretariat at Kiev is a Socialist coalition, though the Bolsheviki have denounced it as a bourgeois Government. The Bolshevist opposition to it is due chiefly to its nationalism as opposed to the internationalism of Lenine. The Bolsheviki care nothing for constitutional reforms; they are willing to grant complete self-determination to the Ukrainians without a thought for the interests of Russia as a State; what they are not willing to abandon is their campaign for social revolution in the Ukraine. Hence their war on the Kiev Government.

The Rada soon felt itself threatened on two sides. On the one hand Shulgin and other Russian nationalists in Kiev had been in close touch with the Cossack troops, urging them to suppress the Rada as being in revolt against the Kerensky Government; on the other, the Bolsheviki were trying to spread their

subversive doctrines throughout the Ukraine as well as in Northern and Central Russia. The Russian nationalist opposition was soon swept away. Cossack regiments and a body of Czecho-Slovak volunteers, who had been moved to Kiev to support the Provisional Government against the Bolsheviki, refused to fight and offered to leave Kiev when they learned it was against the Rada that they were being used. The danger from the Bolsheviki was more real. On Nov. 10 the General Secretariat published an appeal to the people to remain calm, promising that it would do everything possible to suppress any Bolshevist movement in Kiev. But the spirit of unrest had spread to Kiev, and for two days there was a general strike, none of the bourgeois papers being permitted to appear. The Rada, however, with the support of the Social Democrat Party, which issued an appeal to the workmen, soon mastered the situation, and on Nov. 20 issued its "Universal," or general, proclamation, transferring the land to the peasants, establishing an eight-hour day and labor control over industry, and fixing the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic in federation with the Russian Republic.

TEXT OF THE "UNIVERSAL"

This general proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council of Nov. 20, 1917, is a document of historical importance, as it is the foundation on which the new State is intended to rest. Though it was extended as far as possible in the direction of Bolshevism for the sake of peace with Petrograd, it also to some extent represents bourgeois and Cossack aspirations. The text of the proclamation, as translated from the Nova Rada of Nov. 21, is as follows:

Ukrainian people and all peoples of the Ukraine! An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the land of the Russian Republic. In the north in the capitals (Petrograd and Moscow) a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder, and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united, and popular Government, Ukrainia also may fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter, and destruction.

People of Ukrainia, you, together with the brother peoples of Ukrainia, have intrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukrainia becomes the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly meets, the whole power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws, and of ruling, belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our Government—the General Secretariat of Ukrainia.

Having strength and power in our native land, we shall defend the rights of the revolution, not only in our own lands, but in all Russia as well.

Therefore we announce: To the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Tauris, (without the Crimea.) The further delimitation of the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, viz., the addition of part of Kursk, Kholm, Voronez, and the neighboring provinces and districts, where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, is to be settled according to the organized wishes of the peoples.

To all the citizens of these lands we announce: Henceforth in the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic *the existing rights of ownership* to the lands of large proprietors and other lands not worked by the owners which are fit for farming, and also to lands belonging to the royal family, to monasteries, to the Crown and to the Church, *are abolished.* Recognizing that these lands are the property of the whole working people, and must pass to the people without compensation, the Ukrainian Central Rada instructs the General Secretary for Land Questions to work out immediately a law for the administration of these lands by Land Committees, chosen by the people, until the meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

The labor question in the Ukrainian National Republic must immediately be regulated. For the present we announce: In the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic henceforth *an eight hours' day* is ordained in the factories and workshops.

The hour of trial and danger which all Russia and our Ukrainia is now experiencing necessitates the proper regulation of labor, and a fair distribution of food supplies and a better organization of work. Therefore, we instruct the General Secretary for Labor, together with representatives of labor, to establish from today State control over production in Ukrainia, respecting the interests both of Ukrainia and also the whole of Russia. For four years on the front blood has been shed, and the strength of all the peoples of the world has been wasting away. By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian Republic we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of *peace as soon as possible.* For this end we make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukrainia, together with the citizens of all the peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear.

Recently the shining conquests of the revolution have been clouded by the re-establishment of the death penalty. We announce: Henceforth in the lands of the Republic of Ukrainia *the death penalty is abolished.* To all who are imprisoned and arrested for political offenses hitherto committed, as well as those already condemned or awaiting sentence, and also those who have not yet been tried, full amnesty is given. A law will immediately be passed to this effect.

The courts in Ukrainia must be just and in accordance with the spirit of the people.

With this aim we order the General Secretary for Judicial Affairs to make every attempt to establish justice and to execute it according to rules understood by the people.

We instruct the General Secretary for Internal Affairs as follows: To make every effort to strengthen and extend the rights of local self-government, which shall be the organs of the highest local administrative authority, and until the establishment of the closest connection with the organs of revolutionary democracy, which are to be the best foundation of a free democratic life. Also in the Ukrainian National Republic *all the liberties won by the Russian revolution are to be guaranteed, namely, freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, of inviolability of person and of habitation, the right and the possibility of using local dialects in dealing with all authorities.*

The Ukrainian people, which has fought for many years for its national freedom and now has won it, will firmly protect the freedom of national development of all nationalities existing in Ukrainia. Therefore, we announce that to the Great Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other peoples of Ukrainia we recognize national personal autonomy for the security of their rights and freedom of self-government in questions of their national life, and we instruct our General Secretary for Nationality Questions to draw up in the near future a measure for national personal autonomy.

The food question is the foundation of the power of the State at this difficult and responsible moment. The Ukrainian National Republic must make every effort to save itself both at the front and in those parts of the Russian Republic which need our help.

Citizens! In the name of the National Ukrainian Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, *call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder,* and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength, and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is fixed for 9 January, 1918, and the date for its summoning 22 January, 1918.

A law will be immediately published regulating the summoning of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

The Ukraine lays claim territorially not only to Southwestern Russia, but also to large portions of East Galicia, Northeastern Hungary, and Bukowina, all inhabited by Ruthenians—another name for Ukrainians—and the present movement is said to be alive in these Austro-Hungarian provinces. This is due to the policy of the Austrian Government before the war, which favored the Ukrainians of East Galicia in proportion as the old Russian Government persecuted them. The result was that Lemberg became the intellectual centre of the Ukrainians, where refugees from Kiev found a ready welcome.

The four original Ukrainian provinces of Tchernigov, Kiev, Poltava, and Khar-

kov have an area of 80,000 square miles, and a population of 25,000,000. But the new Ukrainian Republic claims additional areas, namely, Volhynia, Podolia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and parts of Voronezh and Kursk—besides the portion of Poland annexed by the treaty with the Central Powers—which would increase the territory of the republic to about 195,000 square miles, with a population of about 45,000,000.

If the Ukrainians succeed in having their nationality recognized beyond Russia, it will have a meaning for about 4,000,000 Ruthenians, now subjects of Emperor Charles. As it is, numbering in Russia at least 25,000,000, they claim governing rights from Kiev to Odessa, from Odessa to Rostov, and fr m Rostov to Kharkov, with all the functions of an independent State.

BOLSHEVIST ULTIMATUM

The Ukrainian Rada and the Don Cossacks developed increasing resistance to Lenine and Trotzky, and during the last weeks of 1917 the clashes between the two movements developed into civil war. On Dec. 17 the Bolshevist Government delivered an ultimatum to the Rada, presenting a formal demand that it break with the so-called counter-revolution and with Kaledine and his Don Cossacks. Here is the text of the ultimatum:

> The Russian Socialist Government, by the voice of the Soviet of the people's commissaries, once more confirms the independent national rights of all the nationalities that were oppressed by the Czarist-Great Russian bourgeoisie, even to the point of recognizing the right of these nationalities to separate themselves from Russia. Consequently, we, the Soviet of the commissaries of the people, recognize the right of the Ukrainian People's Republic to separate itself entirely from Russia and to enter into pourparlers with the Russian Republic on the subject of the determination of federal or other mutual relations to be established between the two republics.
>
> All that concerns the national rights and the independence of the Ukraine we, the commissaries of the people, freely recognize without any limits or conditions.
>
> As regards the bourgeois Republic of Finland, which is still bourgeois, we will not make a gesture toward restricting its national rights or toward interfering with the independence of the Finnish people. We will not make a movement against the national independence of any people belonging to the Russian Federation.
>
> Nevertheless, we accuse the Rada of Ukraine of the fact that, under cover of phrases and declarations regarding national independence, it has given itself over to a systematic bourgeois policy, under which neither the Rada nor the Soviets of Ukrainia are willing to recognize the action of our Soviet over their country. Among other things, the Rada has refused to call immediately the Soviets of Ukrainia in a general assembly, as they demand.
>
> This double-faced policy, which deprives us of the possibility of recognizing the Rada as authorized representative of the laboring masses, (exploited as they are by the Ukrainian Republic,) has latterly reached a point where it has practically annihilated every possibility of accord with us. This attitude in the beginning disorganized the front. Through its manifestos addressed to the Ukrainian troops at the front the Rada destroyed its unity and provoked division at a time when unity was possible only by following the path of systematic accord between the Governments of the two republics. In the second place, the Rada has been guilty of dispersing the troops in the Ukraine that were faithful to the Soviets.
>
> In the third place, the Rada is lending assistance to the plots of Kaledine by taking its stand against the influence of the Soviets and by meddling effectively with the autonomous rights of the Don and Kuban Provinces. By sheltering the counter-revolutionary movement of Kaledine, and by running counter to the will of the great mass of Cossack workmen in allowing the armies favorable to Kaledine to pass through the Ukraine, and at the same time refusing such passage to the armies hostile to that General, the Rada is opening the way to an unheard-of treason against the revolution.
>
> By supporting the worst enemies of the national independence of the peoples of Russia—the Cadets and the partisans of Kaledine—the Rada may oblige us to declare war upon it; and this we would do without any hesitation, even if that institution were formally recognized as representing incontestably the entire population of the independent and bourgeois Republic of the Ukraine.
>
> For the reasons given, the Council of The People's Commissaries, calling to witness the Ukrainian People's Republic, submits to the Rada the following questions:
>
> 1. Does the Rada promise to renounce in future all action for the disorganization of the common front?
>
> 2. Does the Rada promise to refuse in future to permit the passage over Ukrainian territory of any troops going

into the region of the Don, the Urals, or elsewhere, and never to permit such passage without first having obtained the authorization of the Generalissimo?

3. Does the Rada promise to lend assistance to the armies of the revolution in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces of the Cadets and of Kaledine?

4. Does the Rada promise to put an end to the attempts to crush the armies of the Soviet and of the Red Guard in the Ukraine, and return their arms, immediately and without delay, to those from whom they have been taken?

In case a satisfactory reply has not been received within twenty-four hours, the Soviet of the People's Commissaries will consider the Rada in a state of war with the influence of the Soviet in Russia and in the Ukraine.

THE SOVIET OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.
The President of the Soviet,
ULIANOV LENINE.
The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, TROTZKY.

CIVIL WAR BEGUN

The Ukrainian Rada at Kiev ignored this ultimatum, and civil war between the two republics was formally begun on Dec. 18. The immediate situation, however, was not greatly changed, as actual hostilities had already been in progress for several weeks. The document of Lenine and Trotzky was only a public announcement of the reasons for the conflict. The real cause may be found in the events in the Crimea and in Odessa.

The Province of Kherson, of which the great wheat exporting city of Odessa is a part, had been incorporated in the Ukrainian Republic, along with four other provinces of South Russia, by a decree of the Rada at Kiev dated Nov. 16, 1917. The Rada had taken over all the powers of the Provisional Government in these provinces at the time that these powers were supposed to pass into the hands of Lenine's commissaries. General Povlavko was then sent to Odessa by the Rada for the purpose of taking over the succession from the Commissary of the Provisional Government, M. Kharita. But the latter refused to give up his powers, and he was supported by the majority of the population of Odessa, who were resolutely hostile to the Ukrainization of the great port. The arrival of Ukrainian battalions, sent by the Rada to make its decisions respected, provoked bloody street riots. While the partisans of the Provisional Government observed neutrality, the local Bolsheviki armed the Red Guard of Odessa and gave battle to the Ukrainians and their followers, the National Socialists.

At the end of the first week of December an agreement was entered into by the Ukrainians and the Cossacks, both being supporters of the federalist plan and hostile to the Bolsheviki. By the terms of this entente the Cossacks undertook to evacuate Kiev and to transport all their forces to Nevatcherkask, at the same time leaving the Ukrainians with a free hand at Odessa. In exchange the Ukrainians had undertaken to oppose the passage of troops sent against the Cossacks, who were about to create a federal republic of their own.

While Petrograd's declaration of war thus tended to separate the Ukraine entirely from Russia and to create an alliance between the Cossacks and Ukrainians, the existence of Bolshevist elements in the population of both southern States complicated the situation and caused local fighting and anarchy in all the larger cities. The Lenine-Trotzky Government at once sent 6,000 Red Guards from Petrograd to fight the Ukrainians, and on Dec. 25 it was reported that a battle had taken place eighty miles from Kharkov, with a total of 700 casualties in three days' fighting. The Rada ordered the stopping of all shipments of supplies to the regions controlled by the Bolsheviki, and issued a proclamation to the armies on all fronts charging the Petrograd Government with criminal acts and the ruining of Russia's armies.

TARTARS OF THE CRIMEA

In the last days of December the Mohammedan Tartars of the Crimea held a congress in the City of Bashtshissarai and passed a solemn resolution establishing an autonomous "khanate" covering the whole peninsula. A proclamation similar to that of the Ukraine was published. The next day, after taking possession of the palace of the Khan, a great national Tartar feast was organized in the city, in the course of which a delegate from the Ukrainian People's Repub-

lic delivered an address recognizing the Tartars as the sovereign people of the Peninsula of the Crimea.

The Council of the People's Commissaries at Petrograd tried on Jan. 3, 1918, to enter into fresh negotiations with the Rada, sending a formal document signed by Gubunov, the Secretary, suggesting pourparlers at Smolensk or Vitebsk; but, like the ultimatum, this was ignored. This extension of the olive branch, however, accounts for the action of Trotzky in recognizing and admitting the Ukrainian delegates at Brest-Litovsk a week later. Meanwhile on Jan. 9 France, still unaware of the true situation, recognized the new Ukrainian Republic by commissioning General Tabouy, chief of the French mission to the former southwestern front, to act as its representative at Kiev.

AT BREST-LITOVSK

The Ukrainian People's Republic sent a delegation to the second session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference. The head of the delegation, M. Gobulovitch, read a formal declaration on Jan. 10, signed by Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, notifying the conference of the proclamation of Nov. 20 and pointing out that the armistice had been entered into without previous agreement of the Ukraine. On the question of peace the declaration contained these points:

1. The entire democracy of the Ukrainian State is striving for the termination of the war, for peace throughout the entire world, and a general peace between all the belligerent States.

2. The peace which is to be concluded between all the powers must be democratic and must assure to every people, even the smallest, full and unlimited national self-determination.

3. In order to render possible the real expression of the people's will, proper guarantees must be given.

4. Any annexation that means annexation by force or the surrender of any portion of territory without the consent of its population is therefore inadmissible.

5. Any war indemnities, without regard to the form given them, are from the standpoint of the interests of the working classes also inadmissible.

6. In conformity with regulations to be drawn up at the peace congresses, material assistance must be given to small nations and States which in consequence of the war have suffered considerable losses or devastations.

7. The Ukrainian Republic, which at present occupies the Ukrainian front on its own territory and is represented in all international affairs by its Government, whose duty is the protection of the Ukrainian people's interests and which acts independently, must, like other powers, be allowed to participate in all peace negotiations, conferences, and congresses.

8. The power of the (Petrograd) Council of Commissioners does not extend to the whole of Russia, and therefore not to the Ukrainian Republic. Any eventual peace resulting from negotiations with the powers waging war against Russia can therefore be binding for the Ukraine only if the terms of this peace are accepted and signed by the Government of the Ukraine Republic.

9. In the name of all Russia only such a Government (and it must be an exclusively Federal Government) can conclude peace as would be recognized by all the republics and regions of Russia possessing a State organism. If, however, such a Government cannot be formed in the near future, then this peace can only be concluded by the united representatives of those republics and regions.

Firmly adhering to the principle of a democratic peace, the Secretariat General is also striving for the speediest possible attainment of this general peace, and attaches great weight to all attempts which can bring its realization nearer. The Secretariat therefore considers it imperative to have its representatives at the conference, while at the same time it hopes that a final solution of the peace question will be reached at an international congress to which the Government of the Ukrainian Republic invites all the belligerents to send delegates.

VINNITCHENKO,
President of the Secretariat.
SHULGIN,
Secretary for International Affairs.

WELCOMED BY GERMANS

Herr von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, moved that the Ukrainian note be placed on the records of the congress as an important historical document, and extended the welcome of the Central Powers to the Ukrainian delegation. He added that hitherto the Petrograd delegation had been assumed to be acting for the whole of Russia; he therefore had to ask the Petrograd representatives what was their attitude on the subject. M. Trotzky replied that in view of his party's principles the Petrograd delegation saw no obstacle to the

participation of the Ukrainian delegation in the peace negotiations. M. Gobulovitch then said he assumed it was settled that the Ukrainian and Russian delegations would form two separate and independent delegations of the same party.

At that time the talk at Brest-Litovsk was still ostensibly of a general peace. Later, when it frankly took the form of a separate peace, Trotzky refused to recognize the Ukrainians, and the latter proceeded to enter into secret negotiations of their own. At a private conference on Jan. 16 a settlement "in principle," according to the German account of the proceedings, was reached of "questions concerning the future political relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine."

On Jan. 25 the Ukrainian Rada sent word to Petrograd that if the Russian Government did not make peace with Ukrainia within twenty-four hours Ukrainia would make a separate peace with Germany. By that time the Bolsheviki had organized a rival Rada at Kharkov, and this had sent a delegation to Brest-Litovsk, which Trotzky tried to substitute for the original "bourgeois" delegation from Kiev. The Germans, however, completed their dealings with the representatives of Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, and later signed a separate peace with them.

The Bolsheviki were reported to have captured Odessa on Jan. 26, and Orenburg, capital of the Government of Orenburg, on Jan. 31. Meanwhile, Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, was taken on Jan. 27 by the Rumanian troops, which had begun acting in support of the Ukraine. Petrograd at once sent the Rumanian Legation out of Russia by the shortest route and outlawed General Sterbatchev, commander of the Russian forces in Rumania, as an enemy of the people. He was supposed to be working with the Ukrainians and Rumanians against the Bolsheviki and to have frustrated the attempt to arrest the Rumanian royal family at Jassy.

There was a temporary break in the German negotiations on Feb. 3, but on the 5th Dr. von Kühlmann and Count Czernin left Berlin again for Brest-Litovsk with the published purpose of concluding a separate peace with the Ukraine. Peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed in the early morning of Feb. 9, 1918. The German official account of the event states that after the long preliminaries of drafting their treaty Dr. von Kühlmann, as President of the conference, opened the final session shortly before 2 o'clock in the morning with this speech:

> Gentlemen, none of you will be able to close his eyes to the historical significance of this hour at which the representatives of the four allied powers are met with the representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic to sign the first peace attained in this world war. This peace, signed with your young State, which has emerged from the storms of the great war, gives special satisfaction to the representatives of the allied delegation. May this peace be the first of a series of blessed conclusions; peace blessed both for the allied powers and for the Ukrainian People's Republic, for the future of which we all cherish the best wishes.

The President of the Ukrainian delegation replied:

> We state with joy that from this day peace begins between the Quadruple Alliance and Ukrainia. We came here in the hope that we should be able to achieve a general peace and make an end of this fratricidal war. The political position, however, is such that not all of the powers are met here to sign a general peace treaty. Inspired with the most ardent love for our people, and recognizing that this long war has exhausted the cultural national powers of our people, we must now divert all our strength to do our part to bring about a new era and a new birth. We are firmly persuaded that we conclude this peace in the interests of great democratic masses, and that this peace will contribute to the general termination of the great war.

The Berlin account adds that Dr. von Kühlmann then invited the representatives to sign the treaty. At 1:59 he himself, as first signatory, signed a copy of the treaty prepared for Germany, and by 2:30 all the signatures had appeared.

UKRAINIA'S RESOURCES

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk removes all tariff barriers between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, thus making the new republic practically a part of

Austria-Hungary so far as commercial relations are concerned.

Of what immense value the Ukraine, the greatest granary of Europe, is for the Central Empires, in these days, when their supplies are running low, may be judged from the following compilations made in Vienna in 1914:

The annual production of the Ukraine in wheat, rye, and barley alone, in spite of very primitive methods of exploitation, amounts to 150,000,000 quintals (one quintal equals 220.46 pounds) annually, or one-third of Russia's output. Other farm products are just as abundant. The sugar beet production of the Ukraine is five-sixths that of all Russia. Of tobacco the Ukraine produces over 700,000 quintals a year. It possesses the largest and finest orchards and vineyards of Russia. As to stock raising, the Ukraine has 30,000,000 head of cattle, one-third of all European Russia's; sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry are very numerous; in fact, in this matter the Ukraine has 50 per cent. of Russia's supply.

Iron, chiefly in the Government of Kherson, in the year of revolution, 1905, was turned out to the amount of 31,000,000 quintals, or 60 per cent. of the total output of the entire Russian Empire; in 1915 this percentage was over 69. Of manganese, the Ukraine furnishes one-sixth of the world's production, or 32 per cent. of Russia's production. No mercury is produced in Russia except in the Ukraine, (320,000 kilograms in 1905.) The coal deposits on the Donetz (23,000 square kilometers) produced 130,000,000 quintals of hard coal in 1905, or 75 per cent. of the total production of European and Asiatic Russia; of anthracite coal, 90 per cent. of Russia's output is from the Ukraine.

Referring to the economic agreements contained in the treaty, the Austrian papers indicate that, while exaggerated hopes are not justified, it may be expected that of a two years' harvest, at the least, which could not be exported from Ukrainia, there are still considerable stocks, and that about one million tons will be available. In this connection, however, the papers point out the difficulties of transport.

Manifesto of the Austrian Emperor

Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary on Feb. 14, 1918, issued the following manifesto regarding the peace with the Ukraine:

To My Peoples: Thanks to God's gracious aid, we have concluded peace with Ukrainia. Our victorious arms and the sincere peace policy which we pursued with indefatigable perseverance have shown the first fruit of a defensive war waged for our preservation.

In common with my hard-tried peoples, I trust that after the first conclusion of peace, which is so gratifying an event for us, a general peace will soon be granted suffering humanity.

Under the impression of this peace with Ukrainia, our glance turns with full sympathy to that aspiring young people in whose heart first among our opponents the feeling of neighborly love has become operative, and which, after bravery exhibited in numerous battles, also possessed sufficient resoluteness to give expression by deed before the whole world to its better conviction.

It thus has been the first to leave the camp of our enemies in order, in the interest of the speediest possible attainment of a new and great common aim, to unite its efforts with our strength.

Having from the first moment I mounted the throne of my exalted forefathers felt myself one with my peoples in the rocklike resolve to fight out the struggle forced upon us until an honorable peace was reached, I feel myself so much the more one with them in this hour in which the first step has now been taken for the realization of this aim. With admiration for and affectionate recognition of the almost superhuman endurance and incomparable self-sacrifice of my heroic troops, as well as of those at home who daily show no less self-sacrifice, I look forward with full confidence to the near and happier future.

May the Almighty bless us further with strength and endurance, that, not only for ourselves and our faithful allies, but also for entire humanity, we may attain a final peace!

The Ukrainian Peace Treaty

Official Summary of Its Terms

GERMAN official dispatches state that the treaty signed on Feb. 9, 1918, is entitled "A Treaty of Peace Between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on One Part, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the Other." The preamble states that the Ukrainian people, having in the course of the present world war declared itself to be independent and expressed a wish to restore peace between itself and the powers at war, desires "to take the first step toward a lasting world's peace, honorable to all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war, but also lead to the restoration of friendly relations of the peoples in political, legal, economic, and intellectual realms."

The names of all the plenipotentiaries engaged in the negotiations are then set forth, and they are declared to have reached an agreement on the following points:

Article I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article II.—Between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, as far as these two powers border one another, those frontiers will exist which existed before the outbreak of the present war between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Russia. Further north the frontier of the republic beginning at Tarnegrad will in general follow the line of Bilgerey to Sroezeberzszyn, Krasnostau, Pugaszce, Radzyn, Meshiretschei, Sarnaki, Selnik, Wysekelitowsk, Kamietslitowsk, Prushany, and Wydozowsky-esee. This will be fixed in detail by a mixed commission according to ethnographical conditions and with a regard to the desires of the population. Should the Ukrainian People's Republic yet have common frontiers with another of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, special agreements will be made thereon.

Article III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and transfer of the territories will be determined by the plenipotentiaries of the interested parties.

Article IV.—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The widest possible admittance of the respective parties to Consuls is to be reserved for a special agreement.

No War Costs or Indemnities

Article V.—The contracting parties mutually renounce the reimbursement of their war costs—that is to say, the State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for damages—that is to say, those damages suffered by them and their subjects in the war, as through military measures, including all requisitions made in the enemy's countries.

Article VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return home, and, as far as they do not desire, with the approval of the State concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to another country. The regulation of the questions connected herewith will follow by means of separate treaties provided for in Article VIII.

Article VII.—The contracting parties undertake mutually and without delay to enter into economic relations and organize an exchange for goods on the basis of the following prescriptions:

1. Until the 31st day of July of the current year reciprocal exchange of the more important surplus supplies of agricultural and industrial products will be carried out as follows for the purpose of covering current requirements. The quantities and sorts of products to be exchanged will be settled by a joint commission, to sit immediately upon the signature of the peace treaty. Prices will be regulated by the joint commission. Payments will be made in gold on the basis of 1,000 German imperial gold marks as the equivalent of 462 gold rubles of the former Russian Empire, or 1,000 Austro-Hungarian gold kroner as the equivalent of 393 rubles 78 kopeks of the former Russian Empire. The exchange of goods fixed by the joint commission aforementioned, which commission will consist of equal numbers of representatives of both parties, will take place through State central bureaus. The exchange of those products which are not fixed by the aforementioned commission will take place by the way of free trade, according to the stipulation of a provisional commercial treaty.

2. So far as it is not otherwise provided, the economic relations between the

contracting parties shall continue provisionally, and in any case until the conclusion of a final commercial treaty. But until the termination of a period of at least six months after the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers on the one part and the European States at war with the Central Powers, as well as the United States and Japan on the other part, certain prescriptions are laid down as a basis of relations.

As regards economic relations between Germany and Ukrainia the text of the treaty prescribes what parts of the Russo-German commercial and shipping treaties of 1894 and 1904 shall be put into force. The contracting parties further agree to maintain the general Russian customs tariff of Jan. 13, 1903.

Imports to be Duty Free

The treaty also provides (Section 3) which parts of the Austro-Hungarian-Russian commercial and shipping treaty of Feb. 5, 1906, shall be maintained, and adds:

"All parties agree that all articles transported across the territory of either party shall be free of duty. Trade-mark agreements are resumed, and the contracting parties agree to support each other is restoring railway tariffs. Economic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Ukrainia are to be settled according to the most favored nation definition until definite commercial treaties are concluded.

"If the period provided for in the first paragraph of Section 2 should not occur before June 30, 1919, each of the two contracting parties is free from June 30, 1919, to give six months' notice to terminate the prescriptions contained in the above-mentioned section."

4. (a) The Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment which Germany grants Austria-Hungary or another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Germany, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Austria-Hungary by a customs alliance, or which Germany grants to her own colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates, or to countries bound to her by a customs alliance. Germany will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic may grant to another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Ukrainia, or indirectly through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to the colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

(b) In economic intercourse between the treaty customs territory of both States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other, the Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment, which Austria-Hungary grants to Germany or another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Austria-Hungary, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Germany by a customs alliance. Colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates are in this respect placed on a similar footing. Austria-Hungary will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic grants to another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Ukrainia, or indirectly borders through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

5. (a) So far as commodities which originally came from Germany or Ukrainia are stored in neutral States, though the obligation rests upon Germany and Ukrainia that they shall not be exported either directly or indirectly to the territories of the other contracting party, such restrictions regarding their disposal shall be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. The two contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of this restriction.

(b) So far as commodities which originally came from Austria-Hungary or Ukrainia are stored in neutral States, although the obligation rests upon Austria-Hungary and Ukrainia that they shall neither directly nor indirectly be exported to the territories of the other contracting party, such restriction respecting their disposal will be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. Both contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of these restrictions.

Question of War Prisoners

Article VIII.—Restoration of public and private legal relations, the exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the question of amnesty and the question of the treatment of merchantmen in enemy hands will be regulated in separate treaties with the Ukrainian People's Republic, to form an essential part of the present peace treaty, which, so far as practicable, will take effect simultaneously therewith.

Article IX.—The agreements made in this peace treaty form an indivisible whole.

Article X.—For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Ukrainian texts are authoritative in regard to rela-

tions between Germany and Ukrainia, the German, Hungarian, and Ukrainian texts for relations between Austro-Hungary and Ukrainia, the Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts for relations between Bulgaria and Ukrainia, the Turkish and Ukrainian texts for relations between Turkey and Ukrainia.

The concluding part of the treaty provides:

"The present peace treaty will be ratified. Ratified documents shall be exchanged as soon as possible. So far as there are no provisions to the contrary, the peace treaty shall come into force on ratification."

The supplementary treaties provided for in Article VIII. also were signed. They cover the following points:

Restoration of consular relations.
Restoration of State treaties.
Restoration of civil law.
Indemnification for civil damages caused by laws of war or by acts contrary to international law.
Exchange of war prisoners and interned civilians.
Care of burial grounds of those fallen in enemy territory.
Provision for the return to their homes of persons affected by the treaty.
Treatment of merchant vessels in enemy hands.

The Brest-Litovsk dispatch stated that the text of the supplementary agreements must be withheld for the present to avoid overcrowding the telegraph wires.

The Republic of Finland

Finnish Separatism Since the Revolution

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ONE of the first acts of the Provisional Government set up by the triumphant Russian revolution was to restore the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Finland. This Constitution, granted to the Finns by Alexander II. in 1863, was in agreement with the rights and privileges, which Alexander I. solemnly pledged himself and his successors to maintain, for the purpose of giving a political existence to the autonomous grand duchy he had formed from the Swedish province of Finland, annexed in 1809, and the province of Vyborg, conquered by Peter the Great.

Throughout the last century the Russian rulers respected Finland's liberties, and, shielded from external interference, Suomi, the land of lakes and granite cliffs, became the seat of a remarkable national culture, highly progressive and keenly conscious of itself. The last Russian autocrat put an end to this political idyl. Under Nicholas II. the omnipotent bureaucracy opened a ruthless campaign against the ancient Finnish autonomy, a campaign in which the Government was partly supported by the Liberals. In 1899 the Constitution of Finland was suspended and the country put at the mercy of a Governor General whose brutality was equaled only by his stupidity.

During the upheaval of 1905 the Government restored to the Finns their autonomy, and, furthermore, granted them universal suffrage, including the vote for women. No sooner, however, did reaction set in than the bureaucracy returned to its policy of trampling under foot the Constitution of Finland. The Finns particularly resented the law of 1910, which was clearly intended to serve as a weapon of Russification, and which was the negation of the very essence of Finland's autonomy.

The war did not relieve the situation. On the contrary, it increased the Russificatory zeal of Finland's oppressors to such a degree that many a patriotic Finn was driven by the love for his country to embrace the cause of Russia's enemies.

The restoration manifesto, issued March 21, 1917, abrogated all the laws and imperial edicts contrary to the Finnish Constitution, and amnestied all Finns who were imprisoned or exiled for religious or political offenses. It also declared the intention of the Provisional Government to convoke the Diet with the least possible delay, and to draft a series

of bills enlarging the Finnish Constitution, especially as regards the jurisdiction of the Diet. The document ends thus:

> By this act we solemnly confirm to the Finnish people the integrity, based on its Constitution, of its internal independence and the rights of its national culture and languages. We express our firm assurance that Russia and Finland will henceforth be bound by respect for law for the sake of the mutual friendship and prosperity of the two free peoples.

AN UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

It was expected in Petrograd that this manifesto would do away with the animosities and misunderstandings accumulated in the years of persecution, and pave the way for cordiality and good-will between the two countries. This expectation failed to materialize. It soon became clear that the Finns were given to skepticism regarding the Russian promises, and that, not content with the mere restoration of their Constitution, they were ready to change it in the sense of an almost complete separation from Russia. The white-hot enthusiasm of the first months of the revolution did not weld together the Finn and the Russian. Too wide a distance, both ethnically and culturally, divided them, and there were no common historical memories to unite them. Finland loathed its union with Russia and made no pretense of concealing its feelings.

According to the Finnish Constitution, the supreme Governmental authority was vested in the person of the Emperor of Russia, who was also Grand Duke of Finland, and who constituted the link between the two countries. No bill passed by the Diet could become a law without the confirmation of the Emperor-Grand Duke. Since the monarchy no longer existed, the question arose as to who was to inherit the supreme authority in Finland. In the early stage of the Finnish separatist movement the conflict was centred chiefly around this question. The Finnish leaders argued that the grand ducal preogatives had automatically passed to the Finnish Senate, i e., Cabinet of Ministers. That such a solution of the problem would be little short of secession, the separatists were aware.

In the course of a discussion of this matter, which took place late in April, Senator Oscari Tokoi, the leading spirit and spokesman of the movement, remarked that "the history of our people "bears eloquent witness to the fact that "the Finnish Nation is sufficiently de-

SKETCH MAP OF FINLAND.

"veloped to become an independent peo-"ple, free to settle its own affairs." The Provisional Government, on the contrary, held that the rights formerly vested in the Grand Duke of Finland now belonged to itself, as the sole depositary of the sovereign authority of the Russian people, and that the future relations between the two countries were to be determined not by a one-sided act of the Finnish Diet, but by a mutual agreement, whose terms could be fixed only by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION

The Diet opened on April 4, the date fixed by the Provisional Government in a special edict. Although it had a Socialist—that is, a separatist—majority, it refrained for some time from challenging the Russian Government and reluctantly submitted to its authority. The conciliatory spirit was still strong in Finland. Speaking in the Diet on June 13, Tokoi reiterated that the interests of free Russia can not and must not contradict those of Finland, and that it is not the intention of the latter

to take advantage of the difficulties which beset the Provisional Government. He noted with satisfaction that the two peoples had achieved mutual understanding, and protested his faith in the sincerity of the purpose of Russian democarcy. "We do not conceal," he added, however, "that the final goal "of the Finns is an independent Finland, "in keeping with the position we are en- "titled to occupy among the civilized "nations."

The course of the Russian revolution was not of such a nature as to counteract the separatist tendencies throughout the country. Finnish separatism was gaining impetus in proportion as the general economic disintegration penetrated into Finland and as it became evident that revolutionary Russia was not able to evolve a strong Government capable of safeguarding the acquisitions of the revolution. It was safer for the Finns, their leaders apparently thought, to have the independence of Finland safeguarded by an international guarantee than to rely upon the protectorate of a country which in the sinuous and uncertain course of its history might revert to a barbarous régime and then again trample under foot the Finnish liberties.

INSIST ON SEPARATION

The Socialists led the movement. On June 22 the Congress of the Finnish Social Democrats demanded the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The following excerpt from an appeal issued by the Finnish Socialists to their comrades throughout the world elucidates the stand taken by the Finnish Socialistic Party:

> Russian capitalism is not willing to renounce its power in Finland. * * * Russian supreme authority in relation to Finland signifies nothing less than political guardianship and oppression of the Finnish people. * * * The ruling bourgeoisie will sooner or later renew its exploitation of Finland. We appeal to the Socialist parties of the world, and particularly to our brother parties in Russia, and ask them to help us win and secure the independence of Finland. * * * The Finnish question is an international question. The Russian bourgeoisie cannot sufficiently guarantee the integrity of Finland's liberty.

The conflict between the Diet and the Provisional Government, like the Ukrainian movement, reached a critical stage in July. In the second week of this month it transpired that new constitutional laws were being voted by the Diet. This new Constitution, which was drafted in such strict secrecy that the Finnish Governor General had no knowledge of it, abolished practically all connections between Russia and Finland, except, in Tokoi's words, "the last vague bonds with Russia, which consist of a common policy in respect to defense and foreign affairs." Petrograd was seized with indignation, and a delegation, headed by Tscheidze, was immediately sent to Helsingfors to negotiate with the Diet.

DECREE OF AUTONOMY

Nevertheless, on July 19 the Diet passed the Autonomy bill by a vote of 136 to 55, and rejected the motion to submit the bill to the Provisional Government for confirmation by 104 to 86. The main provisions of the new law were as follows:

> 1. The Diet of Finland alone decides, confirms, and executes all Finnish laws, including those relating to home affairs, taxation, and customs. The Diet also makes the final decision regarding all other affairs which the Emperor-Grand Duke decided according to the law hitherto in force. The provisions of this law do not relate to matters of foreign policy, military legislation, and military administration.
>
> 2. The Diet meets for regular sessions without special summons and decides when they are to be closed. Until Finland's new form of government is decided upon, the Diet exercises the right of deciding upon new elections and the dissolution of the Diet.
>
> 3. The Diet controls the executive power of Finland. The supreme executive power is exercised by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, whose members are nominated and dismissed by the Diet.

The new Constitution made no mention of the Russian connection and apparently did not recognize the institution of Governor Generalship. It was a formal denial of Russia's suzerain rights in Finland. The Provisional Government persevered in the view that, as Tscheidze expressed it, "Finnish independence means independence established by

Russo-Finnish agreement, with the sanction of the Constitutional Assembly."

Russia's reply to the Finnish challenge came on Aug. 3, in the form of a decree ordering the dissolution of the Diet and setting Nov. 1, 1917, for the opening of a Diet elected anew. The edict was accompanied by a manifesto which declared the autonomy law unconstitutional, and reiterated that the rights of the former Grand Dukes, an essential element of the Finnish Constitution, were now vested in the Provisional Government.

RUSSIA THREATENS FORCE

Governor General Stakhovich issued a proclamation to the citizens of Helsingfors, setting forth that in calling for new elections the Government was appealing directly to the Finnish people over the heads of their present representatives, with whom it could not come to an agreement, and that the Provisional Government thus hoped to avoid the necessity of resorting to force. In the Diet Stakhovich explained that the date of the new elections had been fixed so that the opening of the Diet should coincide with the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, it being the belief of the Government that the two bodies, acting simultaneously, would be best fitted to determine the future Russo-Finnish relations. He added that, should the Diet refuse to obey, he would be compelled to use force, according to express instructions from Petrograd.

The Diet realized that the Provisional Government was resolved to enforce its will, and yielded. An armed insurrection is the last thing one should expect of the Finns. What they are most practiced in is the fine art of passive resistance. All through the months which followed the dissolution of the Diet the Finns made a fair show of their skill in this art. True to the watchword of independent Finland, they systematically refused to share the enormous financial burden of the nominally suzerain State, and persisted in their hostility toward the Russian troops stationed in the country. As for the Provisional Government, it did not hesitate to show the Finns its teeth on several occasions. Thus early in September it suppressed a number of Finnish papers. Yet both in the Premiership of Prince Lvoff and in that of Kerensky, it pursued, upon the whole, a policy of compromises and concessions.

UNDER LENINE'S REGIME

The new Diet, the second since the revolution, opened at the appointed date. It had been in session for several days when the Bolsheviki seized the reins of power. The November revolution, or Bolshevist coup-d'état, swept away the obstacles which stood in the way of Finland's independence. Governor General Nekrasov, Stakhovich's successor and a former member of what the Bolsheviki termed "the bourgeois Government," left Finland immediately after Kerensky's downfall, and the new Government appointed no one to replace him.

The Russian authority was now represented solely by soldiers and sailors, scattered all over the country. Thus the bonds between Russia and Finland were de facto severed. Moreover, the Government of the Soviets recognized in principle the right of the Russian peoples to secede, without waiting for the decision of the Constituent Assembly. A manifesto issued by the People's Commisaries, i. e., the Bolshevist Ministers, on Nov. 23, confirms the right to freedom and self-determination on the part of the various nationalities which go to make Russia, and states expressly that "this "right of the Russian peoples to their "self-determination is to be extended "even as far as separation and the form-"ing of independent States." Finland was now free to act.

FINLAND INDEPENDENT

The independence of Finland was proclaimed on the 7th day of December, 1917. On that day the union between Russia and Finland, which had lasted since 1809, came to an end. Two days later the President of the Finnish Senate issued a proclamation, declaring that the Finnish Diet had assumed sovereign power and had appointed the Senate as the supreme executive authority. Thereupon, the document continued, the President of the Senate had submitted to the Diet a bill instituting Finland an independent republic. The proclamation

pointed out that no legal Russian authority existed in Finland, and that the state of anarchy in Russia forced the Finnish people to sever all relations of dependence with that country. It further stated that Finland was acting on the strength of the Allies' recognition of the right of all peoples to political self-determination.

By the end of the year the work of organizing Finland's State machinery was virtually completed, and negotiations for international recognition were opened. The first power to recognize the new republic was Sweden, to which Finland appealed in the name of a common historical past of upward of a thousand years. Sweden's example was followed by France, Norway, Denmark, and Germany. On Jan. 9 the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets unanimously accepted the recognition of Finnish independence. The crimson banner with the yellow lion of Finland surrounded by nine white roses, which was hoisted during the March revolution, is now the national flag of a full-fledged, internationally recognized State.

FIGHTING THE BOLSHEVISTS

The Republic of Finland was born under the sinister sign of civil strife. It appears that the latest phase of the Russian upheaval, in which the revolution has assumed the character of a war of the poor against the rich, has called forth a responsive echo among the Finnish masses. Finland is a fertile soil for the propaganda of class war. The trouble started in November, when the Socialists declared a general strike in order to force the Diet, in which they were in the minority, to vote in favor of the immediate adoption of the Independence bill. Later, in January, they repeated, on a smaller scale, the Petrograd revolution of Nov. 8 and set up a Government of their own, on the pattern of the one which sits in the Smolny Institute. It was during the November strike that the extremists organized the Red Guard of Workers, the army of the coming social revolution.

The movement originated spontaneously, but it is highly probable that the Petrograd Government gladly seized the opportunity of directing and supporting social revolution in Finland. At any rate, it is certain that the Russian soldiers and sailors took a large part in the conflict. The very arms for the Finnish Red Guard were secured from the Russian garrisons. At the date of this writing (middle of February) the Government troops, aided by the White Guard, which was organized by the propertied classes, seem to be masters of the situation.

The desire of the Finnish people to take their fate into their own hands is easily understood and in many respects legitimate. It is permissible, however, to question the wisdom of breaking off with the country on which Finland is largely dependent industrially and commercially. For Russia the secession of Finland constitutes no direct economic detriment, though eventually it will cause an enormous financial loss resulting from the necessity of abandoning Petrograd as the capital of Russia. A frontier city—and Petrograd is one, for there is only a score of miles between it and the nearest Finnish centre across the Neva estuary—is hardly fit to be the capital of a country. But what is this loss in comparison with the disasters which the maimed and broken Russian colossus is now facing?

Russia's Withdrawal From the War

Record of Events Leading Up to the Bolshevist Government's Formal Desertion of the Allies

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, as represented by the anti-Bolshevist Rada at Kiev, signed a formal peace treaty with the Central Powers on Feb. 9. 1918. Russia, as represented by the Bolshevist Government at Petrograd, formally withdrew from the war the next day, Feb. 10, though refusing to sign a treaty of peace. Both events, though separate, took place at Brest-Litovsk, where negotiations had been in progress for many weeks.

The official announcement of the ending of Russia's part in the war, as made by the Bolshevist Government, follows:

> The peace negotiations are at an end. The German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent cooperation of the English and French bourgeoisie, submitted to our comrades, members of the peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk, conditions such as could not be subscribed to by the Russian revolution.
>
> The Governments of Germany and Austria possess countries and peoples vanquished by force of arms. To this authority the Russian people, workmen and peasants, could not give its acquiescence. We could not sign a peace which would bring with it sadness, oppression, and suffering to millions of workmen and peasants.
>
> But we also can not, will not, and must not continue a war begun by Czars and capitalists in alliance with Czars and capitalists. We will not and we must not continue to be at war with the Germans and Austrians—workmen and peasants like ourselves.
>
> We are not signing a peace of landlords and capitalists. Let the German and Austrian soldiers know who are placing them in the field of battle and let them know for what they are struggling. Let them know also that we refuse to fight against them.
>
> Our delegation, fully conscious of its responsibility before the Russian people and the oppressed workers and peasants of other countries, declared on Feb. 10, in the name of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Government of the Federal Russian Republic to the Governments of the peoples involved in the war with us and of the neutral countries, that it refused to sign an annexationist treaty. Russia, for its part, declares the present war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria at an end.
>
> Simultaneously, the Russian troops received an order for complete demobilization on all fronts.

The signatures of Leon Trotzky and other members of the delegation are appended.

In connection with this statement an order was also issued that necessary steps be taken for declaring to the troops that the war with Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria was regarded from that moment as being at an end, as follows:

> No military operations must again take place. The beginning of a general demobilization on all fronts is decreed. I order the issue of instructions on the front for the withdrawal of the troops from the first lines and for their concentration in the rear, and, further, for their dispatch to the interior of Russia, in accordance with the general plan for demobilization. For the defense of the frontier some detachments of younger soldiers must be left.
>
> I beg our soldier comrades to remain calm and await with patience the moment of the return of each detachment to its home in its turn. I beg that no effort be spared to bring into the stores all artillery and other military equipment which cost milliards of the people's money.
>
> Remember that only systematic demobilization can be carried out in the shortest time, and that systematic demobilization alone can prevent interference with the sending of food supplies to those detachments which remain for a certain period on the front.

The first news of the conclusion of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers and the capitulation of the Bolsheviki to the German demands came from Berlin on Feb. 10 and was confirmed the next day from Vienna, but no news came from Petrograd or Brest-Litovsk for six days preceding these announcements. The news of peace on the eastern front created great enthu-

siasm throughout Germany and Austria, and cities everywhere in both countries were beflagged. The German Emperor, in replying to an address of congratulation by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

> We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

After the situation came to be fully understood, however, the leading German newspapers indicated by their comment that the feeling in Germany was not one of unmixed confidence; some doubt lingered as to whether the Bolsheviki would, after all, be able to establish peace. The Berliner Tageblatt's comment was:

> We have peace with Russia because there is no Russian Army, but it is a peace devoid of any solid basis and without agreement. The quadruple alliance must now, as heretofore, strive after a definite settlement in eastern affairs, which will facilitate the establishment of peaceful and neighborly relations with the Russian people.

The Lokal-Anzeiger declared that premature rejoicing with the representatives of greater Russia had never been warranted, nor was it then, in view of the latest manifestations of Maximalist diplomacy. Other journals expressed similar views.

It was officially announced that Great Britain would not recognize the Ukraine peace treaty.

M. Kameneff, one of the Russian peace delegates, announced at Stockholm that Russia's action had been decided upon previously by the Soviet Congress. He added: "By our decision we have not given a finger to the Germans. We have not signed anything. We have not recognized the German principles. Thus, we have a free hand to set forth anew our principles at a general peace conference."

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The withdrawal of Russia from further participation in the war was a natural sequel to what had occurred after the forcible dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, which had attempted to meet in Petrograd on Jan. 18. In the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the forcible dispersing of the Assembly was recorded, with the decree of Lenine giving his reasons for this step. The real cause, however, was the Assembly's rejection—by a vote of 237 to 146—of a declaration submitted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as follows:

> The Constituent Assembly resolves that Russia be declared a republic of Soviets. The central and provincial power appertains to these Soviets. The Republic of Soviets is formed on the basis of a free alliance of free nations under the Constitution of a confederation of national Soviet republics.

Then followed a long series of provisions. Article II. declared abrogated the right of private proprietorship of land, which was declared to be the property of the State. In the same article the principle of obligatory work for all was laid down, and the arming of the working classes, the disarming of the leisure classes, the organization of the Red Socialists, and the arming of workmen and peasants were announced. Article III. approved the policy of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for a democratic peace and approved the decree repudiating all Russian loans. Article IV. said:

> There having been an election on the electoral registers, drawn up before the people had begun to organize a social society, the Constituent Assembly considers that it can in no way oppose the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government. At the moment of the decisive struggle of the people against those who have exploited them, the latter can find no place in the governing body. The power must lie exclusively in the hands of the working classes and their representatives, the Soviets.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Assembly the Executive Committee

of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates issued a proclamation declaring that the revolution created the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council as the only organization able to direct the struggle of the exploited working classes for complete political and economical liberation. During the first period of the revolution the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress had perceived the illusion of an understanding with the bourgeoisie and its deceptive parliamentary organization, and had realized that the liberation of the oppressed classes was impossible without a rupture with the bourgeoisie. The decree continues:

> Therefore, the revolution of November arose, giving all authority to the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The Constituent Assembly, being elected from the old election lists, was the expression of the old régime, when authority belonged to the bourgeoisie. The people who voted for the Social Revolutionists were unable to distinguish those of the Right, who were partisans of the bourgeoisie, from those of the Left, who were partisans of socialism. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly necessarily became the authority of the bourgeois republic, setting itself against the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

The revolution of November, the decree continues, had shown the workers that the old bourgeois parliamentarianism had had its day and was incompatible with the tasks before socialism, and that only such institutions as the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils were able to overcome the opposition of the rich classes and create a new Socialist State. The decree adds:

> Every refusal to recognize the authority of the republican Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and to place in the hands of the Constituent Assembly and the bourgeoisie the liberty which had been won would be a step backward and toward the bankruptcy of the Workmen's and Peasants' revolution.
>
> The Constituent Assembly opened on Jan. 18, and for known reasons gave a majority to the Social Revolutionists of the Right—the party of Kerensky, Tchernoff, and Avksentieff. It is comprehensible that this faction refused to debate the just and clear program of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and to recognize a declaration of rights of the exploited working classes, as well as the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

This, the decree says, made a breach in the Assembly and the departure of the Bolsheviki and Social Revolutionists of the Left inevitable. The Social Revolutionists of the Right, it says, were fighting openly against the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and supporting the exploiters of labor, and if this party only remained it might play the rôle of leading a bourgeois counter-revolution. The decree concludes: "The Central Executive Committee therefore orders the Constituent Assembly dissolved."

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

After this act it was clear that Russia would no longer be in a position to refuse the German terms of peace, notwithstanding the frequent declarations of Trotzky and his associates that unless Germany would first evacuate the occupied territory of Russia hostilities would be resumed. The proceedings at Brest-Litovsk were temporarily adjourned after the dissolution of the Assembly, apparently with the parties no nearer an agreement than at first. The Russian delegates returned to Petrograd to consult, and the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers proceeded to Berlin, where important conferences were held.

Meanwhile serious strikes had broken out throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary, and it was thought by some observers that the leaven of Bolshevism had permeated the Central Empires and that the long-predicted revolution had begun. This view, however, soon proved groundless, as the strikers were subdued by stern military measures; in some instances where the strikers refused to disperse they were fired upon by the soldiery. Proclamations were issued by commanders of military districts threatening the strikers with arrest for treason unless they returned to work; one Reichstag Deputy—Dittmann—was arrested and sent to prison for abetting the strike.

The third congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia met on Jan. 23 to act on the report

from Brest-Litovsk. There were 625 members present, mostly workingmen or soldiers, with a sprinkling of sailors and several women. Lenine, Trotzky, and Marie Spiridonova (leader of the left wing of the Social Revolutionaries who had been defeated for Chairman of the Constituent Assembly) were elected Honorary Presidents.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

This congress issued the following version of what had occurred at Brest-Litovsk in the final session preceding the adjournment to Jan. 29:

Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, addressing the conference, declared that "the position of the Austro-Germans is now absolutely clear." Continuing, the Foreign Minister said:

"Germany and Austria seek to cut off more than 150,000 square versts from the former Polish Kingdom of Lithuania, also the area populated by the Ukrainians and White Russians, and, further, they want to cut into territory of the Letts and separate the islands populated by the Esthonians from the same peoples on the mainland. Within this territory Germany and Austria wish to retain their reign of military occupation, not only after the conclusion of peace with Russia, but after the conclusion of a general peace. At the same time the Central Powers refuse not only to give any explanation regarding the terms of evacuation, but also refuse to obligate themselves regarding the evacuation.

"The internal life of these provinces lies, therefore, for an indefinite period in the hands of these powers. Under such conditions any indefinite guarantees regarding the expression of the will of the Poles, Letts, and Lithuanians is only of an illusory character. Practically it means that the Governments of Austria and Germany take into their own hands the destiny of these nations."

Trotzky declared that he was glad now that the Central Powers were speaking frankly, stating that General Hoffmann's conditions proved that the real aims were builded on a level quite different from that of the principles recognized on Dec. 25, and that real or lasting peace was only possible on the actual principle of self-definition.

"It is clear," Trotzky declared, "that the decision could have been reached long ago regarding peace aims if the Central Powers had not stated their aims differently from those expressed by General Hoffmann."

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied to Trotzky, declaring in principle that General Hoffmann's aims were the same as those advanced at Christmas. Throughout the negotiations, he said, the Germans had kept in view the ethnological boundaries, but also the actual boundaries of the old Russian Empire. The Central Powers intended to permit free self-definition, and he scoffed at the theory that the presence of troops would prevent this. Regarding evacuation, Dr. von Kühlmann said that it must be taken up with the newly born self-defined Governments.

"If General Hoffmann expresses the terms more strongly," said Dr. Kühlmann, "it is because a soldier always expresses stronger language than diplomats. But it must not be deduced from this that there is any dissension between us regarding the principles, which are one whole and well thought out."

Dr. Kühlmann consented to Trotzky's request for a postponement of the conference, declaring, however, that it would be much pleasanter if they could finish the negotiations at once, as the former recess brought about many misunderstandings.

GENERAL HOFFMANN'S THREAT

It was announced on Jan. 24 that the Russian delegates to the peace conference had unanimously decided to reject the German terms. They stated, referring to the action of General Hoffmann of the German delegation, that, when they asked Germany's final terms, the General replied by opening a map and pointing out the following line, which they insisted should constitute the future frontier of Russia: From the shores of the Gulf of Finland to the east of the Moon Sound Islands, to Valk, to the west of Minsk, to Brest-Litovsk. This completely eliminates Courland and all the Baltic provinces.

The Russians asked the terms of the Central Powers in regard to the territory south of Brest-Litovsk. General Hoffmann replied that was a question which they would discuss only with Ukraine. M. Kameneff asked: "Supposing we do not agree to such conditions. What are you going to do?"

General Hoffmann's answer was: "Within a week, then, we would occupy Reval." The Russians then asked for a recess, which was granted reluctantly.

Although the Russian delegates were given a recess, the discussions between

the Ukrainians and the Central Powers continued uninterruptedly.

HISTORIC SOVIET MEETING

The Assembly of Soviets at Petrograd did not receive the report of the peace negotiations until the third day of its session. On the evening of Jan. 27 Trotzky made his report.

The session opened with the announcement that Spiridonova would speak from the Peasants. All the guests' seats throughout the building had been given to members of the Peasants' Assembly, so that Trotzky, when he finally made his report, spoke not to the Soldiers and Workers only, but also to the Peasants' Assembly, which, in spite of the prognostications of the anti-Bolsheviki, had an overwhelming Bolshevist majority, and supported the action of the Soviets in sweeping away the Constituent Assembly.

After Zinoviev had welcomed the Peasants there was singing of the "Internationale." Then a moment's pause, and Trotzky was at the tribune, and when the roars of applause had ended, he began quietly and clearly his exposition of the history, method, aims, and results of the peace negotiations. He pointed out that the Allies had two and a half months in which they could have come in. He pointed out that Kerensky's repeated efforts to move the Allies toward peace had proved absolutely fruitless. The object of the conference was to make the actual obstacles to peace clear, not only for the peoples of the hostile countries, but also for the Russian people.

He pointed out how the Germans, by presenting an ultimatum in the form of a refusal to continue the discussions anywhere but at Brest-Litovsk, hoped to make the Russians break on an excuse which would cloud the issue for the German working classes. He touched on the weak point of the Russian side, namely, the delegation from the Ukrainian Rada. "We asked them, like ourselves, to hold no unpublished conversations with the enemy," he explained. "They said they would consult Kiev before answering. That answer we have never received in spite of repeated requests."

TROTZKY'S EXPLANATION

He read a telegram showing that Albert Thomas (former French Minister of Munitions) even then believed that the patriotic Rada was going to save Russia from making a separate peace, when, as a matter of fact, the Rada was concluding a separate peace itself. Then, after mentioning three distinct tendencies in Germany, he said that the main point on which the discussions hung was the refusal of Germany to name a date for the removal of troops. He sketched the line which the Germans intended to show to be the new frontiers, and said it was so planned as to make further German aggression easy.

"The whole system of the German argument was based on the assumption that the Russian Government would understand, but be silent and grateful to the Germans for saving their faces by giving a mock democratic character to their peace," he said.

Then came the decisive moment. Trotzky threw his head back and stood a figure of incomparable energy as he said: "The bourgeois Governments can sign any kind of peace. The Government of the Soviets cannot."

In that whole vast aassembly there was but a handful of men who disagreed. Trotzky continued, saying that it was to the interests of all other Governments that a non-democratic peace should be signed. He pointed to Rumania, where Rumanian troops, he said, isolated and starved, had fired on Russian troops and, for the sake of preventing a revolution, were prepared to seize Bessarabia, thus making possible compensation elsewhere with a view to a non-democratic peace. He announced the action which the Soviet Government had decided to take against Rumania, and went on: "Yes, we have plenty of enemies. Either we shall be destroyed or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the imperialistic war and shall never return to it." With regard to further steps he asked to be allowed free action. In any case, he would not sign a non-democratic peace.

The Soviet Assembly indorsed the at-

titude of the Peace Commissioners and also passed resolutions:

1. Making valid the transfer of land.
2. The giving of control to the workmen.
3. The establishment of a soldiers' and workmen's republic, and, ultimately, the federation of soldiers' and workmen's republics.
4. The nationalization of banks and the repudiation of national debts.

Zalkind, assistant to the Foreign Minister, Trotzky, in explanation of the last measure said to The Associated Press:

This measure has been passed in principle and it has become a law, but its enforcement is in the hands of the National Commissaries. If they find it expedient, necessary, or desirable they have the right to refuse to pay the debts.

It was later announced that the Soviet, realizing that Germany would not accede to the demand for evacuation of the occupied provinces, decided to make no peace treaty; it also decided upon demobilization of the Russian Army and upon the method of withdrawing from the war as announced on Feb. 12.

VON KUEHLMANN'S COMMENTS

During the period between the ending of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk and the resumption of negotiations the German Foreign Minister, Dr. von Kühlmann, was in Berlin. In one of his addresses before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan. 26, he said:

A representative body of Lithuania has really been honorably set up, and the representatives of the Lithuanian people of all classes can strive toward the realization of possibilities. It has been suggested that we should wait until the end of the war before extension of this to other existing representative bodies. We work under difficult circumstances in the country in question, as the war still continues. We will, if peace is reached with Russia, do what can be done in conjunction with the military necessities, with a view to bringing about this extension during the war.

Herr Trotzky twice declared in open discussion that our Government has no other basis than force. The Bolsheviki maintain themselves by brutal force; their arguments are cannon and machine guns. Differences of opinion are settled by their getting rid of their opponents in a radical and satisfactory manner. The Bolsheviki preach beautifully, but practice otherwise.

They have solemnly recognized the Finnish Republic. They never disputed the right of that republic to receive diplomatic representatives, but when it came to the act of sending representatives there, they created the greatest difficulties. When we have news from Finland we will know that the soldiery in exercising there a tyranny worse than existed in the times of the Czar.

I may point to the proceedings of the Bolsheviki against the legal Assembly, announced with so much pomp. The main fact in that case was that two cruisers anchored in front of the Tauride Palace and turned their guns on its windows. As this argument was not sufficient, the delegates were simply chased out with bayonets.

The statements of the Bolsheviki show that these gentlemen are indulging in another policy than that of concluding an open and honorable peace with the Bourgeois Governments of the Central Powers, which are hated like poison.

"CONVERSATIONS" WITH POLAND

Dr. Kühlmann said that "conversations" with Poland had been carried on by Germany and Austria for months with zeal, but were not yet ripe for communication. He continued:

What Count Czernin said of Poland we can say of the other border peoples who will form the object of our discussion. We have precisely the same confidence in the attractive force of the great free German State for these peoples. German policy never will resort to petty police pressure or any similar methods, which in the long run would only have the contrary effect.

Regarding Turkey and Bulgaria, the Foreign Secretary said:

These peoples, at an hour of weighty import, trusting Germany's star, joined our side, and they shall never get the impression from the peace negotiations that the German word is not binding on every German to the end.

Dr. Kühlmann concluded by declaring that the German Government earnestly desired a wise and honorable peace.

The final sessions were resumed at Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 29, but no details of what occurred were given out except the brief announcement on Feb. 10 that a peace treaty had been made with the Ukraine and that the Bolsheviki had capitulated to the German demands without signing a treaty.

A decree was issued Feb. 3 on the authority of the Soviets, signed by the Premier and other members of the Gov-

ernment, separating the Church and State, eliminating church income from the State and confiscating all church realty, furnishings, and paraphernalia. The decree stipulates that religious societies may continue to use the property exclusively for religious services, although the title is vested in the State.

Religious freedom is guaranteed so long as religious societies do not interfere with social order, limit the rights of individuals or hinder the republic. No religious scruples are to exempt persons from their duties as citizens. The religious oath is canceled and replaced by promise.

Marriage ceremonies and birth registrations are to be performed by the civil authorities. Religious teaching is abolished in State schools and in private schools with a similar curriculum.

No State assistance will be given to any church society or religious agent. No religious society will be permitted to own any property, but will merely be permitted to borrow it from the State for church services.

The Rev. Dr. Tikhon, Patriarch of all Russia and Metropolitan of Moscow, bitterly attacked the decree, declaring those responsible for it anathema, and threatened them with excommunication.

The Dissolution of the Russian Armies

Report of General Denikine

The fact that the Russian armies were refusing to fight first became fully known to the world through the disaster of July 21, 1917, when the Russians in Galicia were driven back to Tarnopol. On the 28th General Denikine, commander in that sector, was called before a war council held at Mohileff and made a frank report to the revolutionary authorities on the reasons for the catastrophe. The chief passages of this report, which have now reached the United States through the Paris Temps, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *The report is the most striking revelation of conditions at that crucial period thus far forthcoming in official and authoritative form.*

IT is with profound emotion and a consciousness of my heavy responsibility that I have written this report.

I ask your indulgence. I was wont to speak frankly and fearlessly in the presence of the autocratic Czar, and my words will be of the same kind in the presence of the revolutionary autocracy.

When called to the command I found the troops in a state of complete disorganization. This fact seemed all the more strange because neither the accounts that had reached the headquarters of the General Staff nor my own observations had led me to expect so desolating a situation. It is easy to explain this fact: As long as the soldiers merely had to maintain a passive attitude they gave way to no important excesses. But when the moment arrived for them to do their duty, when they were ordered to prepare for attack, then the animal instinct spoke and the veil was lifted.

There were as many as ten divisions that did not take their positions for departure, as ordered. An enormous turmoil arose among the officers of all ranks, the committees, the agitators. There were endless requests, conversations, persuasions. To take even the least decisive measure it was necessary before all to diminish the number of troops in revolt. Almost a whole month passed in this way. Only a part of the divisions obeyed the order to go into battle. In particular, the 2d Corps, from the Caucasus, and the 160th Infantry Division revolted. Many detachments lost not only their former appearance, but even all human semblance. I shall never forget the hour I passed in the 703d Regiment.

In certain regiments there were from eight to ten distilleries of alcohol! Drunkenness, gambling, assault and battery, pillage, sometimes murder. * * *

I decided to send the 2d Caucasian Corps to the rear, with the exception of the 51st Infantry Division, and to reorganize it as well as the 160th, thus depriving myself from the outset of a force of about 130,000 bayonets. In the sector with the Caucasian Infantry Corps were placed the 28th and 29th Infantry Divisions, considered the best on the front. The 29th moved into position as ordered, but the next day almost two and a half regiments returned to the rear. The 28th Division wished to deploy a regiment into the vacant position, but the regiment decided without appeal not to occupy it.

PREMIER KERENSKY'S VISIT

Everything possible was done to influence them. The Commander in Chief [Brusiloff] himself came, and after discussions with the committees and delegates of the two corps went away with the impression that the soldiers were good, but that the officers were frightened, and had lost their heads. It was not the truth. The officers in this incredibly painful situation had done all that they could.

The Commander in Chief is not aware that the meeting of the 1st Siberian Corps, which welcomed his address with enthusiasm, was prolonged after his departure. Other orators came, who demanded that the soldiers should not listen to "the old bourgeois," (pardon me, but that is the word used,) and loaded his name with gross insults. These speeches were saluted with frantic applause.

The Minister of War, M. Kerensky, in the course of a tour of inspection, made an inspiring appeal to glory, and received a triumphal welcome from the 28th Infantry Division; but on his return he met the deputation from one of two regiments in this division which had taken a resolution, a half hour after the orator's departure, not to attack. Still more touching was the spectacle of the 28th Infantry Division, which burst into the wildest enthusiasm at the moment when the red flag was returned to the commander of the regiment from Poti, who received it kneeling. By the mouths of three orators and by repeated cries the men of the regiment vowed that they would die for their country. On the first day of the attack, without even going into their trenches, this regiment made a half-turn and went six or seven miles to the rear of the battle line.

CAUSES OF THE DEMORALIZATION

Among the factors which should have sustained the morale of the troops, but which in reality led them into complete demoralization, were the political commissaries and the soldiers' committees. Perhaps there were among the commissaries a few "black swans," who, without meddling in what did not concern them, were really of some use. But the very institution, from the fact that it involves two powers, that it creates friction, that it is an unsolicited and baneful interference, cannot fail to be a cause of decomposition in the army.

The committees are another cause of demoralization. I do not deny the remarkable work of many which are doing their duty with all their might. Many of their members especially were precious for their superb example of heroic death. But I affirm that their usefulness has not compensated, save in a minor degree, for the enormous evil caused by the committes to army discipline by reason of their oligarchy, of their division of power, their hostile interference in war affairs, and the discredit they throw on authority. I could give hundreds of examples of their work of disorganization and weakening of authority, but I will limit myself to the most characteristic:

On June 8 a committee at the front decided not to attack; then it changed and pronounced for an attack. On June 1 the committee of the 2d Army decided not to attack, and on June 20 changed its decision. The Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Minsk, by a vote of 123 to 79, refused to authorize an attack. All the committees of the 169th Infantry Division voted for lack of confidence in the Provisional Government and a belief that they considered an attack on the enemy to be "treason to the revolution." The campaign against authority expressed itself in a whole series of dismissals of commanding officers, acts in which, in the

majority of cases, the committees took part. At the very beginning of the military operations a corps commander, a chief of the General Staff, and the head of a division intrusted with an important attack had to abandon their commands. In this manner about sixty officers, from commanders of army corps to heads of regiments, were deposed.

It is difficult to estimate all the evil done by the committees. There is no longer any firm discipline. If a consoling decision is made by a majority vote it amounts to nothing. The Bolsheviki, hiding behind their privilege as members of the committee, are everywhere sowing trouble and revolt. In brief—oligarchy and prolixity! In place of support for authority, discredit. The military leader, hampered, elevated, then cast down, discredited on all sides, is expected, nevertheless, to be powerful and to conduct the troops vigorously to battle.

FAILURE OF THE OFFENSIVE

Such was the material preparation that preceded the operations. The deployment was not finished, but the pressure on the southwest front made immediate succor necessary. The enemy had already deprived my front of three or four divisions. I decided to attack with the remaining troops who seemed faithful to their duty.

For three days the artillery thundered against the enemy trenches, tore them up frightfully, inflicted heavy losses on the Germans, and pounded out a road for our infantry. Almost all the first zone was carried. Our chain of troops reached the enemy batteries. The breach seemed about to be enlarged: it was the long expected victory at last.

[*General Denikine here tells in detail, with the aid of the report of the General Staff, how lack of discipline and the disorderly conduct of the troops caused the Russians to lose the benefits of a well-led attack which promised brilliant results. He continues:*]

After this reverse the dwindling of man power increased, and at nightfall took on enormous proportions. The soldiers, weary, unnerved, unaccustomed to the roar of cannon after months of rest, of inaction, of fraternization, of meetings, abandoned the trenches en masse, throwing away their rifles and machine guns, and flowed in a torrent toward the rear. The cowardice and indiscipline of some reached such a pitch that several of our Generals asked that no more artillery be fired, for fear that the noise of our own cannon would cause a panic among our soldiers.

[*General Denikine goes on to relate the failure of another offensive operation, as described by the commandant of the 1st Siberian Corps. After carrying three fortified lines, in which the Russians established themselves "at the price of insignificant losses," the success was completely annulled because many soldiers refused to pass the night in the conquered positions. The General adds:*]

Such was the result of this offensive. Never before had I had the good fortune to fight with such numerical superiority in bayonets and materials. Never had the outlook been so bright. On thirteen miles of front I had 184 batteries, against 29 enemy batteries; 900 guns against 300. The batteries that were to go into the attack were 138, against 17. All this was reduced to dust.

From the tone of all the reports of the Generals one might conclude that the mental condition of the troops immediately after the operation defied analysis. Three days later I called together the army commanders and asked these questitons: "Will our armies be able to resist a serious German attack, with enemy reserves?" Answer: "No." "Can our armies sustain an organized attack of the Germans if the enemy forces remain the same as now?" Two commanders answered in vague, conditional terms; the head of the 10th Army categorically. The general verdict was: "We no longer have any infantry." I will make the statement stronger, and say: "We no longer have any army, and it is necessary to create one at any price."

Under Paragraph 6 of the "Declaration of the Soldier's Rights," it is prescribed that all printed matter, without exception, shall be forwarded to the person addressed. This deluges the whole army with incendiary Bolshevist literature, and upon this literature the spirit of the army is fed. It is evident that official funds, the funds of the people and of the Military Bureau at Moscow, have been invested in this vicious propaganda sent to the front.

From March 24 to May 1 there arrived 7,972 copies of the Pravda, 2,000 copies of the Soldatskaïa Pravda, 30,375 copies of the Sozial Demokrate, &c. From May 1 to June 11 there arrived 61,525 copies of the Soldatskaïa Pravda, 32,711 of the Sozial Demokrate, 6,999 of the Pravda. These papers were spread through the companies by individual soldiers.

Under Paragraph 14 no one is to be punished without trial. Certainly this right belongs to the private soldiers alone, for the officers continue to be denied it. What has happened? The high military tribunal, paralyzed by democratization, proposes to limit its activities to the most important cases, such as treason. The officers have lost all disciplinary authority. The disciplinary tribunals have not been elected, either through indifference or through boycott. In short, justice has been excluded from the army. All these legislative measures have annihilated authority and discipline, brought contempt upon the officers, deprived them of all confidence, all consideration.

The officers' corps: it is very painful to me to speak of this, and I will be brief. Sokoloff, plunging into military life, has said: "I could not have imagined what martyrs your officers are; I bow before them." Yes; in the darkest hours of the Czarist epoch the satellites and police did not employ, for those they deemed criminal, the tortures, the jeers inflicted today by the sombre mass, guided by the revolutionary rabble, upon officers who are giving their lives for their country.

They are insulted at every turn, they are struck, yes, struck. But they do not complain; they are moved by shame, mortal shame. And more than one in private sheds tears over his misfortune. It is not strange that to escape such a situation many officers seek death on the battlefield. What epic calm and tragic resonance vibrate through this passage from an account of the battle: "In vain did the officers, marching in advance, try to rally their men. At that moment a white flag appears on Redoubt 3. Then fifteen officers, with a little group of soldiers, marched forward alone. Their fate is unknown. They were not seen again."—(Report of the 38th Army Corps.)

Peace to the ashes of those heroes, and may their blood be upon the heads of those who caused their death, whether voluntarily or involuntarily! The army is in ruins. Heroic measures are necessary.

[General Denikine ended by proposing a plan of military reorganization. It was summarily discarded, for events were moving rapidly in the other direction. Kerensky was losing his hold on the masses, who were even then bent on abandoning the war and negotiating a separate peace. When General Dukhonine, the new Commander in Chief, refused to open such negotiations in November he was deposed and murdered.]

The Falling Market in War Aims

By George Bernard Shaw

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

[*Mr. Shaw's personal opinions of the war situation at the beginning of* 1918 *are here stated with more than his usual whimsicality of humor, and are presented to* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *readers for their literary interest—without editorial indorsement.*]

THE bidding for peace took a long time to start; but now that it has started, it is bewilderingly brisk. It seems only yesterday that to have any war aims at all was denounced as the blackest pro-German treason. Victory, smashing, triumphant victory without any ulterior object whatever except "the crushing of Prussian militarism," (the same thing in other words,) was the whole aspiration of the pugnacious patriot. To give Germany a knockout blow was admissible; but to take anything from her, or want anything from her, or compromise the purity of our position as the ministers of God's

wrath against her, was flat corruption. "Get on with the war," we said, rather superfluously, as the war was getting on with us quite as fast as we could keep up with it, and a little faster occasionally in the Atlantic. "What for?" asked a few impossible people. "Never mind: get on with the war," we said. And really we were justified by the facts, because the rulers of Germany showed no sign of troubling themselves about our aims, or caring whether we had any or not. They did not think our aims mattered, because they did not intend to let us achieve them. And it suited them very well that we should keep declaring that we were out to crush them. That was precisely what they had been telling the German people, to convince them that they must fight us to the bitter end in simple self-preservation; and they were only too glad to have our own word to support them.

GERMANY'S PACIFIC ROLE

At this point it occurred to some intelligent Teuton that the moral position of Germany could be considerably improved if Germany left to us the task of declaring that we were out for blood and iron and conquest, and took the pacifist position herself. The Russian revolution had, in fact, created a situation in which it was extremely important to all the belligerents that they should appear in the character of grievously molested Quakers, reluctantly forced to defend their countries against imperialist aggression. We did not notice this as soon as the Germans did: we were too busy bawling "Get on with the war." Consequently, though the tug-of-war on the western front went on as fiercely as ever, in the moral tug-of-war that goes on between the Governments in their appeals to the conscience of civilization, the Germans suddenly let go the rope; and we sat down with a crash. "Why this shocking slaughter?" they said. "We desire peace. We have always desired peace. Let dogs delight to bark and bite; but let us behave as the trustees of civilization. We propose the status quo ante, peace on earth and good-will toward men. We have taken Belgium: we will make Belgium a present of herself. We have annexed the top of France: we will return it to her as a Christmas gift. Western Europe and Africa shall be as they were: the rest can be arranged. If another shot is fired it shall not be our fault."

GERMANY'S PROFESSIONS

We were morally dished. Nobody saw it apparently except Lord Lansdowne; and his desperate attempt to capture the ground we should have been the first to occupy was spoilt by our stupidity. For of all stupid ways of receiving it that were possible the very stupidest was to raise a shriek that we must not dream of peace now because we were beaten. Yet for several days after Lord Lansdowne's letter appeared, it was rank treason, dastardly pacificism, unblushing Boloism, treacherous pro-Germanism, to suggest that the British Army had ever suffered anything but disastrous, disgraceful defeat, or that the irresistible Hun's magnificent sweep to a faultlessly organized victory had been marred by a single reverse. Jellicoe, ci devant Nelsonic victor of the Jutland Trafalgar, was suddenly banished to the obscurity of the House of Lords for losing that battle. Well might Haig, in his château somewhere in France, ask himself desperately whether any commander could struggle against such patriotism, and pray for a Government of pacifists, of pro-Germans, of Quakers, even of certified lunatics as less dangerous than uncertified ones. German military stock went up with a bound; there was an unmistakable heartening of the German public, orchestrated by a crescendo in the German militarist music. "We do not ask you to take the defeat of the Allies on our biased authority," said the Pan-Germans: "they tell you so themselves. Read the London papers." And the German people did read them in "Sidelights on England," and believed them. They naturally wanted to believe them; and they could hardly be expected to know that a London patriot is a hysterical creature who is not only unable to keep his head, but cannot be restrained from kicking it around the streets under the impression that it is the Kaiser's head.

The news from the front was not one-sided enough to restore order. Haig had

made one of his lion springs and torn Passchendaele out of Hindenburg's claws before Hindenburg knew where he was. Hindenburg, growling that two could play at that game, had dashed at La Vacquerie, and covered six miles in less than two hours, driving before him naked men, making Parthian slings of their bath towels. The two Generals held on grimly to their prey, glaring at one another and panting, but were obliged to confess that honors were easy. In Italy the Government had played the fool with the labor question.

Meanwhile our Government had also played the fool, not only over labor, but over the Russian revolution. From the moment that revolution broke out there was an inevitable diversion in the energies of our Foreign Office, which at once classed the war with Germany as an affair of secondary importance, and set itself, as a matter of good form, to ignore the Petrograd rabble, and convince the relics of the Benckendorff circle of our unalterable devotion to the Czardom. It could hardly do less without losing its position in Western society. Meanwhile the distrust of labor by our own Government led to the Henderson incident. Mr. Henderson, who had been all but disarmed by appeals to his patriotism and loyalty, and by the pretense of admitting him to the Cabinet, had his eyes opened by a gross personal discourtesy; and in that moment labor found a leader, and Mr. Henderson saved his soul alive. "Very good, gentlemen," he said: "you refuse to admit that this war concerns the working class. The working class will now state the aims of England in this war, not from Petrograd or Stockholm, but from London; and you shall take your turn on the mat outside the door while labor is deciding what you shall do." It was a big bounce; but Mr. Henderson pulled it off. He delivered the war program of labor. The Prime Minister had to take it from his hand like a lamb. The French and Italian papers complimented him on his sensible submission. President Wilson patted him on the head and said "Good boy," making it clear that he, too, has not an item to add to the labor program. And we are all trying to pretend that we said so all along.

LABOR'S GAGE OF BATTLE

But the missed point to be illuminated now is that most of this has been accomplished under an illusion. That illusion is that the war aims of the Labor Party are not war aims but peace terms. When it was known that Mr. Henderson was going simply to shove the Cabinet aside and take the war question into his own hands, the patriots changed their shriek of defeat into an even wilder one of immediate peace, which they always seem to believe can be made by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, or any other member of the Independent Labor Party, by lifting a finger. Now, if they wanted to defeat Mr. Henderson, there was one way of doing it, (if it could have been done at all after the way he had been insulted in his representative capacity;) and that way was to insist on what was the simple fact: namely, that his war aims meant from two to thirty years more fighting, as they involved not only an old-fashioned victory of British over German militarism, but a European victory of democracy over oligarchy and autocracy, and of socialism over competitive capitalism. But when your patriot's neck gets into a noose, he can always be depended on to draw it tighter by his terrified struggles. All the patriots bawled at the top of their voices that the labor war aims meant peace by negotiation, a German peace, an inconclusive peace, a dishonorable peace, all sorts of adjectives but ever the same substantive: peace, peace, peace, peace. And thereby they got Mr. Henderson out of his great difficulty, which was, how to pass a statement of war aims through a labor conference which was longing for peace. The effect of their misjudged but effective help was one of the funniest political farces of the time. When Mr. Stephen Walsh, a very formidable opponent, with a heavy card vote in his pocket, moved that the question be adjourned for a month, he was smashed by a single phrase from Mr. Robert Smillie: "You want another month of slaughter." After that, Mr. Walsh had not a dog's chance.

Mr. Ben Turner rose and said that he did not like the war aims, because there was too little of the Bible in them; but they made for peace, and he was for peace now, this instant. Almost his next sentence began "Our German friends." Mr. Turner came down on him with a trenchant repetition of his chivalrous Christian phrase, and steamrollered him amid thunderous plaudits. The war aims went through triumphantly, as peace terms. They have spread a hope of peace over our Christmas.

THE CHALLENGE

I am sorry to have to break the spell; but they are not peace terms. They are the gage of battle thrown at the feet of every Government in Europe, not excepting our own Foreign Office. In spite of the climb down that has occurred, they do not approach any terms that we could dictate to the Germans except as victors. The Labor Party itself climbed down from its position of August last by substituting a plebiscite for French conquest in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Mr. Lloyd George, in swallowing the revised version, climbed down from the internationalization of Constantinople to leaving the Turk in possession of it. Mr. Wilson, who, in his reply to the Pope, had declared that if Germany did not democratize her Constitution the United States would smash her, climbed down with the words, "Neither do we presume to suggest to Germany any alteration or modification of her institutions."

These concessions seem so significant, and any sort of definite war aims must seem so clear and reasonable in contrast with the crude ravings they replace, that we are for the moment cheated into believing that the Germans must think them as moderate as they seem to us. Let us not deceive ourselves. Take three items from the labor war aims by way of sample.

1. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, decayed as it is, may appear a mere makeweight in Camberwell; it will be a matter of fighting jusqu'au bout in Constantinople.

2. Alsace-Lorraine is the very trophy of victory in the war between France and Germany, and the suggestion of a plebiscite does not altar that situation in the least; for what Frenchman with an ounce of fight left in him would consent to such a plebiscite being taken until the German Army had evacuated the territory and left the inhabitants free to vote? It is hard enough for a Frenchman to consent even to a voluntary evacuation of the north of France; all the pugnacity and pride in him must cry out, "We shall not accept your offer to evacuate; you shall go as you came, fighting every inch of the way, or running."

3. The proposal of a league of nations protectorate for the African colonies does not touch those colonies which the Union of South Africa has taken; and we dare not ask General Smuts to give them back to Germany.

I could add to this list of fighting points; but these are enough. The Germans have replied that the terms are the terms dictated by a victor and that we are not victorious yet. And they are quite right. The sins of which this war is the punishment are not yet expiated either in Germany or here; and there is nothing for it but to set our teeth, tighten our belts, and go through with it.

Nevertheless, there are incalculable factors in the case. One is the revolt of the human conscience against war. When everything that can be said for war has been said a thousand times; when to the wretched plea that the distribution of our wealth was so bad, the condition of our people so poor, and our public sloth and carelessness so disastrous that an iron scourge was needed to drive us to do better, we add the less disgraceful claim that pride, honor, courage, and defiance of death flame up in war into a refiner's fire, yet nothing can conceal the blasting folly, the abominable wickedness, the cruelty and slavery with which war wreaks life's vengeance on those who will respond to no gentler or holier stimulus. In the midst of our stale paraphrases of the heroics of Henry V. our eye lights on some name of youthful promise in the roll of honor, and sees suddenly through the splendid mask of victory to the grinning skull beneath. It is this incalculable factor that makes the Russian revolution so formidable.

WAR AGAINST THRONE

Yet here again I must sorrowfully dispel the illusion that the Russian revolution makes for peace. Our patriots, always seizing the wrong end of the stick,

are in full cry against "a separate peace" by Russia. What they would dread if they had any grasp of the situation is a separate war by Russia: a fight to a finish not only with the German throne, but with all thrones; a war that will go on when the rest of the belligerents want to stop; a war that may develop into a blaze of civil wars in England, France, and Italy, with the Foreign Offices and Courts and capitalists fighting to restore the Czar, and the "proletarians of all lands" fighting to reproduce the Russian revolution in their own country. What has happened so far is a very old thing: the world has many times before seen the Kings of the earth rise up and the rulers take counsel together. But when peoples with new Bibles and new Jewish prophets do the same, there will be no more use for the middle-class ignorance that deals with such a danger by a refusal of passports to those who alone understand it. There is a war to be averted ten times more terrible than that war which we are told to get on with by fools who imagine that we have any choice in the matter, and flick their little whips at the earth to make it go around the sun. Which of us would not stop the war tomorrow if he could? Which of us can?

For my own part I am a Jusqu'auboutist. I do not want this war to be compromised as long as it will be possible for any of the belligerent powers afterward to pretend that if it had only gone on for another year it would have won. If we win there will be such a surge of exultation throughout the country that every counsel of moderation or prudence will be swept away as irresistibly as Bismarck and the Socialists were swept away in 1871, when they asked their countrymen to spare Alsace-Lorraine. The same thing will happen in Germany if the Central Empires win. It is our business to see that they do not win. It is their business to see that we do not win. When both sides become convinced that neither of them can both win and survive the effort, then it will be time to talk of peace.

Until then, I shall not join the ranks of those kindly people who cry peace when there is no peace.

The Supreme War Council

Summary of the Third Session

The third session of the Allies' Supreme War Council was held at Versailles in the last days of January and the first days of February, 1918. *The official statement of the proceedings, issued Feb.* 3, *follows:*

MEETINGS of the third session of the Supreme War Council, held at Versailles, Jan. 30 and 31, Feb. 1 and 2:

In addition to the members of the Supreme War Council itself, namely, MM. Clemenceau and Pichon for France, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Milner for Great Britain, Professor Orlando and Baron Sonnino for Italy, and the military representatives of the Supreme War Council, Generals Weygand, Wilson, Cadorna, and Bliss, there were also present for the greater part of the purely military discussions the French and British Chiefs of General Staff, Generals Foch and Robertson; the Italian Minister of War, General Alfieri, and the Commander in Chief of the western front, Pétain, Haig, and Pershing. A. H. Frazier, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris, was present during the political discussions.

The decisions taken by the Supreme War Council in pursuance of this contingent embrace not only a general military policy to be carried out by the Allies in all the principal theatres of the war, but, more particularly, a closer and more effective co-ordination, under the council, of all the efforts of the powers engaged in the struggle against the Central Empires.

The functions of the council itself were enlarged and the principles of unity of policy and action initiated at Rapallo in November last received still further

concrete and practical development. On all these questions a complete agreement was arrived at after the fullest discussion with regard to both the policy to be pursued and to the measures for its execution.

Under the circumstances the Supreme War Council decided that the only immediate task before them lay in the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigor and the closest and most effective cooperation of the military effort of the Allies until such time as the pressure of that effort shall have brought about in the enemy Governments and peoples a change of temper which would justify the hope of the conclusion of peace on terms which would not involve the abandonment, in the face of an aggressive and unrepentent militarism, of all the principles of freedom, justice, and respect for the law of nations which the Allies are resolved to vindicate.

The Supreme War Council gave the most careful consideration to the recent utterances of the German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, but was unable to find in them any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by all the allied Governments. This conviction was only deepened by the impression made by the contrast between the professed idealistic aims with which the Central Powers entered upon the present negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and their now openly disclosed plans of conquest and spoliation.

The Allies are united in heart and will, not by any hidden designs, but by their open resolve to defend civilization against an unscrupulous and brutal attempt at domination. This unanimity is confirmed by a unanimity no less complete both as regards the military policy to be pursued and as regards measures needed for its execution which will enable them to meet the violence of the enemy's onset with firm and quiet confidence, with the utmost energy, and with the knowledge that neither their strength nor their steadfastness can be shaken.

The splendid soldiers of our free democracies have won their place in history by their immeasurable valor and their magnificent heroism, and the no less noble endurance with which our civilian populations are bearing their daily burden of trial and suffering testify to the strength of those principles of freedom which will crown the military success of the Allies with the glory of a great moral triumph.

NO GENERALISSIMO APPOINTED

The impression had gained some support that the War Council would appoint a Generalissimo, and it was rumored that General Foch would be placed in supreme command. Andrew Bonar Law, in the House of Commons Feb. 5, in reply to an inquiry, announced that no Generalissimo had been appointed.

It was announced at Washington the same day that "for the present no assent to any policy or declaration involving considerations other than those purely military will be given by any American representative sitting with the council until it has first been submitted to this Government and received its approval."

Commenting on the recent session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles, the Cologne Volkszeitung said:

> A wild war fanfare is Versailles' only reply to the moderate statements of Count von Hertling and Count Czernin, which were inspired by the most sincere desire for peace.

The Rhenish Westphalian Gazette said:

> The workingmen of the Central Powers will be unable to avoid recognizing that the guilt for the continuance of the bloody struggle lies solely on our enemies.

The Cologne Gazette commented:

> The Versailles declaration is the political bankruptcy of the Entente. While the Central Powers are building a new world with strong hands, the Entente persists in stark negation.

The Frankfurter Zeitung said:

> The Entente has declared war anew. Peace by understanding can only be reached when a mind which speaks from Lord Lansdowne's words has gained the upper hand over the voice from Versailles. The Entente still is dominated by men professing to believe in a military victory for the Entente, and nothing remains but that we shall draw the conclusion from this fact. Germany does not fear another year or two of war, but the Entente must be punished for prolonging the world agony, when it is plain to everybody that peace is possible.

Strengthening the War Department

The Attack in Congress, Secretary Baker's Defense, and the New Plan of Reorganization

Popular criticism of defects in the conduct of our war preparations assumed definite form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, (a Democrat,) in which he charged that the War Department had "fallen down." This was followed by the introduction of bills in Congress aiming at drastic changes in the exercise of power in military affairs. President Wilson rallied to the support of his Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and issued a rather severe reply to Senator Chamberlain. The latter, however, returned to the attack on Jan. 24 in the Senate, while the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began a series of hearings on the subject. Secretary Baker asked to be heard before this committee, and on Jan. 28 he furnished the climax of the inquiry, speaking four hours and a half in defense of his department. He answered Mr. Chamberlain's criticisms, explained many supposed shortcomings, gave information not previously made public, and ended with a summary of the War Department's work since the beginning of the war. This portion of his speech is here given practically in full. The other side of the case is represented under subheads that follow this article.

Secretary Baker's Summary of Work Done

NOW, gentlemen, about the plan of the war. It will be remembered that this war broke out in August, 1914. We went into it in April, 1917, so that for more than two and one-half years the war had been going on. It was not as though war had broken out between the United States and some country, each of them prior to that time having been at peace with one another and with everybody else, so that an immediate plan should be made in the United States for conducting war against its adversary; but we were coming into a war which had been going on for two and one-half years, in which the greatest military experts, all the inventive genius, all the industrial capacity of those greatest countries in the world, had for two and one-half years been solving the problem of what kind of war it was to be and where it was to be waged.

It was not a thing for us to decide where our theatre of war should be. The theatre of war was France. It was not for us to decide our line of communications. Our line of communications was across 3,000 miles of ocean—one end of it infested with submarines. It was not for us to decide whether we would have the manoeuvring of large bodies of troops in the open. There lay the antagonists on opposite sides of No Man's Land in the trenches at a death grapple with one another. Our antagonist was on the other side of that line, and our problem was and is to get over there and get him.

It was not the problem of doing it our way and letting everybody else take care of himself. In the first place, we were going to fight in France, not on our own soil and not on our adversary's soil, and therefore at the very beginning it was obvious that the thing we had to do was not to map out an ideal plan of campaign, not to have the War College, with its speculative studies of Napoleon and everybody else, map out the theoretically best way to get at some other country, but it was the problem of studying the then existing situation and bringing the financial, the industrial, and the military strength of the United States into co-operation with that of Great Britain and France in the most immediate and effective way.

PROBLEM WITHOUT A PRECEDENT

That problem could not be decided here. I fancy in this audience there are men who have been in the trenches. The

altogether unprecedented character of that problem is the thing which every returning visitor tells us cannot be described in words, cannot be put down in reports; it is a thing so different from anything else that ever went on in the world, so vast in its desolation, so extraordinary in its uniqueness that it must be seen and studied on the ground in order to be comprehended at all.

It is easily imagined that we might have perfected an army over here and carried it across the ocean and found it wholly unadapted to its task, and it might well have been that the army that we sent over was just one thing that they did not need and that some other thing which we might have supplied would have been the thing essential to their success.

AID OF ALLIES' EXPERTS

So that from the very beginning it was not a question of abstract speculation here, but a question of study there to find out where our shoulder to the wheel could be put. They realized that. And so Great Britain sent over to us Mr. Balfour and General Bridges and a staff of experts. They came over here, and you saw Mr. Balfour in the House of Congress and at the White House and in public meetings at one place and another, but the group of experts whom they brought over with them you did not see much of, and yet they distributed themselves through the War Department, and their ordnance experts sat down with General Crozier, their supply experts with General Sharpe and his assistants, their strategists sat down with the Army War College, and all over this city there were these confidential groups exchanging information, telling how the thing was over there, what we could do, what they advised us to do, what experience they had had in developing this, that, and the other implement or supply, how certain plans which one might naturally have evolved out of the past experience of the world had been tried there and found not to work at all.

They were exchanging information, giving us all that they thought was helpful. And then came Joffre, with his wonderful reputation and his great and charming personality, and he made a great figure here and we welcomed him. It was a tremendous inspiration to see the hero of the Marne. But with him came his unobserved staff of fifteen or twenty or twenty-five young men, the most brilliant men in the French Army—strategists, mechanical experts, experts in arms, experts in supplies, experts in industry and manufacture—and they told us not merely the formal and military problems, but they brought over with them men who were in from the beginning in their reorganizations of their industries, in their mobilization of their industrial plants, and we sat down with them in little groups until finally we collated and collected and extracted all the information which they could give us from their respective countries. And every country which has been brought into the war has sent us that sort of staff of experts, and it has been necessary to compare notes, and, with this as a basis, to form such an idea as might be formed of what was the thing for us to do over there.

But that was not enough. They admitted that it was impossible to draw that picture. They could describe to us and bring the specifications and drawings for a piece of artillery, but they could not tell us why the British theory of the use of artillery was by the British preferred to that of the French. They could not picture to us a barrage of heavy howitzers as compared to a barrage of 75-millimeter guns. They could not picture to us the association of airplanes, balloons and mobile aircraft, with artillery uses. They could tell us about it, but even while they told us the story grew old.

LIKENED TO MOVING PICTURE

The one thing they told us from the very beginning to the end was that this war, of all others, was not a static thing; that our adversary was a versatile and agile adversary; that every day he revamped and changed his weapons of attack and his methods of defense; that the stories they were telling us were true when they left England and France, but an entirely different thing was probably taking place there now, and they told us of large supplies of weapons of one kind and another which they had developed in France and England, and which even before they got them in sufficient quantity

NIKOLAI LENINE

Prime Minister of the Russian Government set up by the Bolsheviki in Petrograd.

SOME OF THE BOLSHEVIST LEADERS

ENSIGN ABRAM KRYLENKO

Commander in Chief of the revolutionary armies.

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M. JOFFEE

President of the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk.

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MAXIM LITVINOFF

Appointed by the Bolshevist Cabinet as Ambassador in England.

(*Central News Photo.*)

ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

Minister of Public Welfare in the Bolshevist Cabinet.

manufactured to take them from the industrial plants to the front were superseded by new ideas and had to be thrown into the scrapheap.

They said to us: This is a moving picture; it is something that nobody can paint and give you an idea of. It is not a static thing.

Therefore it became necessary for us to have eyes there in instant and immediate communication with us, and we sent over to France General Pershing, and we sent with him not merely a division of troops—to that I shall refer in a moment—but we sent with him perhaps I can safely say the major part of the trained, expert personnel of the army. You know the size of the official corps of the regular army in this country when the war broke out. It was a pitiful handful of trained men, and yet it was necessary to divide them up and send over to France officers of the highest quality, so that they would be at the front and in the workshops and in the factories and in the War Offices and in the armies, where consultations would take place immediately back of the front, so that they could see the thing with their own eyes and send us back the details by cable every day of the changing character of this war.

PERSHING'S STAFF OF EXPERTS

General Pershing's staff of experts and officers over there runs into the thousands, and they are busy every minute, and every day that the sun rises I get cablegrams from General Pershing from ten to sixteen and twenty pages long, filled with measurements and formulas and changes of a millimeter in size, great, long specifications of changes in details of things which were agreed upon last week and changed this week, and need to be changed again next week, so that what we are doing at this end is attempting by using the eyes of the army there to keep up to what they want us to do. * * *

So that if one gets the idea that this is the sort of war we used to have, or if he gets the idea that this is a static thing, it is an entirely erroneous idea, and when you remember that we had to divide this little handful of officers that we had and send so large a part of them to France, and then think of those who remained at home, you will realize, I am sure, that those who remained here had the double duty, insufficient for either aspect of it, in numbers—and they still have this double duty—they had to go forward with manufacturers, work out industry and industrial relations; they had to see about supplies of raw materials and manufacture finished product, and make from day to day alterations and changes that had to be made, and they had to be ingenious with suggestions, to see whether they could devise on this side something which had not been thought of over there.

They had been hospitable to suggestions which came from the other side; they had to confer with the foreign officers who were here, who were constantly changed so that men fresh from the front could be here to advise with us, and, in addition to that, every one of them had to be a university professor, going out of the life of the community and selecting men who had mercantile experience and knowledge and training, but not military mechanical experience and knowledge and training, and adding to his original equipment the scientific training, that finishing touch which made him equipped for use as a military scientist.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS OF ARMY

As a consequence, this little group which stayed here has built the great special departments of the army. The Ordnance Department, starting, I think, with 93 or 96 officers, has now, as I recall the figures, something like 3,000 officers. They have had to be trained; they have had to be specialized, and that has had to go on contemporaneously with this tremendous response to the changing conditions on the other side in the meantime. When we started in this war, I think it was commonly thought throughout the country that our contribution at the outset might well be financial and industrial. The industries of this country were largely devoted at that time—the appropriate industries and many converted industries were largely devoted—to the manufacture of war materials for our allies.

As I suggested this morning, when we went into that market we found it largely occupied, so that our problem was not going to a shoe factory and saying, "Make

shoes for us," but it was going to a factory which never made shoes, because all the shoe factories were busy making shoes for people from whom we could not take them, and saying, "Learn how to make shoes in order that you may make them for us."

Now, of course, that is not true of shoes, but it is true of machine guns, it is true of other arms, it is true of ammunition, it is true of forging capacity, which was the greatest defect in the country, and all this time we had not merely not to disturb the program of allied manufacture in this country, but we had not to cut off the supplies of raw material to our allies, and we had not to disturb the industry of this country to such an extent that products upon which they depended for the success of their military operations would be interfered with, both agricultural and commercial and industrial products. * * *

OUR FORCES IN FRANCE

I tell no secret, but it is perfectly well known to everybody in this group that we have far exceeded what in August, 1917, was regarded as a program so ideal that the editor of a magazine refers to it as a thing which we ought to have strained every nerve in a vain but hopeless effort to accomplish. * * * Now, instead of having 50,000 or 100,000 men in France in 1917, we have many more than that in France, and, instead of having a half million men whom we could ship to France if we could find any way to do it in 1918, we will have more than a half million men in France early in 1918, and we have available to be shipped to France if the transportation facilities are available to us—and the prospect is not unpromising—one and a half million who in 1918 can be shipped to France. * * *

I am saying this now because you have asked me why I have held back these facts until now. I am saying to you that you could not get from Great Britain at this minute—I do not know whether I could get—the number of soldiers Great Britain has in France or at home. I could get an approximation. I could get whatever information might be deemed helpful to the immediate military objective to be accomplished, but I could not get from Great Britain or France, either one, the actual number of troops they have at the front.

It may be that that precaution is unnecesssary, and yet that is the precaution which military men have observed, and I have no further point to make in the matter of the number of troops there than to show, as I was showing when I read that extract, that our original intention was to make our military effort in 1918; and in August of 1917 a zealous advocate of immediate military activity laid down as the maximum obtainable program a thing which has since been multifold exceeded.

GENERAL JOFFRE'S INFLUENCE

Why did we decide to send some troops to France in 1917? It is no secret. When Marshal Joffre came to this country from France, when the British Mission came from France, they told us of a situation which we had not up to that time fully appreciated. There had been in France, recently conducted before that, an unsuccessful major offensive. The French people had suffered—oh, suffered in a way that not only our language is not adapted to describe, but our imagination cannot conceive. The war is in their country. The wolf has not only been at their door, but he had been gnawing for two years and a half at their vitals, and when this unsuccessful offensive in France had gone on there was a spirit, not of surrender but of fate, about the French people, and this mighty military engine which they had seen prepared to overcome them for forty years was at them, and their attitude was that no matter whether every Frenchman died in his tracks, as he was willing to do, or not, it was an irresistible thing, and so they said to us: "Frankly, it will cheer us; it will cheer our people, if you send over some of your troops."

We did send some troops. At that place we had a choice. We could have sent over, as Great Britain, our regular army, and in a very short preparation have put it into action, and suffered exactly what Great Britain suffered with her "contemptible little army," as it was called by its adversaries. Our army would have given as good an account of itself as the

British Army did, but it would have been destroyed like the British Army, and there would have been no nucleus on which to build this new army that was to come over a little later, and it was deemed wiser to send over a regular division, but not to send over our whole regular army at that time.

Then what happened was that that regular division went over, and the people of France kissed the hems of their garments as they marched up the streets of Paris; the old veterans, wounded in this war, legless or armless, stumping along on crutches, perhaps, as they went up the streets of Paris with their arms around the necks of the American soldiers. Not a single man in that division was unaccompanied by a veteran. America had gone to France, and the French people rose with a sense of gratitude and hopefulness that had never been in them before.

Of course they welcomed the British, but their need was not so great when the British went. Of course they welcomed the British, but there were ties between them and us which had not been between them and the British, and so when our troops went there was an instant and spontaneous rise in the morale of the French, but an equally instant and spontaneous insistence that these soldiers who came from America should continue to come in an unbroken stream.

OUR AID IN OTHER LINES

And so we made the election. We decided not to send the regular army as a whole, but to send regular divisions and National Guard divisions, selected according to the state of their preparation, and keep back here some part of our trained force in order that it might inoculate with its spirit and its training these raw levies which we were training. One after another these divisions have gone over until in France there is a fighting army, an army trained in the essentials and in the beginnings of military discipline and practice, and trained, seasoned fighters in this kind of a war on the actual battlefields where it is taking place.

Early in this war, when Joffre was here and when Balfour was here, they said to us, "It may take you some time to get over to us a great fighting army, but you are a great industrial country. Our man power is fully engaged in our industries and in our military enterprises. Send over artisans, special engineering regiments, and troops of a technical character," and although it was not contemplated at the outset and only a phrase in the emergency military legislation shows that the thing was thought of as a possibility, yet in a very short time we had organized engineering regiments of railroad men and sent them over there and were rebuilding behind the lines of the British and French the railroads which were being carried forward with their advance, reconstructing their broken engines and cars, and building new railroads, back of both the French and British lines. Those regiments were of such quality that at the Cambrai assault, carried on by General Byng, when the Germans made their counterattack, our engineer regiments threw down their picks and shovels and carried their rifles into the battle and distinguished themselves by gallant action in the war itself.

Very early in this war, Great Britain, through Balfour and his assistants, and Joffre, said to us: "Send us nurses and doctors." Why, before we were scarcely in the war American units organized in advance and anticipation by the Red Cross, which was taken over into the service of the United States through the Surgeon General's office, were on the battlefield, and there are tens of thousands of men in England and in France now who bless for the mission of mercy the first Americans who appeared in France.

Our surgeons have set up hospitals immediately behind the lines. They have been made military in every sense of the word. They have not been especially fortunate in escaping attack from the air, and our early losses in this war were the losses of Red Cross nurses and doctors and orderlies and attendants in hospitals and ambulance drivers, who were sent over to assist our allies in these necessary services, thus not only rendering assistance, but acquiring skill and knowledge of the circumstances and surround-

ings, so that when our own troops came in large numbers they could render like services to our own forces.

PREPARATIONS ABROAD FOR TROOPS

But that was not enough. It was suggested that further groups of mechanics might be needed. Nay, we began to see that we were going to be over there in large force, and the question that then had to be answered was How will we maintain an army in France? Special studies had to be made of that problem, and this is what they showed.

They showed that the railroads and the facilities of France during this war had been kept in an excellent condition—far better than was supposed possible under the conditions. And yet they showed that those railroads were used to the maximum to take care of the needs of the French and the British themselves, and that when our army became a great army it would be necessary for us to build back of our own line an independent line of communication.

In other words, France was a white sheet of paper so far as we were concerned, and on that we had not only to write an army, but we had to write the means of maintaining that army. From the first time when a careful and scientific study of the opportunities of France to help us was made—from that hour until this we have been building in France facilities, instruments, agencies, just as many as we have here in the United States, and more—many of them of the same character. For instance, the French had naturally reserved the best ports in France for their own supply. The Channel ports have been reserved for the British. When we came in it was necessary for us to have independent ports of entry in order that there might not be confusion and a mixture of our supplies going through these ports of disembarkation with those of other nations.

We were given several ports. As you perhaps recall, the ports of France are tidal ports—ports with deep water and tidal basins at high tides, with insufficient water for landing at the docks when the tide is out.

As a consequence, the construction of docks and wharves for tidal basins in ports of that kind is very much more difficult than where you have a deep-sea harbor, and all you need to do is to erect a pile wharf. We have had to build docks, we have had to fabricate in this country and send over dock-handling machinery; we have had to send from this country even the piles to build the docks. We have had to have cranes manufactured in this country and sent over to be erected on those docks. We have had to erect over there warehouses at the ports of disembarkation in order that these vast accumulations of stores and supplies which go over can be properly housed and cared for, until they can be distributed into the interior.

REBUILDING 600-MILE RAILROAD

We have had to take over, and are in process of rebuilding and amplifying a railroad 600 miles long, in order to carry our products from our ports of disembarkation to our general bases of operation. And all of that, gentlemen, has to be done, not only studied out, as a necessary thing to do, but when so studied out and reported here, the manufacture of those things has to be carried out in this country, and the things shipped over there—nails, cross-ties, spikes, fishplates, engines, cars, buildings. We have had to build ordnance depots and repair shops and great magazines of supply in the interior.

All of that problem has been carrying forward step by step the plans for a single ordnance repair shop, which I saw some time ago. It covered acres and acres of ground, designed over here, the iron work fabricated over here, disassembled, put in ships and carried abroad to be reassembled over there.

We have had to build barracks over there for our soldiers, and in the meantime to billet them around in the French villages. Building barracks over there and building them here is a very different thing, gentlemen.

HUGE TASKS IN FRANCE

When we summoned the lumber industry of this country to produce the lumber to build our own cantonments it came in a great and steady stream from all over the country; but when we talk about building barracks in France it means

this: It means to organize, as we have organized, regiments of foresters, and sending them over into the forests of France which they have assigned to us for our use, cutting down the trees, setting up sawmills, making the lumber of various sizes, transporting it to the places where it is to be used, and then finally using it.

We have had to go back to the planting of the corn in France, in order that we might some time make a harvest. Our operations began in the forests of France, not in the lumber yards, as they did in this country.

That great staff under General Pershing's direction, containing so many men from the American Army, enriched by captains of industry and masters of technical performances in this country; all of these large industrial operations under general direction, such as the railroads and dock buildings, under a former Vice President and now a Vice President, perhaps, of the Pennsylvania Railroad—Atterbury—and men of that quality and extensive as those which are carried on those are the men who are carrying forward these operations, which are quite as expensive as those which are carried on over here, and of far greater difficulty, because it means getting material by cable as to sizes and specifications, having it fabricated here and sent across through those infested 3,000 miles of ocean, and then set up on that side.

HOSPITALS IN FRANCE

In addition to that, on the other side, it has been necessary for us to build hospitals, and that is where the major need for hospitals may be. It has been necessary for the Surgeon General's staff to be divided in this fashion and to select supplies and procure materials and to send over staffs of trained persons to supervise the construction of those hospitals and to man them and equip them. All of that has gone on contemporaneously with the work which has been done in this country; and then in order that another element may be added to this kaleidoscopic character which this war necessarily has, I call your attention to a thing which you already know. This war had a more or less set character until the Russian situation changed, as it has changed. In the last few months, when we had gotten more or less used to the situation created by the uncertainty as to Russia, there came the great Italian defeat, which called for even greater changes in our plans in many ways.

So that what might have been a perfectly acceptable plan as to major operations prior to the change in the Russian situation, or prior to the change in the Italian situation, had to be restudied instantly, and for that reason, among others, there is now organized, as you know in France, pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George, the Rapallo Conference, or the Supreme War Council, and the United States is represented on that by the Chief of Staff of the American Army, and the major international arrangements in regard to the military are working out there, while General Pershing and his staff of experts are working out these other questions.

That is a picture of what has been going on over there, gentlemen.

AN ARMY OF 1,500,000 MEN

On this side much of that has had to be done, and, in addition to it, all the things we have done; and I ask you to remember among the achievements on this side is the building of this army, not of 50,000 or 100,000 or 500,000, but of substantially 1,500,000 men.

And now, let me be frank with you, and let your judgment be frank with me about this. Has any army in history ever, since the beginning of time, been so raised and cared for as this army has? Can the picture be duplicated? We have raised this army, taking the regular army and the National Guard, raising it to war strength and supplementing it by the operation of a draft, and there are Senators in this room who said to me with grief when we proposed that that form of raising the soldiers be had—they shook their heads and said: "Mr. Secretary, it can't be done. It is too sudden to address to the American people that mode of selecting soldiers." And yet, has any great enterprise within the knowledge of any man in this room ever been carried out with more unfailing justice, with more intelligent legislation and commendation to the good

sense and patriotism of the American people, and has any great and revolutionary change in our mode of practice ever been accepted so splendidly as the operation of the selective service system?

We have got those young men in camp, and they are surrounded, from the day they left home until the day they come back to it, if in God's providence they can come back, with more agencies for their protection and comfort and health and happiness, physical, spiritual, and mental, than any army that ever went out on a field.

They are classified by a system, so that men who have mechanical instincts and training will be given mechanical opportunities in the army. The "round" man is not sought to be put into the "square" place. The American people has subscribed liberally for the purpose. The Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Training Camp Activities Committee, the Training Camp Athletic Committee, have all been brought in—and the Red Cross—have all been brought into line with the soldiers; and by virtue of activities started in the War Department the communities which surround these camps have been instantly got away from the notion which used to prevail of a certain alienation between a civilian and soldier group, and these soldier boys in these camps have been adopted into the homes and hearts of the people among whom they live. No such relation has ever existed between an army and a civilian population as exists with regard to this.

INTEMPERANCE CHECKED

And then, with your aid, the army has been able to practically stamp out intemperance and vice among the soldiers by the establishment of zones, by the establishment of patrol systems of one kind and another. By the training of these young officers in these training camps—young men of experience and fine feeling and all that—we have got into this great army the idea that it can be a strong and effective military army and still be free from things which have hitherto weakened and sapped the vitality and virility of armies.

I have gone from camp to camp among these cantonments, and my first question almost invariably is to the camp commander: "What about your disciplinary problem?"

Old men in the army, men whose lives have been spent in it from their boyhood and who have been all over the continental United States and through its insular possesssions, wherever our armies have been, who know the life of the soldier and the camp and the post, all say with one accord and no exception that they have never seen anything like this; that the disciplinary problems of the army are reduced to a negligible quantity, and instead of the melancholy and pathetic parade through the Secretary of War's office of court-martial after court-martial of men who have fallen down and yielded to temptation under the unusual circumstances which used to obtain, I have an infrequent case now of court-martial by reason of such weaknesses.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

I happen to have a copy of a confidential instruction issued by the German Government in June, 1917, to the German press as to what course they should take in dealing with American matters, and it says:

> While the news about American war preparations, such as the organizing and outfitting of an army of 1,000,000 men strong to reinforce the French-English front, is looked upon in that form as bluff, the spreading of which may unfavorably affect the opinion of the German people, yet the fact must not be overlooked, on the other hand, that the United States, with the support of its capacity for material and industrial management, is arming itself for war with great energy and tenacity.

Your committee will have full opportunity and will doubtless go into these things. If you will deal with the hospital situation, the Medical Corps, the Signal Corps, you will hear of the wonderful work done by the Engineering Department of the army; but when it is all told, Mr. Chairman, it will be a story which I am sure your committee will be glad to report to the Senate of the United States as being a tremendous response to a tremendous responsibility, and when you have this investigation I know that

the American people will feel, as I think they have a right to feel, that we are in this war to win it; that we are in it to hit, and hit hard; that we are in it to coordinate our strength with that of our associates; that the problem is not one of individual star playing, but of team play with these veterans and experienced persons under actual battle conditions; that more has been done, perhaps, than the country expected—more than the wisest in the country thought was possible to do.

WILL FIGHT LIKE VETERANS

In so far as I am personally concerned, I know what is ahead of us. I know what the American feeling about this war is. Everybody is impatient to do as much as we can. There will be no division of counsel; there will be all the criticism there ought to be upon shortcomings and failures; there will be, so far as the War Department is concerned, a continuing effort at self-improvement and hospitality toward every suggestion for improvement that can come from the outside. But the net result is going to be that a united and confident American people, believing in themselves and in their institutions, are going to show, and that at no late date, on European battlefields, in the face of veterans with whom they are proud to associate, that, veterans though they be, they cannot excel us in achievement; and when the victory is won over there, Mr. Chairman, the credit which will come to American enterprise and to American determination and to American courage will be an honor to us, as the tenacity of purpose and splendid achievements of the British and French have already shed great lustre on the names of those great peoples.

Senator Chamberlain's Charges

Replies by Secretary Baker

THE foregoing speech, as stated, was the culmination of the first serious political criticism of the Administration's conduct of the war. The movement had taken concrete form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, in which he had declared that the military establishment of America had "fallen down." The next day the Senate Military Committee, of which he was Chairman, introduced two bills, one to create a Minister of Munitions, the other to create a War Cabinet of three, which should have power to control war operations independently of the Secretaries of War and the Navy.

President Wilson replied sharply to Senator Chamberlain in a statement quoted in these pages a month ago, and declared that he would exert his full power to defeat the measures in question. On Jan. 24 Senator Chamberlain repeated his attack in a three-hour speech in the Senate, charging that the United States troops were without ordnance and were insufficiently supplied with rifles; that the cantonments were suffering from a shortage of clothing and were without adequate hospital facilities, and that many of the deaths from illness could have been avoided. He read several pathetic letters to substantiate the latter point.

Surgeon General Gorgas appeared the next day before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and in the course of a long hearing confirmed some of the deficiencies from which the men in the camps were suffering. The cantonments had not all been ready when the men were sent to them, and the Government in its haste to send men to France, said General Gorgas, had sent many to their death through overcrowding in the cantonments and inadequate hospital facilities. Hospitals were not built as promptly as the cantonment buildings. The navy, which was to bring home the sick and wounded from France, still had only three hospital ships.

Secretary Baker on Jan. 25 replied to one phase of the storm of criticism by appointing Edward R. Stettinius, a member

of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. At the same time he made a formal request to be heard before the Senate committee, and on the 28th talked for four hours and a half in defense of his department. While not denying that there had been delays, mistakes, shortcomings, and false starts, Mr. Baker said that where these had appeared they had not been repeated, and the remedy had been applied as promptly as possible.

To Senator Chamberlain's charges regarding hospital neglect Secretary Baker replied at great length, seeking to show that the initial shortcomings of the cantonment hospital service were inevitable in the circumstances. He stated that in an army of more than a million men there had been only eighty reports of abuses to soldiers in hospitals.

DECISION AS TO RIFLES

One of the first questions the War Department had to decide after the declaration of hostilities was that of rifles and their calibre. The British were using one kind of rifle, the French another, while the Americans had admittedly the best rifle thus far developed—the Springfield—using a rimless cartridge different from both the British and the French. There were about 600,000 of these rifles in stock, and about 100,000 Krags.

On the last day of May a conference at the War Office decided on the course to be adopted. There were present at that conference General Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance; General Scott, the Chief of Staff; General Bliss, the Assistant Chief of Staff; General Kuhn, the Chief of the Army War College, and one or two other officers associated with the War College, the Ordnance Department, experts on the subject of rifles, and General Pershing.

At the beginning of the war the British Government had been in the act of changing to the American model with rimless cartridges, but the sudden emergency had compelled it to continue with its old Enfield rifle. This fact, Mr. Baker said, had modified our own course. After considering every aspect of the case, the War Office conference had decided to use our own Springfield rifle and procure a modification of the Enfield which would allow it to be chambered for American ammunition, in order to get the advantage of the large and organized manufacturing facilities already built up in this country for the making of Enfield rifles. The decision made that night, said Mr. Baker, had the unanimous concurrence of every person in the conference, including General Pershing.

As to machine guns, the Secretary said that his course had been guided by the experience of France, which had obtained the best results from the light Chauchat guns and the Hotchkiss machine guns, and which had limited the Lewis gun to use in aircraft. As our troops had to fight beside the French, it was better for them to have the same weapons. Mr. Baker added that the French Government was able to supply machine guns to our troops during 1918 as fast as the men could be sent to France. Meanwhile our own manufacturers are instructed to push forward preparations for making machine guns in quantity as soon as possible.

REGARDING HEAVY ORDNANCE

The heavy ordnance for our troops this year, Mr. Baker said, would be furnished by France and England. Though General Crozier had urged Congress continuously ever since 1906 to provide for the manufacture of cannon, nothing had been done, and at best no large order could be filled in less than a year. France, through M. Tardieu, in a conference with General Crozier on July 14, 1917, had entered into a willing agreement to furnish ordnance for our troops at the front. The weapons furnished would be the 75-millimeter field guns and the 155-millimeter rapid-fire howitzers. Mr. Baker stated that this plan had two advantages: it saved valuable ocean tonnage, and it helped France by keeping her skilled workmen employed. Great Britain in like manner was equipped to furnish munitions, and General Bliss, after the visit of the House mission to Paris, had telegraphed in December:

> The representatives of Great Britain and France state that their production of ar-

tillery—field, medium, and heavy—is now established on so large a scale that they are able to equip completely all American divisions as they arrive in France during the year 1918 with the best make of British and French guns and howitzers. With a view, therefore, to expedite and facilitate the equipment of the American armies in France, and, second, to securing the maximum ultimate development of the munitions supply with the minimum strain upon available tonnage, the representatives of Great Britain and France propose that the field, medium, and heavy artillery be supplied during 1918, and as long after as may be found convenient, from British and French gun factories.

Mr. Baker stated that the British orders for ammunition in the United States in the first three years of the war aggregated $1,308,000,000. On the other hand, the United States ordered 63,000,000 shells in Great Britain from May to December, 1917, costing a billion dollars, while orders for cannon brought our total to $1,500,000,000 in seven months.

The statement that early in 1918 we would have 500,000 men on the fighting front in France, with 1,000,000 more ready to go whenever ships were ready to take them, will be found in the portion of Secretary Baker's speech which is printed verbatim in the preceding pages.

The Administration's Shortcomings

Attack by Senator Hitchcock

SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK (Dem.) of Nebraska attacked the Administration on Feb. 4, 1918, on the ground that it had failed to co-ordinate the war activities of the nation. His speech in the Senate was three hours long, and was the first in the fight for the passage of the two bills to create a Director of Munitions and a War Cabinet. In the course of his argument for these bills Mr. Hitchcock summarized the Government's shortcomings in the conduct of the war as follows:

"Nine months after we entered the war and three months after our men were gathered in cantonments we found in the dead of Winter tens of thousands of men without overcoats, tens of thousands lacking woolen breeches, tens of thousands without woolen blouses, and other serious shortages. We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill two months after they were formed because they had no machine guns. Even in December we found 1,200 still kept in storage for some foolish and inexplicable reasons, while each camp had only been supplied with eighty machine guns.

"We found hundreds of thousands of men drilling with wooden sticks for weeks and months because of mistakes and delays in ordering rifles last Spring. We found men sent to France without opportunity for rifle or machine-gun practice. We found a distressing amount of sickness in most camps and an unnecessary mortality, due to lack of clothing and to overcrowding. The overcrowding we found due to a failure to provide an adequate number of tents. We found camp hospitals without drainage, plumbing, or heat, and sick men without nurses.

"We found that we must depend on overworked and overstrained France for machine guns for ground use until nearly the end of this year, and that not over one-tenth of the new Browning machine guns on which we are to rely can be delivered before August. We found that the first heavy artillery of American make cannot be received till July, and not much before 1919 can we expect to use in France American heavy artillery in any great quantity. What we get before this Fall we must buy from England.

"We found that we are only now, nine months after entering the war, just beginning work on two great powder plants, to cost $60,000,000, although it was evident last Summer that we must have a million pounds a day more powder than America can now manufacture. We cannot get powder from these plants before next August.

"We found that, though the Medical Department asked for hospital ships last July, they have not yet been ordered, though sick and wounded men are now

already beginning to come home, and it will take three months to equip the ships.

"I do not deny that we also found much that was creditable and satisfactory. The task undertaken was a huge one, and much of the work has been ably done. Personally, I know that some of the War Department officials who have been most severely criticised have worked desperately hard. This comment covers the Secretary of War himself, who has had a burden of detail which has kept him at his office all day and far into the night most of the time. These considerations lead me to hold a defective organization responsible for the shortcomings to a greater degree than any individual or group of individuals."

Senator Hitchcock contended that a high-class business man as Director of Munitions was needed to cut red tape and bring order out of disorder. A West Point education, he said, made good soldiers, but did not fit men to buy for the army. He cited specific errors in the ordering of army supplies.

"TRANSPORTATION A WRECK"

During his argument for a War Cabinet Mr. Hitchcock recited the shortcomings of the railroads and the delays of the Shipping Board:

"It is not too much to say that the great transportation system of the United States has broken down. It is a gigantic wreck today; even travel has become difficult. Freight shipments are demoralized to such an extent as the country has never known anything of.

"Anticipating trouble of this sort, Congress authorized the control of shipments, and the granting of priority of shipments became one of the functions of Government. How was it exercised? It was so exercised that on some of the most important roads priority orders for shipments were given to 80 per cent. of the freight, and instead of having facilitated important shipments priority orders became the cause of the utmost confusion. Every department of Government, apparently, from the smallest Quartermaster's clerk up to the highest official, was permitted to blue-tag Government shipments and give them priority, regardless of whether there was any hurry for their transportation or not. There was no one to co-ordinate, no one to differentiate, no one to select, and the great mass of Government shipments was permitted to clog the channels of transportation. Anchors for ships not yet built were rushed to their places of destination months before they could possibly be used. Hundreds of carloads of piles for construction work were rushed across the country and allowed to remain upon the cars for weeks, because the time had not yet come to use them. There was no supreme power, apparently, to limit the enormous and dangerous control of priority shipments, and the whole transportation system of the country was thrown into confusion.

"Take the matter of contracts for production. Obviously, in contracting for production of supplies for Europe, some sort of regard should have been had for the capacity of our ships to take them. Yet various bureaus have rushed production in factories to an enormous extent until there are now piled up on the docks of a few great harbors 2,000,000 tons or more of freight awaiting shipment, and every day adds to the mass and makes the confusion more confounded. Here again there has been no power to co-ordinate between production and transportation across the Atlantic. Now we must begin to curtail production.

THE FUEL FAMINE

"Take the matter of the Fuel Administration. Congress authorized the control of the fuel of the country, and an attempt was made to control prices, supply, and distribution, but it has apparently been made without any successful effort to co-ordinate the work with other functions of the Government.

"Today we have a fuel famine in the country, not because we lack productive mines, but because they have not been permitted to operate. Lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, and lack of harmony between the Fuel Administration and other functions of the Government are the causes of the breakdown. * * * The Fuel Administration, like the Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the Raw Materials Board, the Priority of Shipments Board, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production

Board, and all of the other boards, was running an independent course. Its activities were not focused with the other activities at any point. Its decisions were reached and its orders were made practically as though the others did not exist.

SHIPPING BOARD DELAYS

"Take the Shipping Board. That was on authority of law created nearly a year and a half ago, in the Fall of 1916, months before we got into the war. It has been running as an independent branch of the Government, co-ordinating with nothing else whatever. For months it was more than a dismal failure—it was a farce, and almost a crime.

"Even since it got into more vigorous operation it has been enormously handicapped and embarrassed because there has been little or no co-ordination of its energies and operations with the energies and operations of other branches. It has needed materials, it has needed labor, and every effort should have been made to get the materials and get the labor supply in priority over every other activity of Government.

"It is a matter of common report, however, that enormous delays have occurred in our shipyards because of their failure to receive materials as well as because labor has been diverted in other directions. I have been told on what I deem reliable authority that 1,000 carloads of ship plates, made for the Shipping Board, loaded upon cars at the place of manufacture, were lost in the congestion of freight for a month at a time while the shipyards waited anxiously for their arrival.

"Production of war materials for Europe has been rushed to completion in factories by labor which should have been employed in building ships, and would have been if we had a War Cabinet to survey the whole field and balance production and transportation. Now we have the products filling every warehouse, sidetrack, and dock without the ships to carry them.

"The present condition of our shipbuilding is nothing less than shocking. The present supply of shipping is worse than alarming. I am afraid to go too deeply into figures, for one might be charged with giving information of value to the enemy were one to tell the truth about the present supply of shipping.

"All who are informed as to the present supply of our shipping were thunderstruck at the statements of Secretary Baker before the Military Affairs Committee. His sanguine predictions as to our ability to ship men to Europe and to supply them when there are exaggerations of the wildest sort.

NO HOUSES FOR WORKMEN

"Another feature of the ship construction program is discouraging, and that is the failure of anybody to provide housing facilities for men who are necessary to build the ships. When the plans were made to construct hundreds of ships at high speed at various places along the coast, enormous contracts were let for the purpose and plans made on a vast scale. The Shipping Board in the past seemed to feel that all it had to do was to let the contracts or order the ships' construction. Now it has awakened to the fact that the plans cannot be carried out without the expenditure of millions of dollars in providing housing accommodations for the tens of thousands of men that are to be drawn together at the shipyards. This means more delay."

Senator Wadsworth of New York, a Republican, spoke in the same vein on Feb. 5, declaring that America was groping instead of progressing under an effective, co-ordinated war plan. The following day Secretary Baker was again called before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs for several hours of cross-examination. On Feb. 7 Representative Carter Glass of Virginia defended the Administration in a long speech in the House, counterattacking Senator Chamberlain's charges as foolish and harmful, and ascribing the shortcomings of the hour to the nation's former policy of unpreparedness, for which the present critics were as responsible as any one else.

Reorganization of the War Department

AS a result of the agitation for greater efficiency, a thoroughgoing reorganization of the War Department was outlined in an order issued by Secretary Baker on Feb. 10, 1918, directing the Chief of the General Staff to establish five divisions of the General Staff as follows:

1. An Executive Division under an executive assistant to the Chief of Staff.
2. A War Plans Division under a Director.
3. A Purchase and Supply Division under a Director.
4. A Storage and Traffic Division under a Director.
5. An Army Operations Division under a Director.

The Directors of all divisions were to be assistants to the Chief of Staff. Chiefs of all bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the military establishment were instructed to communicate directly with the heads of the staff divisions upon matters as to which the latter have control, and the division heads were authorized to act for the Secretary of War and Chief of Staff in such matters.

Secretary Baker's order emphasized the authority of the Chief of Staff, who, with the War Council, is the immediate adviser of the Secretary in all questions relating to the military establishment. "The planning of the army program in its entirety," the order said, "the constant development thereof in its larger "aspects, and the relation of this pro-"gram to the General Staff and the "entire army will be the duty of the "Chief of Staff and the War Council."

The duties of the Director of the Purchase and Supply Division were set forth in great detail and appear to have been so defined as to meet the complaints made by members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, who directed their criticisms very largely against the army purchasing system as supervised by the Council of National Defense. The scope of the Purchase and Supply Division was defined as follows:

> This division shall have cognizance of and supervision over supplies required for the use of the army, under an officer designated as the Director of Purchases and Supplies, who shall be an assistant to the Chief of Staff. The duties of this division shall include the following matter:
>
> 1. The supervision and direction of all purchase, procurement, and production activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
>
> 2. The co-ordination and correlation of the purchase and the procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
>
> 3. The representing of the army in all arrangements for co-ordinating the purchase and procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and agencies of the War Department with other agencies of the Government and with the Allies.
>
> 4. The determination of purchasing and manufacturing priorities between the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies within the War Department and in relation to other agencies of the Government, and also the determination of preference to be afforded to contractors for supplies in the matter of shortage of fuel, power, and raw materials.
>
> 5. The supervision and co-ordination of all appropriations, estimates, and requirements and other financial matters relating to the purchase of munitions and all other supplies.
>
> 6. There shall be in the Purchase and Supply Division the office of Surveyor General of Supplies under an officer or a civilian.
>
> It shall be the duty of the Surveyor General of Supplies to provide that all arrangements for the purchase, procurement, and production of all munitions and other supplies for the use of the army shall be so correlated and otherwise scheduled as most effectually to forward the army program and most advantageously utilize the industrial resources of the country.

A preliminary step to the reorganization of the army purchasing system was the appointment on Jan. 25 of Edward R. Stettinius, a member of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. For nearly two years prior to April 1, 1917, Mr. Stettinius had spent $100,000,000 a month as head of the export department of his banking house, and he was virtually the purchasing agent of the Allies in this country. At the start of the war the Allies were unprepared to purchase the materials they required from this country, and there grew up a band of prof-

iteers who made enormous profits, until the Allies decided to centre their buying in London, and the Morgan firm was named fiscal agent of the Entente in America. The Morgan business had no department peculiarly fitted to handle the enormous purchasing task. Mr. Morgan, in search of a man to organize and direct this important branch of his business, selected Mr. Stettinius, then President of the Diamond Match Company. A year later he became a partner in J. P. Morgan & Co. When the United States entered the war the opinion was expressed both by Mr. Morgan and the Washington authorities that the American Government should do the purchasing for the Allies here. When this arrangement was put into effect Mr. Stettinius turned to other branches of the Morgan business.

Mr. Stettinius is a native of St. Louis, a college graduate, and, before becoming prominent in the match business, was a stockholder. He is 52 years old.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March, it was announced on Feb. 6, was appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff, while General Bliss, Chief of Staff, then in France, was to continue on furlough as American military representative on the Interallied War Council. General March, at the time of his appointment, was Chief of Artillery under General Pershing in France. During the absence abroad of both Bliss and March, Major Gen. John Biddle was Acting Chief, and on General March's return to Washington became Assistant Chief of Staff to General March.

General March was born in Pennsylvania on Dec. 27, 1864, graduated from Lafayette College, where his father was a professor, and after serving as an artillery officer for fifteen years was appointed to the General Staff. He saw service on the Mexican border before returning to Washington in the Spring of 1917 to receive his orders to proceed to France as Chief of Artillery for the expeditionary forces.

What America Has Done for France

Statement by André Tardieu

French High Commissioner to the United States

Captain Tardieu, whose genius has arranged the complicated economic relations between France and the United States since our entry into the war, delivered the principal address on Feb. 6, 1918, *at a dinner given in New York by the Alliance Française to celebrate the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance between France and the young American Republic in* 1778. *The celebration, which was only one of* 188 *held by branches of the Alliance Française in the United States and Canada, was attended by Ambassador Jusserand and other officials of the French Diplomatic Service, as well as by officers of the French and American Armies. In the course of his specch Captain Tardieu gave this interesting summary of facts:*

WHAT we have suffered you know. Nearly 20,000 square kilometers of our country, the richest and the most productive, are in the hands of the enemy. Our population, diminished by the invasion of our northern territory, amounts only to 35,000,000 inhabitants. A little over 1,000,000 have been killed in battle, nearly 1,000,000 have been maimed and definitely invalided out of the war. Would you care to know the present strength of the French Army? Listen:

Officers and soldiers mobilized on Jan. 1, 1918, not including the native troops from the colonies and the workmen in the factories, amount to 4,725,000 men, of whom nearly 3,000,000 are in the army zone.

That is the number; do you wish to judge of their quality? The extent of the western front is 755 kilometers. Belgians hold 25, English 165, French 565. We hold, therefore, three-quarters of it. We have in front of us eighty German divisions; that means two-thirds of the German first-line troops and more than

half of the German reserve divisions. The Germans do not intrust to any one of their divisions a front larger than six kilometers; ours often hold nine kilometers each.

Americans who leave for France, these figures tell you what you will find over there: a country which has terribly suffered, but hardened to war and made greater by its sufferings; a country where our men in the line, thanks to the prodigious intensity of our mobilization, are more numerous than in 1914, a country which is neither unnerved, exhausted, nor bled white, a country which wants to vanquish and has the intent to vanquish.

Some more figures, if you please! What about our guns? We have in the line 15,000 guns of every calibre, and every day more than 300,000 shells are turned out by our factories. To get those guns, to produce those shells, we created an industry which did not exist before the war, and which has enabled us not only to arm ourselves, but also to arm our allies.

Without speaking of what we manufacture for you, and that is several hundred guns a month, we have during the last three years given to our allies in Europe 1,350,000 rifles, 15,000 automatic rifles, 10,000 machine guns, 800,000,000 cartridges, 2,500 guns, and 4,750 airplanes.

And the day when faithful Italy found herself in peril—a peril which is now averted—within a few hours we brought to her front the troops which prove the unbreakable brotherhood of our alliance.

Gentlemen, that is France, such as you must know her, you whose children are already fighting on her soil. Such is France, who for three years has awaited you, certain that you would come. You have come. How are you standing now? What have you done to prepare the immense effort which is imposed upon you? That is the second question which I would like to consider tonight.

This question, you know, I am in a good position to answer, as I have cooperated for nearly ten months, hour by hour, with every part of your war organization. This question I am answering at once with one sentence, with one word. What you have done is magnificent, worthy of your allies, worthy of yourselves.

To take a right view of the work you have achieved one must trace back the last few years. What was at that time the American gospel? No war risks; no mixing in European conflicts; no compulsory military service; a very small army; a minimum of Federal legislation, leaving to local communities and to the individual a maximum of liberty. Within a few months, within a few weeks, war, which German imperialism imposed upon you, as it had imposed it upon us three years ago, compelled you to modify your ideas, your laws, your ethics, and to arm yourselves for the battle.

First, the American Army. To recruit it, in spite of the reluctance caused by a century-old tradition, you did not recoil before the radical measure of draft. In less than a month the decision was taken. With the co-operation of a national discipline which never gave way, the draft has been enforced on the whole territory without any trouble. No event of wider import has ever taken place since the beginning of war.

In April, 1917, you had 9,524 officers and 202,510 men. You have now 110,000 officers and 1,500,000 men, and the number of your men in France at the present moment is notably in excess of the establishment of your army nine months ago.

To equip this army with guns and airplanes, you called upon your allies for the supply of your immediate needs, and you started simultaneously a program of American manufacturing. Some people, in Europe as well as here, have been wondering why you should not, in that respect, have done everything by yourselves. This criticism shows that those people do not know firstly what time means in war, and secondly, how infinitely complicated is the industrial war organization which from the very start is required by an extensive production of ordnance and aviation.

As regards aviation, the results already obtained in the United States are, in my opinion, above all expectations. Within six months you have brought out the Liberty motor, which, if not of higher value than the best existing types, is equal to them, and once standardized will be manufactured in large quantities; by

the thousands. On the other hand, my technical experts declare that the organization of your aviation schools is excellent in general, and that almost everywhere your pilots are now ready, after a final training, to start their work on the battle front.

As regards ordnance, the adoption without any modification of our various types of guns would certainly have saved some time to the benefit of the American production, and some delays may be the consequence of the improvements you are looking for, always, and rightly at that, aiming at better results. But as we have agreed, it was understood that you should supply and transport to France the necessary raw materials; we will, under such conditions, be able, in France, to deliver to you before July 1 enough guns thoroughly to equip twenty of your divisions. The situation, therefore, is completely safe in that respect.

Let us consider the financial help. The Allies have received from you in ten months $4,236,000,000. To grant them this help without interfering with your own needs Congress has authorized expenses to the amount of $22,000,000,000.

American aid to the Allies has taken still other forms. I wish to mention the methodical and sustained action of the Food Administration, the Railroad Administration, the Shipping Board, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board. I am in daily touch with all these boards. I know the difficulties that they have to contend with. I know the results that they achieve.

During the month of December last the High Commission called the attention of the Shipping Board to a crisis affecting very seriously our supply in gasoline and oil for the first two months of 1918. Today the measures taken by the board allow me to state that this imminent peril is absolutely overcome for those two months.

Last Jan. 17, when arriving in New York I found thirty-seven ships unable to sail for France on account of lack of coal. On Jan. 18 the restriction orders for coal were issued by the Fuel Administration, and when I left New York on the 22d all our ships had coal.

More recently I have found myself obliged, together with my allied colleagues, to draw the attention of Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Hoover to the insufficient arrivals of cereals in the American ports. I am convinced that the measures which were immediately studied and decided upon unanimously will bring for the next month a decisive improvement. Their execution has already begun.

Judging things as a whole, I declare without any restriction and without any reserve that by its war policy the United States Government has well earned the praise of its allies and of civilization, for which we are fighting together.

The Coal Crisis and "Heatless Days"

America's First War Emergency

SHORTAGE of coal, or rather shortage of facilities to transport coal, was the cause of the first serious economic crisis which the United States had to face after its entry into the war. Coal production for 1917 showed a considerable increase over 1916, but the shortage of cars and the general condition of congestion at terminals continued to make it increasingly difficult to move coal from the sources of production to the centres of consumption. Drastic measures became necessary, and finally Dr. H. A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, with the approval and support of President Wilson, ordered a general close-down of industry throughout the United States east of the Mississippi for five consecutive days and the limitation of the working week to five days during the nine weeks following.

The origins of the trouble were complicated by war conditions and conflicting interests. In May, 1917, a committee on coal production, with Francis Peabody as Chairman, was appointed by the Council of Defense.

Late in June it summoned to a confer-

ence 400 coal operators. The operators were met by Secretaries Lane and Daniels, by ex-Governor Fort of the Federal Trade Commission, and Assistant Attorney General Williams, who addressed the operators in substantially identical terms. The price of coal had been steadily rising until it had reached $5.50 or $6 a ton. The coal operators' committee finally fixed the price (at the mine) by agreement among the operators at $3 a ton east of Pittsburgh and $2.75 to the west.

Then, on July 1, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Council of Defense, repudiated the agreement, despite the approval of other members of the Government, on the ground that the price was exorbitant and oppressive. There was, in consequence, no regulated price for coal, and for nearly two months the operators continued to get the same prices as before, until at last, on Aug. 21, President Wilson, at the suggestion of Federal Trade Commissioner W. B. Colver, fixed the price at $2.50 a ton. During this period, between July 1 and Aug. 21, many consumers delayed buying, and orders for many millions of tons throughout the country were canceled. The result was that there was no movement of coal during the three Summer months when the railroads formerly made a differential rate. Deliveries by the railroads in large quantities thus were begun three months later. It was this delay which largely helped to cause the crisis.

Dr. Garfield, who was appointed Fuel Administrator late in August, was continuously the target of criticism by the coal operators, partly because of his ruling that no men of actual experience in the coal business should serve on any of the coal administration committees of the several States, but mainly because there was a definite opposition of interests between the Government and the operators. Late in September Dr. Garfield fixed the price of coal at $2 a ton, which was still the basic price when the coal crisis came.

The extent to which the railroads contributed to create conditions making for the industrial close-down was variously estimated. According to Federal Trade Commissioner Colver, the railroads alone were to blame for the plight in which the country found itself in January, 1918. They had, he said, refused to render the full measure of car service of which they were capable, and had done so deliberately to make it appear that their demands for greater financial returns were justified. Similar views were expressed by miners' leaders among the 1,500 delegates to the biennial convention at Indianapolis on Jan. 16 of the United Mine Workers of America. John P. White, ex-President of the Miners' Union, and now Labor Adviser to the National Fuel Administration, said that it was not a question of production, but of transportation. There were miles and miles of loaded coal cars that were not moving. Frank T. Hayes, President of the Miners' Union, said that if the miners had been provided with an adequate car supply during 1917 there never would have been an industry nor a domestic consumer suffering from the deplorable condition with which 1918 opened.

The principle adopted by the Fuel Administration to relieve the situation was that of conservation. Dr. Garfield on Jan. 8 announced that industries classed as "not absolutely necessary to the conduct of the war" must curtail their use of coal by at least 50,000,000 tons during 1918 in order to assure ample supplies for the war activities and domestic consumption and relieve congestion on the transportation lines.

Without waiting for directors of industry to initiate measures of conservation, the Government was obliged to deal with the situation, which, in the middle of January, was becoming increasingly acute. A period of the severest weather on record had intervened to make the coal trouble still worse. Nevertheless, there was much adverse criticism when Dr. Garfield issued an order closing down all factories throughout the United States east of the Mississippi River for five days, Jan. 18 to 22, inclusive, and on nine subsequent Mondays beginning Jan. 28. The only factories exempted from this order were those engaged in the production of foodstuffs.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, P. C., M. P.

Who left the British War Cabinet to take up the leadership of the reorganized British Labor Party.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)

GERMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS

WILHELM DITTMAN

Reichstag deputy sent to jail for aiding strikers.
(Press Illus. Photo.)

HUGO HAASE

Leader of the Independent Socialists in the Reichstag.
(Bain Photo.)

GEORG LEDEBOUR

Advocate of a German democratic republic.
(Press Illus. Photo.)

KARL KAUTSKY

Dismissed from editorship of Neue Zeit for opposing Scheidemann.
(Press Illus. Photo.)

This action, admittedly more drastic than any adopted by any of the nations at war, was decided upon after a series of conferences between Government officials at which the situation was carefully canvassed. The facts were laid in detail before President Wilson, who approved of Dr. Garfield's order. The only concession to the war industries, including the steel mills, was the promise of a sufficient supply of coal to keep their plants from "going cold."

The majority of business establishments and offices were forced to suspend work on the "heatless" Mondays, though some "carried on" at the expense of great discomfort. Many buildings were also without light. Theatres and other places of amusement, cafés, and saloons were prohibited from using fuel for heating purposes. But as Monday became virtually a holiday, theatres and places of amusement were permitted to open on that day and to close down Tuesday instead. Even cigar stores were closed. Only stores for the sale of food and drugs remained open. The streets of the large cities were more deserted than on Sundays.

The greatest hardship was suffered by the working class. Several million men and women were rendered idle, and in the great majority of cases they lost their wages. From their point of view the close-down was equivalent to a lockout, while from that of the public it was as if a general strike had been declared. The paralysis of trade and industry evoked many protests from employers and workers alike, but, after the first shock of surprise, there was soon a general disposition to accept the close-down as necessary to the execution of the war plans. The national standpoint was outlined by a statement issued by President Wilson on Jan. 18:

> I was, of course, consulted by Mr. Garfield before the fuel order of yesterday was issued, and fully agreed with him that it was necessary, much as I regretted the necessity.
>
> This war calls for many sacrifices, and sacrifices of the sort called for by this order are infinitely less than sacrifices of life which might otherwise be involved. It is absolutely necessary to get the ships away, it is absolutely necessary to relieve the congestion at the ports and upon the railways, it is absolutely necessary to move great quantities of food, and it is absolutely necessary that our people should be warmed in their homes, if nowhere else, and halfway measures would not have accomplished the desired ends.
>
> If action such as this had not been taken, we should have limped along from day to day with a slowly improving condition of affairs with regard to the shipment of food and of coal, but without such immediate relief as had become absolutely necessary because of the congestions of traffic which have been piling up for the last few months.
>
> I have every confidence that the result of action of this sort will justify it and that the people of the country will loyally and patriotically respond to necessities of this kind as they have to every other sacrifice involved in the war. We are upon a war footing, and I am confident that the people of the United States are willing to observe the same sort of discipline that might be involved in the actual conflict itself.

In the result many thousands of tons of coal were saved on each of the "heatless days," and it was found possible to issue a list of exempt industries, and subsequently extend this list. The congestion of freight was gradually relieved, though not rapidly enough to ease the situation to the extent required. Accordingly, another temporary check was put on industry in the Eastern United States on Jan. 23 when Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads, ordered an official embargo on all new shipments of freight except fuel, food, and a few war necessities on the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburgh, the Baltimore & Ohio lines east of the Ohio River, and the Philadelphia & Reading system. The effect of the embargo order was to stop the loading of all freight except under the exempted classes on any of the cars of these lines. Industries not essential to the war were permitted to continue production to the capacity of their coal supply and storage warehouses, but were unable to send it out upon the railroads to add to the congestion.

A further development of the Fuel Administration's control of the supply of coal was the institution of a zone system in the East. J. D. A. Morrow, who had recently been General Secretary of the National Coal Association, representing

the bituminous operators, and previously Assistant Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission and Commissioner of the Pittsburgh Coal Producers' Association, was appointed by Dr. Garfield to head a new division of the Fuel Administration to take exclusive charge of all movements of coal from producer to consumer. The purpose of the new division was to decentralize partially apportionment and distribution. The zone system was another attempt to relieve freight congestion throughout the East, which was still serious enough to make it necessary to maintain the embargo on general merchandise and intensify efforts to move coal and food.

This, the first serious breakdown in the economic organization of the United States since entering the war, tended to increase the powers of the Central Government and to impress upon American business men, accustomed to individual initiative, the prime necessity of co-ordination.

At this stage, therefore, a new phase opened in the work of making the nation's industrial mobilization more efficient along the lines laid down in the President's statement quoted above.

The Volunteer's Mother

By SARAH BENTON DUNN

[This poem, which first appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of July 3, 1917, has comforted and inspired so many mothers of soldiers that it deserves a permanent nook in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

He was so beautiful—my baby son!
His sun-kissed curls clung close around his head,
His deep blue eyes looked trustingly in mine.
I did my best to keep his beauty fair
And fresh and clean and dainty, for I knew
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so strong and well, my little son!
I gave my days and nights to keep him so—
Called in fresh air and sunlight to my aid,
Good food and play, all healthful things of life.
I wanted physical perfection, for
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so bright and clever, my big son!
I sent him to the very best of schools,
Denying self that he might know no lack
Of opportunity to do his best,
Or feel no door of progress closed to him.
I never could be satisfied with less.

And yet—but now—my well-beloved son,
For your perfection can I pay the price?
Or would I have you play the coward's part,
With selfish, shriveled soul too small to dwell
Within so fair a frame? Is that my choice?
I sought the best! Shall I be satisfied with less?

Nay, I would have you honorable, my son—
Just, loyal, brave, and truthful, scorning fear
And lies and meanness—ready to defend
Your home, your mother, and your country's flag.
He's gone! Dear God! With bleeding heart I know
I still could not be satisfied with less!

Case of United States Against Germany

Senator Owen's Resolution

SENATOR OWEN, United States Senator from Oklahoma, introduced in the Senate on Jan. 31, 1918, a concurrent resolution committing the United States Congress to the support of the nation's war aims as stated by President Wilson in his address of Jan. 8. Mr. Owen's summary of the reasons for the entrance of the United States into the war, as set forth in the resolution, is a compact recital. It is printed in full herewith:

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) The United States declared a state of war existing between the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria and the United States because of their repeated willful violations of the rights of the people of the United States under the acknowledged principles of international law; the sinking of unarmed merchant vessels and of hospital and Red Cross ships; the destruction of the lives of unoffending American citizens on their lawful business on the high seas on many occasions; filling the United States with spies and secret agents; conspiring the wholesale destruction of American industries by arson, by explosions, and murder; systematically promoting sedition and treason among our citizens, and the criminal violation of our laws by the German and Austrian aliens residing in the United States; endeavoring to incite the hostility and aversion of other nations against the United States, and to persuade Mexico and Japan to make war upon the United States, and many other wrongful acts contrary to the laws of nations and in violation of justice and of humanity; and for the further reason that it had finally become known to the United States from indisputable evidence that the military masters of Germany and Austria had deliberately and secretly conspired to bring about an elaborately prepared offensive war by which and through which they intended, first, to dominate Europe, nation by nation, and then to dominate the other unprepared nations of the earth and establish a military world dominion.

For many years past the governing powers of Germany and Austria have by worldwide intrigue carried on a systematic attempt to disorganize public opinion in the United States and in the other nations of the world for the purpose of breaking down the powers of resistance of other nations against the conspiracy for world dominion by exciting nation against nation and internal disorders among the nations that might oppose this sinister design.

The United States has not forgotten that the military rulers of Germany and Austria deliberately prevented international agreements at the various Hague Conventions for arbitration of international differences, abatement of armaments, and world peace.

A War of Spoliation

The United States recognizes this war as an offensive war of the completely prepared German and Austrian military autocracies against the unsuspecting and inadequately prepared democracies of the world in pursuance of the policy laid down in the first and second articles of the secret treaty of Verona of Nov. 22, 1822, in which the autocratic rulers of Prussia and Austria solemnly pledged their powers to each other to overthrow all "representative" Governments on earth, the consummation of which design the Prussian and Austrian autocratic group has steadily and secretly kept in view, and that this war had for its objects the premeditated slaughter and robbery of the innocent peoples of other nations for the sordid and base purposes of annexation, indemnity, robbery, and commercial profit by military force and terrorism and ultimate world dominion.

The United States finally recognized the unavoidable necessity of meeting the forces of this military conspiracy on the battlefields of Europe in order to prevent the military rulers of Germany and Austria from succeeding in the first step of mastering Europe as a means of mastering and robbing America.

The United States cannot be deceived by those military leaders of Germany and Austria who now, before their own people, pretend to be waging a war of defense and to desire an honorable peace, but whose every act has clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they deliberately planned and are still persisting in this unspeakably brutal war, with their sinister purposes unchanged, and which they are still attempting to carry out by terrorism, intrigue, and systematic falsehood and deceit at home and abroad.

The United States cannot confide in any statement or promise emanating from such a perfidious source until the German and Austrian people in fact and in sober truth

can control the conduct of their agents and compel them to observe the rules of morality and good faith.

The United States did not enter this war for material advantage or for any selfish purpose, or to gratify either malice or ambition.

Our Peace Terms

The United States will not approve of forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities, even on the misguided people of Austria or of Germany, but demands the complete evacuation of all territory invaded during the present war by the German and Austrian troops, and the restoration and indemnity of Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro.

The United States believes that righting the wrong done to the French people by the Prussian Government in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine will remove long-pending grievances due to previous military aggression and will promote future world peace.

The United States believes that a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognized lines of nationality; that an independent Polish State should be established over territory indisputably occupied by Polish people; that the peoples of Austria-Hungary, of the Balkans, and of the Ottoman Empire should have the right of autonomous development.

The United States will favor recognizing and protecting by an international alliance the territorial integrity of all nations, great and small; the maintenance of the right of unembarrassed self-determination of all nations, and the right of such nations to manage their own affairs by internal self-government; and safeguarding the rights of backward peoples by international agreement.

The United States will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war.

The United States will insist that the oceans and high seas and international waterways and canals shall be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations; that all nations shall have the untaxed right of access to the sea of their goods in bond, through any intervening territory to the seaports of other nations, with equal access to shipping facilities.

The United States will favor the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equal trade conditions among all the nations of the world consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance, without interfering with the right of any nation to govern its own imports and exports.

The United States will insist that adequate guarantees shall be given and taken to the end that national armaments on land and sea should be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

Germany and Russia

The unbounded ambition and deceit of the Prussian military autocrats are again exposed in shameless nakedness before the German and Austrian people, their allies, and the world at large in their present demands of annexation of adjacent Russian territory and other demands contemplating the domination of the Russian and Polish people in flat violation of their own Reichstag's recent pledges against annexation and indemnity.

The United States feels for the Russian people the liveliest sympathy in their great losses in life and property at the hands of the German and Austrian autocrats, as well as their magnificent and glorious struggles in behalf of freedom and democratic world peace.

Having passed through many severe tests and trials in establishing popular government in America, the people of the United States, through their own directly elected representatives, desire to extend to the Russian people the cordial hand of fellowship in their new-found freedom and to assure their democratic brothers in Russia that we earnestly desire to render them, so far as possible, every assistance they may need and which they themselves desire.

The United States will favor an open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose titles are to be determined.

The United States recognizes that a general association of civilized nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to nations, great and small alike, and of maintaining world peace, and believes that under such a system dissatisfied peoples now held under subjection to dominating nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty and autonomy, as the rights of the dominant nation would be made safe by the general association of nations and the subject nation would cease to be a coveted asset against future war.

Punishing Aggression

The United States believes that under such general association of nations it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation, on any alleged ground, to invade by military power the territorial limits of another nation, and that the penalty for such invasions should be the immedi-

ate international blockade of the invading and offending nation, an embargo on all mail, express, and freight to and from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the combined forces of the general association of nations organized for the protection of world peace.

The United States believes that all future international treaties should be made in the open, where all the world may know of the proceedings in the framing of such treaties, and that secret diplomacy and international intrigue should end.

The United States desires to be on friendly terms, political, commercial, and social, with the people of every nation, including those now under the control of the German and Austrian military autocracies, and to restore as speedily as possible these friendly relations with the German and Austrian people as soon as they organize a Government responsible to the will of the people of Germany and Austria and whenever they shall themselves demonstrate a willingness to deal with the other nations of the world on a basis of equality, justice, and humanity and are willing to abandon the atrocious and detestable doctrine of making war for annexation, indemnity, and profit.

The United States entered this war to protect the rights of its own citizens to life and liberty, to protect its own future, to make the world safe from the future menace of military despotism, dynastic ambitions, or competing armaments, to establish permanent world peace on a basis of international justice, righteousness, and humanity, and, in co-operation with the self-governing belligerent nations, will maintain these principles, whatever the cost, with firmness and resolution until these ends are fully accomplished.

This resolution was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. On the same day Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a resolution in which the Congress of the United States pledged itself to the support of the independence of small nations, and gave assurances that they should be represented at the Peace Conference, also pledging the United States to a league of peace after the war. This resolution, likewise, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Lewis of Illinois, the Democratic whip, two weeks previously had introduced a resolution approving in detail the fourteen propositions set forth in the President's address. This was referred to the same committee.

A German Exposure of the Hohenzollern Plot

Herr Thyssen's Revelations

SENATOR OWEN in the course of his remarks introducing the resolution printed above put into the record a pamphlet written by a German capitalist, August Thyssen, who has violently attacked the Hohenzollern dynasty for precipitating the war. Herr Thyssen is one of the chief iron, coal, and steel magnates of Central Germany. He is 78 years of age. Thyssen possessed until the beginning of the war huge mines, ironworks, docks, and even harbors, in British India, in other English colonial dependencies, as well as in France and in Russia, all of which have been sequestrated by the Governments of these three powers as property belonging to the German foe. He has vast docks and shipbuilding works at Vlaardingen, near Rotterdam. He controls the Vulcan Iron and Steamship Building Company of Germany. Herr Thyssen's pamphlet is as follows:

I am writing this pamphlet because I want to open the eyes of Germans, especially of the business community, to facts. When the Hohenzollerns wanted to get the support of the commercial class for their war plans, they put their ideas before us as a business proposition. A large number of business and commercial men were asked to support the Hohenzollern war policy on the ground that it would pay them to do so. Let me frankly confess that I am one of those who were led to agree to support the Hohenzollern war plan when this appeal was made to the leading business men of Germany in 1912-13. I was led to do so, however, against my better judgment.

In 1912 the Hohenzollerns saw that the war had become a necessity to the preservation of the military system, upon which their power depends. In that year the Hohenzollerns might have directed, if they had desired, the foreign affairs of our country so that peace would have been assured in Europe for at least fifty years. But prolonged peace would have resulted certainly in the breakup of our military system, and with the breakup of our military system the power of the

Hohenzollerns would come to an end. The Emperor and his family, as I said, clearly understood this, and they, therefore, in 1912, decided to embark on a great war of conquest.

But to do this they had to get the commercial community to support them in their aims. They did this by holding out to them hopes of great personal gain as a result of the war. In the light of events that have taken place since August, 1914, these promises now appear supremely ridiculous, but most of us at the time were led to believe that they would probably be realized.

Promises of Vast Conquest

I was personally promised a free grant of 30,000 acres in Australia and a loan from the Deutsch Bank of £150,000, at 3 per cent., to enable me to develop my business in Australia. Several other firms were promised special trading facilities in India, which was to be conquered by Germany, be it noted, by the end of 1915. A syndicate was formed for the exploitation of Canada. This syndicate consisted of the heads of twelve great firms; the working capital was fixed at £20,000,000, half of which was to be found by the German Government.

There were, I have heard, promises made of a more personal character. For example, the "conquest of England" was to be made the occasion of bestowing upon certain favored and wealthy men some of the most desirable residences in England, but of this I have no actual proof.

Every trade and interest was appealed to. Huge indemnities were, of course, to be levied on the conquered nations, and the fortunate German manufacturers were, by this means, practically to be relieved of taxation for years after the war.

These promises were not vaguely given. They were made definitely by Bethmann Hollweg on behalf of the Emperor to gatherings of business men, and in many cases to individuals. I have mentioned the promise of a grant of 30,000 acres in Australia that was made to me. Promises of a similar kind were made to at least eighty other persons at special interviews with the Chancellor, and all particulars of these promises were entered in a book at the Trades Department.

But not only were these promises made by the Chancellor; they were confirmed by the Emperor, who, on three occasions, addressed large private gatherings of business men in Berlin, Munich, and Cassel in 1912 and 1913. I was at one of these gatherings. The Emperor's speech was one of the most flowery orations I have listened to, and so profuse were the promises he made that were even half of what he promised to be fulfilled, most of the commercial men in Germany would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. "India," he said, "is occupied by "the British. It is in a way goverened by "the British, but it is by no means com- "pletely governed by them. We shall not "merely occupy India. We shall conquer "it, and the vast revenues that the Brit- "ish allow to be taken by Indian Princes "will, after our conquest, flow in a "golden stream into the Fatherland. In "all the richest lands of the earth the "German flag will fly over every other "flag."

Finally the Emperor concluded:

"I am making you no promises that "cannot be redeemed, and they shall be "redeemed if you are now prepared to "make the sacrifices which are neces- "sary to secure the position that our "country must and shall occupy in the "world. He who refuses to help is a "traitor to the Fatherland; he who helps "willingly and generously will have his "rich reward."

All sounded, I admit, tempting and alluring, and though there were some who viewed rather dubiously the prospect of Germany being able to conquer the world in a year, the majority of business and commercial men agreed to support the Hohenzollern war plans. Most of them have since wished they had never paid any attention to them.

According to the promises of the Hohenzollern, victory was to have been acheived in December, 1915, and the promises made to myself and other commercial men in Germany when our money for the Kaiser's war chest was wanted were to have been then redeemed.

Charges Imperial Blackmail

But this is what has happened in reality: In December of 1916 the Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, began to have interviews once more with business men. The purpose of these interviews was to get more money from them. Guarantees were asked from seventy-five business men in Germany, including myself, that they would undertake to subscribe £200,000,000 to the next war loan. I was personally asked to guarantee a subscription of £200,000. I declined to give this guarantee; so did some others. I was then favored with a private interview with Bethmann Hollweg's private secretary, who told me that if I declined to give the guarantee and subsequently the money I would lose a contract I had with the War Office. But not only that—I was threatened with the practical ruin of my business if I did not give the guarantee.

I described this demand as blackmail of the worst sort and refused to guar-

antee a mark to the war loan. Two months later I lost my contract, and the greater part of my business has been taken over at a figure that means confiscation. Moreover, I am not to get paid until after the war, but am to receive 4 per cent. on the purchase price. Every man who declined to promise a subscription to the amount he was asked has been treated in the same manner.

The majority of men, however, preferred to pay rather than to be ruined, and so the Hohenzollerns in the main got their way. But, apart from the blackmailing of men who refused to pay any more money into the Hohenzollern war chest, let us see how the Hohenzollerns' promises are working out. A circular was sent out last March to a large number of business men by the Foreign Trade Department which contained the following suggestion:

Preparing for the Reckoning

"It will be wise for employers who have "foreign trade interests to employ agents "in foreign countries who can pass them- "selves off as being of French or English "birth. German agents and travelers will "probably for some time after the war "have difficulty in doing business not "only in enemy countries but in neutral "countries. There will undoubtedly be a "personal prejudice against Germans that "would probably make it difficult for rep- "resentatives of German firms to do busi- "ness. Although this prejudice will not "interfere with German trade, as it will "be merely of a personal character, it will "facilitate trading transactions if employ- "ers will employ agents who can pass as "French or English, preferably, or as "Dutch, American, or Spanish."

So this is the prospect we are faced with after the war. The meaning of this circular in plain language is this: So loathed and hated have Germans become outside their own country that no one will want to have any personal dealings with them after the war.

A large number of businesses are, moreover, being secretly bolstered up with State aid. A condition of this aid is that the owners of the businesses receiving it shall agree to accept a considerable degree of State control over their business after the war. This is part and parcel of a plan on the part of the Hohenzollerns to get the commercial classes thoroughly into their grip before the end of the war, and so minimize the chances of a revolution.

These men who have agreed to accept aid now for their businesses, and State control after the war, have received a notification from the Foreign Trade Department to the effect that, with proper organization, Germany ought to recover her pre-war trade three years after peace is declared. Here is the Hohenzollern method of redeeming promises. We are to get back our pre-war trade three years after peace is declared, and to do this we must submit to have our trading transactions controlled and supervised by the State.

Can any German to whom such prospects are held out by the Emperor fail to see that he has been bamboozled and humbugged and fooled into supporting a war from which the utmost he can hope to gain is to come out of it without national bankruptcy?

How Canadians Voted Under Fire

During the elections in Canada in November, 1917, the Canadian troops in France cast their votes where they stood in the firing trenches or at their guns. A correspondent wrote:

The most dramatic of all incidents of the war election to date has been the securing of the votes of men wounded in action. Deputy presiding officers, scrutineers, and poll clerks have brought their ballot boxes with them to advanced dressing stations and voted men as they lay in bed—men who were so weak from suffering that it was all they could do to mark their ballots. Election officers have taken their boxes with them on tramways, behind the lines, and voted men practically as they worked. In the same way they have gone through the front-line trenches, giving the men in the firing line their opportunity to exercise the franchise. Officials have worked all day and far into the night and risked their lives to secure to every possible man an adequate opportunity to exercise the franchise. One poll clerk has been seriously wounded, a presiding officer has been sent down to the base as a casualty, and one gunner voting beside his gun was hit by shrapnel. Polling booths have been damaged by shellfire and by bombs, but there has been no serious interruption to election work, and above all no interference with actual war operations.

Economic Distress in Germany

Statement by the Rev. Aloysius Daniels

[*A Priest Stationed at Marathon, Wis.*]

The Rev. Aloysius Daniels arrived at New York from Germany on Feb. 2, 1918, after a two months' journey. He had been imprisoned in Westphalia for defending President Wilson, the court holding that he had "misused German hospitality." Upon his release he was permitted to go to Switzerland, and from there went to France and sailed in January.

IT is beyond understanding how human beings can endure what the Germans have had to suffer during the last few years. I have known men who have lost from 80 to 100 pounds from lack of nourishment. There is now no middle class. Those who belonged to that class have now descended to the poorest of the poor.

I have seen women who before the war lived in comfortable and refined surroundings forced to sweep the streets to support their families, while their husbands are out in the German trenches cursing the German Kultur for which they are forced to fight. The upper classes are living on the poor people. They own the war plants, the munition factories, and their money is piling up in Prussian banks.

[In referring to the strikes in February and reports of increasing unrest and dissatisfaction in Germany, the priest declared he was not surprised.]

This dissatisfaction has been steadily growing since the latter part of 1915, and it culminated in the riots and strikes of 1916. At that time strikes and riots occurred in every industrial centre in Germany, and it was at that time that all the police who had been sent to the front had to be recalled to aid the military in suppressing the strikers. They are still there in the big cities and industrial centres, which shows that uprisings are continuously expected.

FOOD LACKING EVERYWHERE

Most of the meat in the butcher shops is horse meat, and even that is very scarce. Horse meat sells for $2.75 a pound. The best food conditions are present in Germany after the crops have been gathered, and even then a prohibitive scale of prices remains. Then the people are allowed but one pound of potatoes a day, five ounces of meat a day, eight pounds of flour a week, and but five ounces of butter a week. Dairy produce is extremely scarce, and only the rich can afford it.

A woman who works twelve and fourteen hours a day must live on this food, and sometimes she cannot even get that ration, especially during the Winter months. The effect of the lack of nourishing food is shown in Germany today in the dreadful falling off in the birth rate. It has truly fallen away to practically nothing. Children of 5 and 6 years die rapidly after months of starving.

Germany only cares for those who can aid her in prosecuting the war. This has led to a brutal neglect of the aged. Those who happen to go to a police station, where all permits for food are given out, and ask permission to buy milk or eggs for a sick person are immediately asked, "How old is the sick man?"

If the person who is ill is beyond any age of active service food is at once refused. "That man is of no use to us. We have nothing for him," is the customary reply. Hunger has driven thousands to theft in their desperation, and this in spite of the fact that heavy sentences are dealt out to these offenders. A man found guilty of stealing a loaf of bread for his family is given from three weeks to a month in prison. In one morning, while I was in a Berlin court, I saw fifteen starving persons sent to jail for food thefts.

[Father Daniels said that the soldiers themselves when home on furlough help

to spread the dissatisfaction that is spreading all over the country. He continued:]

I have heard them cursing the Kaiser, and their feeling against the military is most bitter. They, of course, are guarded in their utterances except when among friends, for any of them found criticising the Government are shot down like dogs. Before I left I saw the 18-year-old boys of Germany drafted, and a relative of mine who was still in school was taken away. It is among these boys that insanity develops quickly after they are sent into the trenches, and the asylums are full to overflowing with soldiers crazed by the horrors that they have witnessed.

The German people do not get any true news of the war. The strikes and riots of 1916 were only quelled when the papers in the empire declared that the submarine warfare would bring England to her knees in three months. When the three months were over and there were no signs of peace, patriotic feeling was again revived by anti-Wilson propaganda. The main story was to the effect that President Wilson had been bought by England.

ADVICE TO PROPAGANDISTS

[In conclusion Father Daniels gives this opinion of German Kultur:]

I know now what it means, and there is nothing too fiendish to class under it. It means taking schoolboys, giving them a gun, and sending them out to do a man's work in the trenches. It means undermining the health of the German woman, putting her to cleaning the streets, making the munitions, and at the same time starving her. It means making of the children of Germany a race of starved, diseased boys and girls. It means deserting the old men and women and refusing them nourishment because they cannot help the Kaiser carry on his war program. It means everything that is cruel, unjust, and inhuman to the people upon whom it falls.

I have seen German Kultur at its worst, and I say God help the poor mortals who must live with it. If any man spreading German propaganda in this country and secretly praising the Kaiser could go and live under the conditions I have seen, he would be very glad to return to the United States and thank God he had been fortunate enough to receive the blessings of a democratic Government.

Suffering and Unrest in Berlin

A traveler from Germany who reached London on Jan. 10 gave this report of conditions at Berlin:

The situation in Berlin is absolutely awful. For the great mass of the population there is hardly any light, warmth, clothing, or boots, and an appalling lack of food. The work of the city is carried on by decrepit men, and by women who are reduced to nearly the same condition. "On one occasion I saw a coal cart with Russian prisoners in the driver's seat, and four women, literally in rags, carrying the bags of coal into a house." The linen worn by both sexes is abominally dirty, for there is no soap with which to wash it.

There is an intensely bitter feeling among the people against the Government, and there would undoubtedly be a revolt but for the fact, as the people are always saying, that "women cannot make a revolution." The Government knows all this, and forbids able-bodied men returning to Berlin from the front. Officers are allowed to return there only in exceptional circumstances.

Hindenburg is loathed by the people of Berlin. Placards with the picture of Hindenburg (such as those with Kitchener's picture in England at the beginning of the war) urging the population to subscribe to loans, to hold out, &c., are torn off by the people, though in South Germany they are not touched. All over Berlin little notices are posted up offering a reward of 3,000 marks ($750) to any one giving information of persons who say anything against the Government, the Emperor, the war, or officers.

The population of Berlin is divided roughly into three classes. The upper, military class, which adores Hindenburg and hates Ludendorff; the middle class,

which loves Ludendorff, and the lower, working class, which loathes Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and especially the Emperor. This latter class ridicules the Crown Prince unmercifully. Otherwise nobody speaks of the imperial family, which has ceased to be a dominant factor.

The well-to-do classes get along fairly comfortably, because the necessaries of life can be purchased if one can afford to give fabulous sums for them. A ham, for example, can be bought for $70.

A special dinner at a restaurant for three people, costing $12.50, consisted of soup that was practically warm water, some tiny fishes, ("people now eat the fishes' heads,") a fragment of some sort of meat, a few carrots, and a piece of turnip boiled in water, and some pudding that was uneatable. Some officers were dining at a neighboring table, and one of them said, "The English have already won the war," for which he was taken severely to task by the others.

The New Paris and Its Daily Life

Described by John Bell

What are the greatest changes that forty months of war have effected in the life of Paris? After a patient search I think I have discovered them. Though the war has not repressed Gallic gayety, it has proved a corrective in that it has restricted the area of amusements, revised tastes, and, as will be seen shortly, it will control appetites.

We are living in a new and chastened Paris. Here are a few pictures of the new city as I see it today. The Grand Boulevards—from the Madeleine to the Bonne Nouvelle—are crowded as of old. Morning or afternoon, whether there are fitful gleams of sunshine or "chill November's surly blasts" sweep the leaves from the trees, they are a blaze of color and movement. The horizon blue uniforms of French officers mingle with British and American khaki and Italian gray-green, with here and there a red fez and a black face; and the gray days do not exclude touches of color from women's toilets. At nighttime the same crowd—but with civilian black predonderating—jostling and good-humored. The cafés and terraces are full. At half-past 9 shrill whistles and distinctive clapping of hands are heard. No need to ask what these sounds portend. They are the signals that the closing hour is come. There is no grace. The cafés empty as if by magic.

By 10 o'clock the crowds on the boulevards have melted away.

Nine o'clock in the evening. The Rue Blanche, that long, narrow street leading to the Heights of Montmartre, is dark, silent, and deserted—like a village street when the shutters are closed. Perhaps things will be more lively in the Boulevard Clichy, which aforetime scintillated with lights from restaurants, theatres, and freak show places. Illusion. This artery of Paris, to which those in search of amusement hied, could not be more subdued. The show places, with their hideous façades—plaster heads of monsters with bulging eyes in which the electric light shone, and huge teeth, and the fantastic forms of humans and animals—are in darkness. Il n'y a plus.

Chastened by the horrors and sorrows of war, people are not in the mood to tolerate these inanities. That is why they have gone. Yet the cabaret is still there, bravely struggling to maintain itself as an institution. In the Boulevard Rochechouart, which vied with the Boulevard Clichy in attracting the foreigner, a long-haired gentleman wearing a brown velvet jacket shouts his program for the evening. It seems a work of supererogation. The passers-by are rare.

Life on the Left Bank is even less attractive. The Boulevard Saint Michel! It is a new Pays Latin. No sparkling lights, no movement, no sounds of students' revels. I walk from the Place Saint Michel to the Jardin du Luxembourg. It is a night of stars. But there are few people to enjoy the starlight. The centre of Murger's "Vie de Bohème" is as silent as the grave. The cafés, which formerly resounded with quip and jest, are practically deserted. Gas is wasted for nothing. Only in front of a tobacco shop do

I find a little group of men—students and painters wearing in their buttonholes the ribbon which indicates that they have been discharged from the army.

The same desolation in the Rue des Ecoles. A row of lights indicates a well-known cabaret that was always crowded before the war. I peep inside, and find a score of men and women trying to enjoy the songs and jests in argot. "C'est la guerre," says the proprietor in explanation of his sparse audience. Yes, it is the war. Paris is becoming serious after forty months of it.

War Burdens in Hungary

General strikes broke out in Austria and Hungary in the last weeks of January, 1918, and for a while became menacing. As early as Nov. 27, 1917, 200,000 working people took part in a demonstration at Budapest to protest against their privations and to demand peace.

The Budapest Népszava on Nov. 29 published a report from its Vienna correspondent which shows that life is indeed hard in the monarchy. In many districts of Bohemia a new disease has made its appearance, which from its symptoms has been called famine-dropsy. Men are attacked by it chiefly between the ages of 40 and 50, and unless the patient is given plenty of nourishment the disease proves fatal. The ravages of the disease are very great. In the small town of Asch 900 cases occurred, 3 per cent. proving fatal. In the small districts of Graslitz 1,500 cases, with 8 to 10 per cent. deaths; Haida, 1,500 cases, with 10 per cent. deaths; Rumburg, 646 cases, with 12½ per cent. deaths; in Platten and Baeringen the number of cases and deaths was still greater. In Weipert, Schluckenau, and Warndorff there were many thousands of cases, and in every instance the cause has been found to be insufficient food.

Germany's Claim to Alsace

A Study by Frederic Masson

Frederic Masson, author of this brilliant article, which appeared in The London Telegraph, is one of the most distinguished of French historians. He is Librarian of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the French Academy. He here presents the historical claims of Alsace and Lorraine to be and to remain French.

DURING the middle of the seventeenth century, Germany was not a definitely constituted State, inclosed in well-defined boundaries, composed of rigid elements, ruled by a recognized Constitution acknowledged by all, possessed of a code of uniform laws, and obeying one single chief in peace and war; she was an agglomeration of States of all dimensions, of the most varying importance, independent in fact if not in law, bound to the elected Chief of the Empire by a tie so feeble and subjected to so many restrictions that it might well be asked where the exercise of the central power began and where it ended. As has been said, "the Emperor possessed nothing intact but the insignia of his dignity."

By virtue of its "territorial sovereignty," each State exercised over its own territory all rights of sovereignty that were not in contradiction with the public and general laws of the empire; these ancient rights, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, territorial freedom, &c., were definitely assured to all the Electors, Princes, and States of the empire by the Treaty of Osnabrück; but those States of the empire which sat in the Diet, and which had been nominated more by chance than by any fixed principle,

were far from forming all the component parts of the empire. Thus the "Immediate Nobles," who had no vote in the Diet, acknowledged only the "Corpus Germanicus" and the Emperor, enjoyed individually the rights of "territorial sovereignty," and, as a body, certain prerogatives which released their subjects from imperial claims; thus the "Immediate" and imperial towns which, since 1309, sent Deputies to the Diet, enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty by means of Constitutions which recognized the privileges that they had successively exacted, conquered, or bought.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Emperor was elected; formerly he was elected in the first degree by the Dukes and principal nobles, and in the second by what one may term the people —meaning those people who were in the "street" at Aix-la-Chapelle. Ever since the bull published in 1336 by Charles IV. to the States of Nuremberg, which has become the basis of the political rights of the empire, the Emperor had been elected by the seven Electors—the Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor of the Empire in Germany; the Archbishop of Cologne, Archchancellor of the Empire in Italy; the Archbishop of Trèves, Archchancellor of the Empire in Gallic territories; the King of Bohemia, archcupbearer; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Archsteward; the Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Archchamberlain.

What, then, was this empire? The "Holy Roman Empire," the universal empire. Thus, on the occasion of the election, each Elector swore by the Holy Gospels, by the faith by which he was sworn to God and the Holy Roman Empire, that according to all his discernment and judgment he wished to elect "a temporal chief of the Christian people," that is to say, "a King of the Romans, future Emperor. * * *." And that is why the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire claimed the whole of Italy, Belgium, Gaul, and many other States, kingdoms, and republics, but these claims were worth just as much as the assertor of them could impose.

Thus the possession of nearly the whole of Italy can be claimed by Germany with far more historical foundation than she can claim Alsace-Lorraine, if it is once admitted that all those countries that formed part of the Holy Roman Empire should be incorporated in the German Empire. For Otto I., who conquered the Kingdom of Italy in 961, and who in 962 included it in his empire, assuredly transmitted to his descendant, William II., his rights over the peninsula. Modern Germany is still more within her rights in claiming the imperial fiefs which she lost in 1815, those which lie between Genoa, Tortona, and Pavia, those of Lunigiana, and those of Tuscany, (Verna, Montanto, and Monte-Santa Maria.) Better still, if the stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia are closely examined, it cannot be forgotten that the thirteen Swiss cantons obtained from the Imperial States the acknowledgment of their independence, their entire freedom, and their exemption from the empire only by the Treaty of Osnabrück, and that previously—that is to say, in 930—Switzerland was included in the legacy that Rudolph III. bequeathed to Conrad the Salic of the Kingdom of Arles, which comprised the two Burgundies. It was only at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Swiss attempted to free themselves: their struggle lasted until the opening of the sixteenth century, and their independence was only acknowledged in the middle of the seventeenth century.

MIGHT AND RIGHT

There is no doubt that as soon as one enters the domain of ancient claims, and as soon as it is admitted that Might constitutes the sole Right, some alleged conquest will always be found for the benefit of Germany. "The Germans," wrote a celebrated lawyer in 1821, "were of all modern peoples the slowest to understand that justice exists in the social State only for the purpose of acting as a balance to force." It was only after innumerable attempts and many bloody wars that the Emperors succeeded, not in destroying, but in attenuating "this sovereign jurisdiction of the sword," which each holder of a fief defended as a sacred right. It was to get rid of this

MAP OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE, WITH BATTLE FRONT SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE. THE AMERICAN FORCES ARE NORTH OF TOUL AND NANCY

that Rudolph of Hapsburg decreed a public peace for three years, that his successors attempted vainly to carry out this task, and that Maximilian I., on the demand of the States themselves, decreed by the Diet of Worms in 1495 a perpetual public peace, to be assured, as far as possible, by the application of the sentence of banishment to those who infringed it, and by the creation of the Imperial Chamber.

The right of Might as a consequence of the negation of Right is the direct heritage and the tradition of the Germans; throughout the ages, no matter how it may be disguised, it exists as the

basis of relations between Germany and all other nations, and even as the basis of relations between the Germans themselves.

The entire history of the German people illustrates the declarations of their lawyers, attested by the words, which are without parallel in any other country and have remained traditional: "Faust und Kolben Recht"—the domination of the right of the strongest. Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, an attempt was being made in Germany to find a remedy for these continual abuses of Might, and a period where Might constituted the sole Right was soon to be entered upon.

The Reformation opens the period where the abuse of Force was at its height, for it was exercised in the name of religious doctrines which ought to have had as their object the assignment of its limitations. That most assuredly was the raison d'être of the ecclesiastical principalities. Their possessors, it is true, often lost sight of this object, but there was at least a hope, which at times became a reality, that a man animated by love and justice might ascend an episcopal throne. After the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities and of the militant religious orders, and their seizure by lay Princes, there remained only the harshness of men of iron, who oppressed the peasant, the serf, and the people. Religion has been made a fresh occasion for persecution.

The Holy Empire, an incoherent mass composed of thousands of parts, each possessing its own master and a different Constitution, ruled by contradictory laws, separated by tariff dues, varying monetary standards, absence of roads, often at war one against the other, and generally hostile; the Holy Empire, a seething mass, of which the various parts joined issue according to the interests of the moment, and formed more or less numerous and powerful leagues; the Holy Empire, an almost fluid mass, of which the influence was subordinated to the external resources which the nominal sovereign of the moment turned to his own advantage, oscillated continually between its neighbors of the west, those of the south, and those of the east. Possessed only of conventional frontiers, except on the side where it refused to recognize them, it overflowed sometimes in the direction of the Slavs or Letts, and sometimes in that of the French or the Czechs. Boundary lines appear and disappear with each treaty of peace, and without any reason for their existence being formulated, for the Germanic race, even though it stretches to infinity, is easily penetrated and assimilated by other races.

The King of Spain, who was also Archduke of Austria, in the election of 1519 triumphed by a majority of one over the King of France. The two royal houses thereupon became rivals, and since then a great number of Electors and imperial towns allied themselves with the French against the Austrians, who had been again invested by this farcical election and by the Pontifical confirmation with the imperial dignity.

FRENCH SOVEREIGNTY

When, after more than one hundred years of uninterrupted struggle—for certain of the civil and religious wars in France assumed the character of a conflict between French and Germans, if not Germany—the two States, and nearly the whole of Europe, whom they had dragged into their quarrel, met together for the great negotiation in which the Pope in 1636 took the initiative, France claiming as a "satisfaction" the sovereignty of the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which Henry II. had conquered in 1552; then Upper and Lower Alsace, including the Sundgau and the forest towns, "in the same way," she said, "as the Princes of the House of Austria had possessed these provinces, with Philippsburg and the surrounding territory." The King of France consented to hold these provinces as a fief of the empire, provided that a fitting rank and a seat in the Diet were granted him.

It was not Germany which ceded the Landgravate of Upper Alsace, but the House of Austria, the younger branch of that house which reigned in Tryol and which possessed the Landgravate of Upper Alsace as a fief of the empire, but without a voice in the Diet. After in-

terminable discussions the Congress ended by renouncing the imperial sovereignty over the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, over the towns of those names, and the districts surrounding the Bishoprics, and over the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, with the Sundgau, but without a voice in the Diet; it ceded also the prefecture of the ten imperial towns of Alsace. (The other stipulations concerning Pignerol, Vieux-Brisach, and Philippsburg were annulled by the Treaty of Turin in 1696, the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1679.)

"The Emperor," it is stated in Paragraphs 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Münster, "in his own name, as well as in that of the Royal House of Austria, and also in that of the empire, cedes all rights, properties, domains, possessions, and jurisdictions which have belonged up to the present as much to him as to the empire and to the House of Austria, on and over the town of Brisach, the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, and the provincial prefecture of the ten imperial towns situated in Alsace * * * without reserve, and with all jurisdiction, sovereignty, and supreme authority." The essential point in the eyes of the Emperor was that the King of France should not enter the Diet, where he might have proved an insufferable rival. But there was nothing extraordinary in the case, the Kings of Sweden, Prussia, England, Hungary, and Spain having been members of the Diet for such part of their States as had been portions of the empire.

The King of France consented to this arrangement, but it was he who had raised the question. As to the Bishops of Strassburg and Bâle, the town of Strassburg, the Abbés of Murbach and of Lure, the Abbess of Andain, the Palatines of Petitepierre, and the nobility of Lower Alsace, as well as the ten imperial towns under the Prefecture of Haguenau, the King undertook to respect the right which they had theretofore enjoyed of being directly amenable to the Holy Empire.

This stipulation was faithfully observed, and if the town of Strassburg voluntarily ceded itself to the King of France in 1681, it nevertheless maintained, in the same manner as the imperial towns of the Prefecture of Haguenau, its singularly complicated Constitution, dividing the power between the nobles and the people, Stettmeisters, Ammeisters, the Grand Senate, the Permanent Colleges, the Thirteenth, the Fifteenth, and the Twenty-first. The only innovation introduced by France was in 1685, when a royal official was authorized to attend the meetings of the Magistracy in a consultative capacity.

PETTY GERMAN RULERS

As for the German nobles who had possessions in Alsace, and of whom many were members of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Lower Alsace or of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Ortenau, they extended their almost sovereign authority over more than 1,300 localities, of which the greater number today form as many communes. The list of them will be found in "L'Alsace Noble," by Lehr, (Strassburg, 1870, quarto, Vol. III.,) together with the most accurate map that has ever been made up to the present. The most important possessions belonged with all sovereign rights to the Landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt, to the Duke of Valentinois, to the Duke of Württemberg, to the Margrave of Baden, to the Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück, to the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, to the Republic of Mulhouse, to the Prince-Bishops of Strassburg, of Spire, and of Bâle, to the three branches of the Palatine House, to the princely houses of Hohenlohe, Loewenhaupt, Liange, and Salm.

The result of this arrangement was the strangest disparity in government and administration, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, the most complete disorder. Consequently, when in 1789 the States General was convened by King Louis XVI., the desire for unity, the wish to end the feudal régime and the domination of German Princes, were the outstanding features of the elections in Alsace. All the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, the greater part of those of the clergy, and some of those of the nobility, declared themselves

from that time as being in favor of reform, of the Revolution, and of French nationality.

THROWING OFF THE YOKE

It may be that previous to 1789 Alsace was still German; it is certain that she was feudal, and that she impatiently endured the masters whom she hated. When, on the occasion of the Federation of 1790, Alsace swore fidelity to the newborn France, it was not conquest, but free choice and unanimous desire that made her French. She kept this oath of allegiance in 1793, although she was surrounded by counter-revolutionary traps at the very moment that the Austrians were placing new boundary posts on her territory; she kept it magnificently against the invaders in 1814, 1815, and in 1870. After the Assembly of 1789, and until the Assembly of 1871, she sent to the French Parliament the wisest, the firmest, the most energetic, and the most honest men, all passionately devoted to their country and to liberty.

The representatives of Alsace, faithful to the will of the Alsatian population, have affirmed in the French Chambers as well as in the Imperial Reichstag, their will to be and to remain French. The question of the lapse of time is not to be taken into account. The protest was uninterrupted; the appeal to justice never ceased for a single day. Elected by the people, speaking in the name of the people, they have, in right as well as in fact, preserved French nationality for Alsace. They have proved that as opposed to the domination of "Might" there is justice, and that against the doctrine of conquest there is the doctrine of free consent. For forty-four years they have seized every occasion to claim for their compatriots the right to live, to fight, to die for France, and they have done so in spite of threats and terrorization, exile, imprisonment, and the scaffold. Alsace, who gave herself to France, who shared her life for eighty years with all her glories and her sorrows, is not a province whose nationality any more than her patriotism can be contested or disputed. She is as French as Picardy, Flanders, or the Ardennes. Alsace was never conquered by Germany; she was invaded. It is the invaders that we are fighting; it is Alsace that we are liberating—nothing more and nothing less.

Why Alsace-Lorraine Should Be Restored Without a Plebiscite

By Albert Thomas

Leader of the French Socialists, Former Cabinet Minister.

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

MY comrades of the British Labor Party have in a recent declaration defined their views on the subject of war aims. They have, in particular, made their position clear as to the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The Labor Party has renewed its condemnation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France in 1871. It emphatically expresses its sympathy with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. It demands, "in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that those populations shall be allowed, under the protection of the supernational authority, or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position."

I am afraid the detailed considerations in our memorandum in answer to the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee at Stockholm have led our friends a little astray.

Our British labor friends have been led to believe we were in favor of a plebiscite. They knew that we always firmly upheld the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. They thought that we could but apply that principle automatically to the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine would recover her right freely to decide, probably under the control of an

international or a Franco-German commission, whether she is to remain German or return to France.

This is not the policy advocated by the declarations of the French Socialists. What they say is this: The right of France to Alsace-Lorraine remains unaltered: it was in violation of the right of peoples to self-determination that Alsace-Lorraine was wrenched from France; the treaty of Frankfort, to which France had to submit, has been torn to pieces by Germany's own will in 1914; the document by which Alsace-Lorraine was surrendered to Germany has now been destroyed; the right of France remains immutable; therefore Alsace-Lorraine must come back to France.

But French Socialists further add (and this may have misled our British friends) that France, acting of her own free will, will do herself honor by going so far, in her regard for the right of self-determination, as to agree, after Alsace-Lorraine has resumed her place in the French community, to a consultation of the populations there, under the control of the League of Nations. What is proposed here is not a plebiscite which would decide whether Alsace-Lorraine would return to France or not, but a consultation after the event, by which the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine will declare that they wished to be French again.

I think I have made the distinction clear. I may add that, while this view is held by an overwhelming majority of the French Socialist Party, there are members of the party (and I am bound to say I am one of them, as well as some Socialists of Alsatian and Lorrainer origin) who are afraid that even such a consultation may be a dangerous concession, leading to a dubious interpretation; they adopt the formula of the Republican League of Alsace-Lorraine, and declare that a consultation cannot be forced upon these populations; it belongs to Alsace-Lorraine herself to assert in her own way, at the moment and in the form she prefers, her will to belong to France.

Our views being thus clearly restated, I wish to add a few words of explanation for our British friends.

Why do French and Alsatians, in this special case of Alsace-Lorraine, think that no plebiscite should take place, in spite of their claim for the peoples of the right to dispose of themselves?

The reason is a simple one. The question is not to give a population the right for the first time to decide its own fate. It was in 1871 that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves was violated. The most characteristic feature of the French Nation is her complete unity, and the fact that all the populations of France have unquestionably expressed their desire to belong to the French community. No people in the world has attained to such absolute unity, such a homogeneous national structure. While Great Britain shows to the world the finest realization of the imperial idea, France is the very example and prototype of the nation.

In 1790, after the alternative changes which had made Alsace and Lorraine now French, now German, territories, the Lorrainers and the Alsatians, on the great day of the federation, solemnly declared their resolution to be part of the French Nation. At Strassburg, Mulhouse, and in other Alsatian towns the people showed by stirring demonstrations how enthusiastically they proclaimed their French nationality. During the nineteenth century no separatist tendency ever found any expression in Alsace or in Lorraine. In 1871, when the two provinces were violently taken from France, the inhabitants raised before the Bordeaux Assembly a moving protest, in which they declared that, should even centuries pass, their right to be French would remain indefeasible. In 1874 they protested in the Reichstag against annexation, made against their will, and by which they had been handed over to Germany "like mere cattle."

During forty-seven years the protest of Alsace-Lorraine never ceased to make itself heard in various ways. On the eve of the present war, when the Zabern incidents took place a Prussian officer could say that the German army in Alsace was practically in enemy country. Since the beginning of the war hundreds of sentences have been passed by German Judges on Alsatians whose guilt was to have expressed their French feelings.

To agree to a plebiscite under such circumstances would not only amount to

canceling the repeated protestations of 1871, 1874, and of all times. It would be equivalent to a declaration that our right has become null and void. It would amount to admitting that the Treaty of Frankfort is still valid, and it would vindicate Germany's action when in 1871 she violated the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. It is because of this right that the method of the plebiscite cannot be accepted.

The protest, which never ceased since 1871, establishes the fact of Alsace-Lorraine's unvaried desire to belong to France. France feels certain that should a plebiscite be taken, the result would be in her favor. But we must not forget that there are in Alsace-Lorraine 400,000 "immigrants," that is to say, German settlers, many of whom have been sent there as officials of the German Empire; they, no doubt, would declare for the endurance of German rule.

Let us suppose that, instead of 400,000, Germany had sent to Alsace-Lorraine 1,000,000 immigrants. Let us suppose that she had turned out a part of the population, or destroyed it by such massacres as her Turkish disciples are now perpetrating in Armenia: what would then happen if a plebiscite were taken? Would the right of peoples to dispose of themselves make it imperative to sanction by a vote, the result of which, in such circumstances, would be a foregone conclusion, the crime Germany committed in 1871?

It is therefore impossible, from the point of view of morality as well as from that of legality—if the right of peoples to dispose of themselves be adhered to—to make the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France conditional on the taking of a plebiscite.

WHY IT IS IMPRACTICABLE

But let us now for a moment admit that, by a concession which is really an impossible one, France were to consent to a plebiscite. We declare that it could not work in practice. First of all there would be conditions of time to settle: when should the plebiscite take place? Would it be when the country is still occupied by German armies, or how long after occupation by the French? Or would it be under the guarantee of neutrals? In each case the consequence would be to lay the two provinces open to every kind of electoral contest, which would be the more serious because the question this time would not be of a choice between individuals, but between conditions which would decide the fate of the whole community.

German propaganda would be rampant. The threats which often weighed so heavily on those populations and paralyzed their political life would unavoidably react upon the people. Would not both French and German Governments be led to the making of promises, the giving of more or less official pledges, to influence the vote? And would the question of right, under such conditions, remain in full light before the peoples concerned?

Then—and this is more important—who would be entitled to vote? The register, unfortunately, could not include those who, having enlisted in the French Army, gave their lives for the cause of Alsace-Lorraine. But only the genuine Alsatians and Lorrainers of 1871 and their offspring, including the hundreds of thousands who have left the country since and because it was annexed to Germany, should take part in the plebiscite. Under no circumstances could the immigrants be admitted to vote.

Would such a plebiscite—although the only one that would be morally admissible—finally settle the dispute between France and Germany?

Therefore it must be concluded that the plebiscite is not only unacceptable in principle, but also impossible in practice.

Those who might persist in objecting that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves cannot be vindicated by any other method must be reminded that the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have unceasingly expressed their feelings. Since 1871 there has been, so to speak, an uninterrupted plebiscite. The population of Alsace-Lorraine has consistently refused to accept the Treaty of Frankfort. We only state actual facts when we say that the case of Alsace-Lorraine is the same as that of our invaded provinces. Just as the German armies shall evacu-

ate these, they must and shall evactuate Alsace-Lorraine. The only difference is that their occupation has lasted three and a half years, and that of Alsace-Lorraine forty-seven years.

AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

There is one more point on which I wish to lay special stress, speaking not only to my Socialist comrades, but to all our British friends, whatever party they may belong to. I frequently hear people repeating: "We English will fight for Alsace-Lorraine because France demands Alsace-Lorraine." Others will go even further and say: "It is enough that our French allies demand Alsace-Lorraine to determine us never to lay down our arms until she has recovered that country."

We can but deeply feel such a delicate expression of complete friendship and of unconditional loyalty to the bond of alliance between the two nations. Would it be possible to show more unreserved confidence? But if France's aims were unjust, would the British people be bound to take the same attitude?

Supposing France wanted to annex part of Germany, would the British people agree? France does not claim Alsace-Lorraine only because she is her own, but, by claiming Alsace-Lorraine, she demands that justice shall prevail. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is not merely a French question; it is an international question, in which mankind is interested.

Alsace-Lorraine kept under German rule means permanent violation of right in modern Europe. It means that a just peace, conformable to the right of nations, has not been secured. It means that the reign of justice has not superseded the hegemony of brutal force.

It is not only because the soldiers of the Marne and those of Verdun, by their heroic sacrifices in defense of our common civilization, have deserved to be rewarded by the restoration to France of her national unity, that Alsace and Lorraine must go back to France; it is because of the common will of the Allies to secure the restoration of justice in the world. Great Britain makes the French claim her own, not only because of her love for France, but because she has been, at all times, the defender of right.

German Proclamation to Italians

The full text of the proclamation issued by the German Military Government to the inhabitants of the conquered region of Northern Italy is reproduced below. When compared with General Allenby's proclamation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which provided for the carrying on of all business without interruption, the safeguarding of all buildings, and the protection of inhabitants of all creeds, it affords an illuminating example of the different ways in which Great Britain and Germany wage war. The German proclamation to the Italians is as follows:

PROCLAMATION issued by the Headquarters of the German Military Government at Udine to the Inhabitants of Conquered Italy.

A house-to-house search will be made for all concealed arms, weapons, and ammunition.

All victuals remaining in the house must be delivered up.

Every citizen must obey our labor regulations.

ALL WORKMEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN OVER 15 YEARS OLD are obliged to work in the fields every day, Sundays included, from 4 A. M. to 8 P. M.

Disobedience will be PUNISHED in the following manner:

(1) Lazy workmen will be accompanied to their work and watched by Germans. After the harvest they will be IMPRISONED for six months, and every third day will be given NOTHING BUT BREAD AND WATER.

(2) Lazy women will be obliged to work, and after the harvest receive SIX MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

(3) LAZY CHILDREN WILL BE PUNISHED BY BEATING. THE COMMANDANT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO PUNISH LAZY WORKMEN WITH 20 LASHES DAILY.

Secret Treaty With Italy

Text of the Important Pact Made by Italy and the Entente Prior to That Nation's Entry Into the War

PUBLICATION of the secret treaties and diplomatic agreements between Russia and the Allies, which were found in the archives of the Foreign Office at Petrograd when the Bolsheviki seized power on Nov. 7, 1917, was begun Nov. 23 by Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had previously announced that he intended to take this step, which had been urged upon Kerensky and refused by him. On Nov. 15 Trotzky, finding the rooms of the Foreign Office closed, summoned all the Foreign Office officials to meet him there the following day. He arrived accompanied by Professor Polivavnov, whom he had appointed to search out the material, and obtained from the officials, thirty in number, a written statement of their willingness to assist. M. Dofrovolski, head of the Judicial Department, surrendered the keys to the archives, and prepared a statement that he had done this of his own volition and not through force.

TROTZKY'S REASONS

When the first publication was made, M. Trotzky gave the following reasons for his action:

In proceeding to publish the secret diplomatic documents dealing with the foreign policy of the Czarist and Bourgeois Coalition Governments during the first seven months of the revolution we are fulfilling the obligation which we took upon ourselves when our party was in opposition. Secret diplomacy is a necessary weapon in the hands of a propertied minority, which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to make the latter obey its interests. Imperialism, with its world-wide plans of annexation and its rapacious alliances and arrangements, has developed to the highest extent the system of secret diplomacy. The struggle against imperialism, which has ruined and drained of their blood the peoples of Europe, means at the same time the struggle against capitalist diplomacy, which has good reason to fear the light of day. The Russian people, as well as the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, must know the documentary truth about those plots which were hatched in secret by financiers and industrialists, together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents. The peoples of Europe have earned the right to know the truth about these things, owing to their innumerable sacrifices and the universal economic ruin.

To abolish secret diplomacy is the first condition of an honorable, popular, and really democratic foreign policy. The Soviet Government makes the introduction of such a policy its object. For this reason, while openly offering to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments an immediate armistice, we publish simultaneously those treaties and agreements which have lost all their obligatory force for the Russian workmen, soldiers, and peasants who have taken the Government into their hands. * * *

Bourgeois politicians and journalists of Germany and Austria-Hungary may endeavor to profit by the published documents in order to represent in a favorable light the diplomacy of the Central Empires. But every effort in this direction would be doomed to failure for two reasons. In the first place, we intend shortly to put before the public secret documents which will show up quite clearly the diplomacy of the Central Empires. In the second place—and this is the chief point—the methods of secret diplomacy are just as international as imperialist rapacity. When the German proletariat by revolutionary means gets access to the secrets of its Government Chancelleries, it will produce from them documents of just the same nature as those which we are now publishing. It is to be hoped that this will happen as soon as possible.

The Government of workmen and peasants abolishes secret diplomacy, with its intrigues, figures, and lies. We have nothing to conceal. Our program formulates the passionate wishes of millions of workmen, soldiers, and peasants. We desire a speedy peace so that the peoples may honorably live and work together. We desire a speedy deposition of the supremacy of capital. In revealing before the whole world the work of the governing classes as it is expressed in the secret documents of diplomacy, we turn to the workers with that appeal which will always form the basis of our foreign

policy: "Proletarists of all countries, unite!"

TEXT OF ITALY'S TREATY

The most interesting and important of the documents published was a secret treaty which Italy made with Russia, Great Britain, and France, and which was executed two weeks prior to Italy's entrance into the war, having been signed on May 9, 1915. The text of this treaty, as translated from the Russian by The New Europe of London, follows:

The Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his Government, has the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey; to the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The Great Powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, in so far as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the supreme command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all means at her disposal in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the States which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active co-operation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

What Italy Was Promised

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive the Trentino, the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the City of Trieste and its surroundings, the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Palazzuola, S. Pietro Nerovio, Asinello and Gruica, with their neighboring islets.

Note 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV. the frontier line shall be drawn along the following points: From the summit of Umbrile northward to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the Rhaetian Alps as far as the sources of the Rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts of Reschen and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southward, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will turn in a southeast direction toward the Schneeberg in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend toward the seacoast, including Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca as Italian districts.

Dalmatia to Be Italian

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the Province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lissarika and Trebinje [i. e., two small places in Southwestern Croatia,] and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planka [between Trau and Sebenico] and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Gikola, Krka, and Butisnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north and reaching to Meleda southward, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point ten kilometers south of Ragusavecchia as far as the River Vojussa on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole Gulf of Cattaro, with its ports, Antivari, Dulcigno, S. Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo, with the reservation that Montenegro rights are not to be infringed in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which

today belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1909—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

Note 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast today belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali, and Arbe. To the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the River Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

Partitioning Albania

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV., Dalmatia and the Adriatic Islands by Article V., and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized State being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all the islands of the Dodecannese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the Province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests, laid down in the Italo-British convention. The zone to be assigned to Italy will, in due course, be fixed in accordance with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. In the same way regard must be had for the interests of Italy, even in the event of the powers maintaining for a further period of time the inviolability of Asiatic Turkey, and merely proceeding to map out spheres of interest among themselves. In the event of France, Great Britain, and Russia occupying during the present war districts of Asiatic Turkey, the whole district bordering on Adalia and defined above in greater detail, shall be reserved to Italy, who reserves the right to occupy it.

Italy in Africa

X. In Libya Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the Treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France, Great Britain, and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan State.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than £50,000,000.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of Sept. 5, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great

Britain, and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his Government for this purpose:

France, Great Britain, and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian Government. With regard to Points I., II., and III., (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four powers,) Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, April 26, 1915.)
EDWARD GREY, JULES CAMBON,
IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORFF.

[A number of secret telegrams disclosing agreements sent and received by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs were published; such as have a permanent bearing on events will be printed in a subsequent number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The Serbian Mission in America

By Milivoy S. Stanoyevich

IN the middle of November, 1917, the Serbian Government, following the example of the French, Belgian, and other allied Governments, announced its intention to send a diplomatic mission to the United States. The mission arrived in Washington on Dec. 20, 1917, and presented to President Wilson an autographed letter of King Peter, as a testimonial of the high regard which the Serbians feel for this country. The Commissioners included are the following: Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, Serbian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France; Dr. Sima Lozanitch, former Minister of Agriculture and lately Minister Plenipotentiary at London; General Mihailo Rashitch, Commander in Chief of the Serbian Corps d'Armée in France; Lieut. Col. Mihailo Nenadovitch, Military Attaché of the Serbian Legation in Switzerland; Captain Milan Jovitchich, Aide de Camp to the Crown Prince; Mr. Vladislav Martinats, Secretary to the Serbian Legation at Paris.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE

On Jan. 5, 1918, the Serbian envoys appeared before the Senate and were introduced by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall. Presenting the mission to the Senators, Mr. Marshall said:

Senators, even so untrained a mind as mine can grasp the artistic possibilities of this scene. Here you are, the representatives of a free people, because your forebears heard and heeded the agonizing cry of Patrick Henry in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Here they are, the representatives of a people who for nearly six centuries, in mortal combat with the Austrians and the Turks, have written in the blood of their sons, upon the green sward of every mountainside and every valley of the Balkans, the immortal cry of Henry. * * * Here you both are, this day, each a worthy representative of his race, clasping hands in the midnight darkness and solemnly vowing that the morrow's morn will find you and yours as always consecrated to liberty or to death.

Dr. Vesnitch, the head of the mission, spoke after the Vice President. He brilliantly expressed in English the true spirit of the country represented by him and his colleagues, gathered at this memorable meeting. Asserting that the United States would not take the part of a spectator when humanity struggled for its highest ideals, he went on to say:

From over the ocean we have anxiously listened to the epoch-making declarations of the eminent leader of the greatest and purest democracy that history has ever known, and we have been happy in understanding that this Senate was in complete harmony with the ideas of the dignified successor of Washington and of Lincoln. Your President said in his address: "We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty." More than anybody we believe with President Wilson that peace cannot subsist without justice, without liberty and righteousness.

With golden characters, all liberty-loving nations will inscribe forever in their hearts

and souls this President's and your program, following which America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; for the equality of nations, which means the equality of rights, neither necognizing nor implying a difference between great nations and small ones, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. * * *

We also accept with enthusiasm the doctrine of Monroe as the doctrine of the world. We are happy in being permitted to share with you the belief that right shall command might, and that it ought not to be dishonored in its inception.

The Serbian Nation, with their kinsmen, the Croats and Slovenes, have suffered in this war more than any other nation, but today I shall not make an appeal to you on this behalf. I am proud to say we have fought for our liberties as bravely as any one of our gallant allies.

We, too, have faith with you, Mr. President of the Senate, that the morning light will break in this good year at hand, and that it will break with the sun of liberty rising upon a rose-tinted sky. We, too, have in this solemn hour a vision and we voice our unalterable faith that this magnificent republic is to lead the nations of the world into the mountain of perfect peace, and to become the arbiter of them all; for, we know that the American commandments of peace are commandments of justice, which alone will enable mankind to improve in free evolution.

TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON

On Jan. 8 the mission was received by the House of Representatives and introduced by the Speaker, Mr. Champ Clark. Dr. Vesnitch told the House that Serbia, although one of the smallest of nations, would lend her resources and man power to the prosecution of a war which would relieve her from the oppression of the Prussian heel. Voicing Serbia's confidence in the United States Government, he declared that his only wish was that he could be heard by all the American people when expressing to them the gratitude of his country.

A day later the mission paid a visit to Mount Vernon, and in the presence of Secretary Lansing and other representatives of official Washington placed a wreath upon the tomb of Washington. Dr. Vesnitch spoke of his people's love for liberty. "This, alas," he said, "has "brought us misfortune; the autocrats "and the despots surrounding us, the "Teutons and the Turks, have rushed "upon us, and have crucified Serbia; "nay, our whole race, the Jugoslavs. We "have believed in the moral and in the "political gospel which Washington "preached and which he confirmed by "his life; we shall arise again; the heroic Argonauts whom General Pershing "commands in Europe will complete the "work of our liberty. Jerusalem and "Mount Vernon greet each other today; "here have stood the representatives of "nearly 600,000,000 people, and others "will come; Marshal Joffre has bowed "before this tomb; we do so in the name "of our martyred fatherland, and in the "name of our decimated but still unvanquished army, hopeful and confident of "a better future."

VISIT TO WESTERN CITIES

There is no doubt that the most impressive ceremonies of the journeys which these delegates have made through the United States were the visit to the tomb of Washington and the visit to Congress, already mentioned. But these two occasions were only a little less important than the welcome extended to the mission wherever it has been.

From Washington Dr. Vesnitch and his staff traveled westward, visiting Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis. It was in St. Louis that this prominent Serbian diplomat and his friends, General Rashitch and Dr. Lozanitch, encouraged the Jugoslavs to enlist to fight for democracy. Before a large audience of the Slavic and American people he spoke as follows:

The Jugoslavs should make no distinction between the United States flag and the flag of Serbia, but they should be under one of them. * * * One of the first causes of this war is found in the fact that the Serbians and the Jugoslavs represent the spirit of America; they oppose German autocracy and tyranny with the spirit of liberty. * * * Democracy means that the individuals of nations must live together as equals in every respect; autocracy means that one shall command

and all others shall obey; Germany believes that she is destined to command, and that the rest of the world must obey; Serbia has opposed and always will oppose this idea.

From St. Louis the Serbian Mission turned again east, and visited Buffalo, Boston, New York, and Albany. In Boston the members were presented on Jan. 18 to the Massachusetts Legislature, and Governor McCall delivered an address of welcome before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives. Paying tribute to Serbia for its age-long struggle for freedom, first against the Mohammedans, now against both Mohammedans and Germans, Governor McCall called upon the United States to assist in rebuilding the little nation, which is "small in stature but mighty in spirit."

ADDRESS IN BOSTON

Dr. Vesnitch addressed the Massachusetts lawmakers in a thrilling speech, which reached its climax when he said of the enemy Teutons, "They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our hearts and our souls." Further on he told of the unfortunate position of Serbia, placed between the Roman and Byzantine Empires originally, and suffering from the aggressions of both. He told of the glorious history of his country in the wars against the Turks.

> During more than five centuries [he said] we contested the ground, foot by foot, with the Turk, and our heroes even fought to defend Vienna. Through years and years our rivers ran red with blood, and at the end, toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, we succeeded in repelling the invaders from a part of our country. * * * To the defense and protection of our democracy we have devoted all our resources; for these ideals we have sacrificed our lives. Aided by the Turks and Bulgarians, the Prussians and the Austro-Hungarians have invaded and devastated our country, destroyed our homes, burned our villages, profaned our churches, pillaged our libraries, killed our children, violated our sisters, our wives, and even our grandmothers. They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our souls and our hearts. Since the first days of our tragedy the Central Powers have attempted to corrupt us by proposing to our Government a separate peace; we have never been able to understand that language, because we have never doubted that their peace would mean slavery to us; we have never been able to understand their insinuations, because our history of fifteen centuries has never known treachery to our friends and allies.

After the conclusion of Dr. Vesnitch's address, the convention was dismissed, and the Governor, his council, and the guests adjourned to Memorial Hall, where a reception was held.

HONORED BY NEW YORK

On the next day, Jan. 19, the commission came back to New York and was cordially received by Mayor Hylan and other city officials. The distinguished guests entered City Hall under a military and naval guard of honor, whose massed bands played the Serbian national anthem. Standing on the same dais which had received Joffre, Balfour, Viviani, and other allied envoys, the Serbian visitors heard the Mayor of the national metropolis pay high tribute to the valorous deeds of the little Slavic State. During the three days of the visit of this mission New York City had more than one opportunity of expressing its chivalry and courtesy toward Serbia and her representatives. A reception at the Morgan Library, a visit to Grant's Tomb, and an outing to West Point were incidents in the greeting which the great city on the Hudson extended to its guests. Perhaps the climax of all these ceremonies came on Jan. 20, when at the Astor Hotel the Slavic organizations in New York gathered to greet the representatives of their sister nation, Serbia, in whom they place their great hope for the future. Here were represented the Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Czecho-Slovak, and Polish societies. They passed a resolution expressing appreciation for the efforts of the United States on behalf of small nations. "The Western and Southern Slavs," so ran a statement in this resolution, "greet "the struggle of the subjugated Slavic "nationalities in Austria-Hungary, and "see in the dissolution of the Hapsburg "Monarchy the fundamental principle of "a durable peace in Europe. The Jugo-"slavs, the Czecho-Slovaks, and the Poles "in America are firmly determined to "form with their compatriots in the "motherland a defensive bloc against

"Austria-Hungary. They will not sur-
"render arms in the struggle until all
"Slavs under a foreign yoke are deliv-
"ered and are able to form their own
"independent States capable of living in
"culture and civilization."

OBJECTS AND RESULTS

On Jan. 4 Dr. Vesnitch said to the present writer: "Certain newspapers "have assumed a mistaken idea as to the "object of our mission, in thinking that "we have come to influence in any way "the President and the United States "Government to declare war against "Turkey and Bulgaria. Our range is "not so broad as was that of the British, "French, Italian, and Russian Missions. "We have come to this country to extend "our gratitude and congratulations to "the President and America for enter-"ing the war against the Central Pow-"ers, and to inform their statesmen about "the true situation in the Balkans."

However, such was not the only object in the minds of the Serbian official delegates to America. They came with the further intention of urging the United States to grant another loan and to aid Serbian recruiting. Already 20,000 Southern Slavs from America have joined the expeditionary forces in Macedonia. In the City of New York a permanent Serbian war mission was formed for enlisting the Jugoslavs. The third purpose of the Serbian diplomatic delegation was to study American military and agricultural measures and to arrange for supplies to be transported to the Serbian armies in France and Macedonia.

Significant are Dr. Vesnitch's utterances in Chicago. It was here that he stirred a great audience of 10,000 Americans and Slavs with these words: "Jugoslav unity is a fact; to the restoration of Serbia the United States of America is pledged." He also told of having seen General Pershing in France, together with many other notable Generals, all of whom were of the same opinion—that the end of the war must be victory for the Allies. "The only thing we need," added Dr. Vesnitch, "is steel, much steel."

Besides arousing America to take an interest in South Slavic political affairs, the Serbian Mission has achieved other valuable results: It has effected a fuller understanding between two nations, geographically far segregated, but spiritually akin in their democratic ideals.

The Tragedy of the Lithuanians

A Historical Sketch

IF the formula of President Wilson, "The world must be made safe for democracy," is realized, the national status of Eastern Europe and Asia Minor will be entirely transformed. In fact, nowhere on earth can the changes be so radical as in the stretch of territory between the Balkan Peninsula and a line extending from the Persian Gulf to the Baltic Sea. The number of separate nationalities existing in that area is greater than in any region of equal extent on the globe. There dwell the Persians, the Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Circassians, Tartars, Greeks, Albanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Finns, and Lithuanians. These twenty-four nationalities, with separate ethnic roots, differing in language, culture, customs, ideals, and traditions, are subdivided into smaller units of differing individualities, and form an almost inextricable conglomerate mass of diverse races, infusible and nonassimilable, though they have dwelt side by side for many centuries.

WRONGS OF THE LITHUANIANS

The revolution in Russia, the direct outcome of the war, has given a new impetus to separatist movements among these numerous peoples, the smaller branches having long been restless under the autocratic dominion of Russia, Germany, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary. This agitation in recent months has attained an accelerated pace, until now the whole of Europe and Asia is seething with individualism, and the movement has gathered such force that the momentous issues of the European war no longer merely involve German-Austrian aspirations for domination, but affect the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of every separate nationality on earth.

Among the nationalities which are comparatively unknown, and which find few champions in America, are the Lithuanians, a race who have suffered—at the hands of Austria, Russia, and Prussia—tyranny, cruelty, spoliation no whit less flagrant than that suffered by Poland, yet who by ethnical distinction, language, religion, and traditions are entitled to an independent existence based on definite historical rights, as much so as any other race in Europe, Asia, or America.

Lithuania at present has an area of 131,995 square miles, equal in extent to England, Wales, and Ireland combined, and includes the provinces of Kovno, Vilna, Suvalki, (the latter a part of Russian Poland,) part of Grodno, Minsk, and Vitebsk, with just claims on Lettland, Courland, and Livonia. Its present population is around 7,000,000. This territory has been almost entirely occupied by the Germans, who swept over it in the campaign of 1915, and they have flatly refused the demand of the Bolsheviki to evacuate any portion of it, to give the residents freedom of action in determining their future status, and have clearly indicated that they are definitely resolved to annex it to the German Empire.

Lithuania, following the course of Finland, Ukrainia, and other provinces of the former Czar's domain, has formally declared its independence. On Jan. 8, 1918, a conference of Lithuanian delegates was held at Stockholm, (following one held in the previous October in Vilna, which was attended by 250 delegates from all parts of Lithuania,) and unanimously adopted a resolution favoring independence for Lithuania and its voluntary union with Lettland.

AN INDO-EUROPEAN RACE

Dr. John Szlupas, a member of the Lithuanian Society of Science, who is an American citizen residing at Scranton, Penn., and who is now in Lithuania, has made an exhaustive study of the origin of the Lithuanians. He holds that they

LITHUANIA, PAST AND PRESENT: LIGHTER SHADING SHOWS ANCIENT BOUNDARIES, HEAVIER SHADING SHOWS PRESENT REGION DESIRING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

were the powerful nation of antiquity known as the Hittites. They are a distinct Indo-European race, fair, light-haired, blue-eyed, tall and strong, and are in no way related to Slav or Teuton. Ptolemy mentions two clans, the Galendae and Sudeni, who probably belonged to the western subdivision of this racial group known as the Borussians, or Prussians of today. In the tenth century they were known under the name of Litva, and, together with the Letts and Borussians, they occupied the southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea from the Vistula to the Dvina, occupying the tract between Finland in the north to the Slavic countries almost to the Black Sea. The country is forested and marshy, and they were thus enabled to maintain a separate existence, retaining their natural characteristics, and at no time did they assimilate with the Slavs, Teutons, or Poles, notwithstanding they were joined for centuries in Govern-

mental union with the latter. The Lithuanian language denotes their ethnical relationship to the Thracians. It is closely akin to the Sanskrit and ancient Greek in vocabulary, forms, and structure.

During the forty years preceding the present war the Russian Government endeavored by every means of oppression, restrictive laws, and cruel punishments to extirpate the Lithuanian language. Decrees were promulgated with extreme penalties excluding the language from courts, commerce schools, and church; the dissemination of Lithuanian books, papers, and periodicals was forbidden; raids, search, fines, imprisonment, and deportations to Siberia were matters of daily occurrence; thousands of books and pamphlets were burned in the market place in Vilnius, (Vilna,) the chief city, and tens of thousands of volumes were annually confiscated. In fact, in 1897 the Czar induced the Kaiser to join him in suppressing Lithuanian language publications in Prussia, and special police agents were appointed in Königsberg and Tilsit, (former Lithuanian territory,) to carry out these edicts, but the indomitable will of the people was proof against this tyrannous exercise of authority, and after seven years of futile effort the decree of prohibition was set aside, on May 7, 1904. Immediately there followed an enormous output of Lithuanian literature in Latin characters. Many new elementary and higher schools and gymnasiums were established. In St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Kiev, Dorpat, and Riga student circles were established, yet the Russian Government up to the downfall refused to restore the Lithuanian University of Vilnius.

HISTORY OF THE NATION

In the tenth century the Lithuanians were divided into three main branches, the Borussians, or Prussians, the Letts, and the Lithuanians proper. They had no towns or fortified places, and were subdivided into numerous independent clans and villages, separated from one another by forests and marshes. They thus lay open to foreign invasions. They were surrounded by Russians, Germans, and Poles. The Borussians first fell under the dominion of the Germans and gave their name to the State which later became Prussia. The Letts were driven north and fell under the dominion of the Livonians. The Lithuanians proper, together with a branch known as the Samogitians, succeeded in forming an independent State. Little is known of this, except that there was continuous war with the Slavs.

The first chief known in history was Ryngold, whose son Mendowe accepted Christianity and became King in 1252, and met death by assassination in 1263. The dominion of Lithuania was extended greatly in subsequent years, embracing principalities from the Danube to the Black Sea. Jogiello, one of the later Kings, married the Queen of Poland, Yadviga, and on Feb. 14, 1386, was crowned King of Poland.

The dominions of Lithuania were further extended to the shores of the Sea of Azov, thus including Kiev and Lutsk. The union with Poland continued nominally for nearly 200 years, interrupted by frequent outbreaks and petty wars, but on July 1, 1569, under Sigusmundus Augustus, a complete union was effected, and the history of Independent Lithuania came to an end.

There followed a long struggle between the Protestant, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic elements of the country, waged with all the fury and bitterness which marked religious warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The country was in a perpetual ferment, due to the conflicts between the Roman Catholics and the dissenters and to the efforts of the Polish aristocracy to dominate all the Lithuanian territories.

PARTITION OF POLAND

The internal disturbances continued almost without interruption for over 200 years, when in 1791 a Prussian army entered Poland, and the first partition was decided on by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Russia appropriated Levland, Polotzk, Vitebsk, and a part of Minsk, 1,692 square miles; Austria took Osviecim and Zatov, with Red Russia, a total of 1,508 square miles; Prussia received Varmia and Pomerania, a total of 660 square

miles. Poland lost 4,000,000 of her inhabitants by this first partition. The internal troubles were not stilled, however, and religious warfare was continued with unabated fury. The country was in continual civil revolt. A new Constitution was adopted in 1791, whereby Lithuania became fully incorporated with Poland.

A new rebellion immediately followed, and a second partition of Poland was decided upon by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Prussia appropriated 1,060 square miles, Russia took part of the Palatinates of Vilnius, Minsk, Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, a total of 4,500 square miles, and there remained of Poland only 3,830 square miles and 4,000,000 inhabitants.

REVOLT OF KOSCIUSZKO

Insurrections and revolts followed, the most important being led by Kosciuszko, who was conspicuous in the American Revolution. He was a Lithuanian, not a Pole, as is generally supposed. This revolt at first met with success, but was finally subdued, and in 1795 the third partition of Poland occurred. Russia this time received Lithuania and Lettonia, with the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Mitau, and Brest, (where the peace negotiations between the Bolsheviki and the Germans were recently held)—a total of 2,183 square miles; Austria received Cracow, Kielce, Radom, Lublin, and Zamosc, 835 square miles, and Prussia's share was 697 square miles lying between the Pilica, Bug, and Niemen Rivers, together with the City of Warsaw. Not a protest was raised by any European nation; by the irony of fate the only nation that voiced disapproval was Turkey.

From this time forth the history of Lithuania was a sad tale of tyranny, oppression, and spoliation by the Russians. The blackest period was under the reign of Alexander II., about 1860, but there was little improvement between that date and the outbreak of the European war in 1914. It was especially between 1863 and 1890 that the Russian Government determined to "Russianize" the Lithuanian people, and to accomplish this appointed cruel and tyrannous dictators to achieve their purpose. They instituted merciless regulations with diabolical malignity to crush the Lithuanian spirit, to extinguish every spark of nationality, and to force the Greek Orthodox Church upon the inhabitants by inexorable decrees and cruel laws.

This was the state of the unhappy country when the war of 1914 burst forth, and soon there followed a tragedy for the people of that unfortunate district which surpassed in horror all the calamities of the preceding centuries.

Situated as a buffer State between the colossal armies of Germany and Russia, Lithuania became the battleground of the contending hosts in the first impact. In 1915 the Germans succeeded in driving back the Russians and occupied practically the whole of Lithuania, which they still securely hold in 1918.

Horrors of the Invasion of Lithuania

By a Lithuanian

The horrors of the German invasion of Lithuania are here told by an American Lithuanian, a man of high standing, who spent the greater part of 1916 *and much of* 1917 *in his native country, returning to the United States in the Fall of* 1917. *His name cannot be disclosed, as the Germans have it in their power to wreak vengeance on his family and estates were his identity known. He has prepared for* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *the appended narrative of German outrages in the region he visited.*

SINCE the occupation of Lithunania by the Germans (1914) communication with the outside world has been cut off. As a consequence, Lithuanians living in the United States (about 750,000 in number) did not fully know what had happened to their native country. While secretly receiving fright-

ful news about German domination in their beloved land, it was nevertheless difficult to determine the real situation.

After invading, the Germans looted Lithuania and took everything of value to Germany. Property that did not appeal to them, such as furniture, books, pictures, &c., they destroyed on the spot. Homes were burned, innocent people tortured and murdered. In the methods of torturing they have surpassed the barbarians of the eleventh century.

It was a terrible time for girls! These poor creatures, some only 14 years of age, were stripped of all clothing, then publicly violated—afterward murdered. Many mothers, with tears in their eyes, told the delegates how their young daughters were dragged away while they knelt before soldiers and officers, kissing their hands and beseeching for the lives of their loved ones. But the "Kultured" ear was deaf to their prayers, and the innocent girls were outraged and murdered in the presence of their parents. Infuriated fathers, sons, and brothers, attempting to protect their wives and sisters, their mothers and daughters, were hanged to the nearest trees. Pregnant women were ill-treated, kicked, and some of them hanged by Germans. Little children were wrested from their mothers' hands and hurled against the walls of buildings.

In the district of Suvalki, in the evacuated German trenches, were found the bodies of fourteen girls between 14 and 20 years of age. In other German trenches on the banks of the Dubisa River there were found ten bodies of young girls. This was also true of several other places where the Germans had previously been. The people who were forced to dig trenches for Germans testified that these girls had been seized by German soldiers for use of their officers, and then turned back so these same soldiers could finish them.

INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERINGS

Here is a real picture presented by one of the Lithuanian writers:

"The misery and sufferings of the unfortunate populace are indescribable. It is beyond human power to relieve the grief, the mental anguish, the tortures of those afflicted by this calamity. Many die of wounds; many are driven mad. Some, in agony, destroy themselves while protesting against the evil that has overwhelmed humanity. Too proud to receive sympathy and offended by the sight of human degradation, for relief they turn their eyes heavenward, but the gloomy, obscured horizon reflects only the flames of conflagrations devouring their unfortunate, blood-covered native land.

"They hear the cries of tortured brothers and sisters; the sharp, agonized voices pierce their aching hearts! They hear the roar of cannon that sounds to them like the laughter of an inferno mocking at human misery, at the Utopian dreams of universal brotherhood, at the attempts of doctrinaires and preachers of 'Love thy brother as thyself' to elevate an always envious, an ever greedy, superselfish humanity. Unconsoled by the faintest ray of hope from any source, in deepest despair, they seek a tragic end!"

FORCED INTO PROSTITUTION

After occupying Lithuania, the Germans established a strict military rule. Communication between cities and villages was cut off. Crossing the rivers is forbidden under penalty of death. People are confined in their homes—principally dugouts—between the hours of 10 at night and 7 in the morning. A disregard of this restriction brings severe punishment.

In the cities and villages German officers issued orders to former local officials to establish "red light districts" for Germans. Compliance would have been extremely unpopular in Lithuania and against the traditions of that country, so, despite menacing punishment, the officials emphatically refused to obey. Of course, they were punished—shot, or at least exiled to prison camps. Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the people, the Germans themselves established these "red light districts," not only in the cities, but in the villages as well. Then they forced mere girls and the younger women into them. To absolve themselves from such disgraceful deeds, these "red light districts"

were by Germans named "hospitals," and the people taxed to maintain them.

Numerous Lithuanian girls committed suicide just to escape German hands. Others dressed in the garb of old women and hobbled about on crutches. Some applied black paint to their bodies. Not a few burned their faces, hoping thus to prevent disgrace by destroying their beauty. Many were the ingenious schemes employed by young womanhood to protect itself from the bestial Germans.

Later on German officers sought to deal with the women with less violence, but husbands and brothers interfered, so the Germans decided to deport the male population to Germany and thus have undisputed mastery over the women left behind unprotected.

DESTROYING ALL RESOURCES

The pillage of the country was so thorough that even church bells and door knobs were gathered. Although the invaders attempted to confiscate everything of value, it remains to the credit of Lithuanians that this destructive work was not so easily accomplished, because Lithuanians know the Germans too well. They know them both from their own experience as neighbors and from stories about the "hideous Teutons" related by their ancestors. Consequently, the people of Lithuania took the best precautions to prevent being robbed of all their possessions.

To protect their animals they underfed them, giving only enough food to keep them alive. Upon learning that the Germans were coming to one of their villages, the Lithuanian peasants strove to conceal their possessions; foodstuffs and clothing they hid under ground, or, tightly packed in wooden boxes, suspended them in the tops of trees. If they did not succeed in hiding horses and cows in deserted trenches, or by better means, the next best thing to do was to drive a spike into the animal's foot. (Germans do not want lame horses.) When the invaders leave the village the poor peasant pulls out the spike and treats the animal to the best of his ability.

So skillful were the means adopted to save property that the Germans soon saw how useless it was to endeavor to rob the people by force. Then they decided to use the real Teutonic method. They published an announcement in the Lithuanian and Russian languages ordering the people to surrender willingly their domestic animals, clothing, food, and everything usable. Whoever failed to comply with this demand was to be severely punished. From then on for all things taken certain cards were to be issued, redeemable in money after the war. Naturally, at first the Lithuanians did not take all for granted. After a while, however, they thought there might be some truth in the German promise; also knowing that, while they could succeed possibly nine times out of ten in hiding things, the tenth time they might fail, and then not only lose everything, but be made to suffer.

That was why the people decided to dispose of their property, exchanging it for cards which it was supposed would be the same as money after the war. These cards were carefully guarded as precious treasures, because the only hope of restoring their lost property and ruined homes was in the cards.

American-Lithuanian delegates saw these cards; they read them. Thousands of them are in possession of the Lithuanian people. These cards are written in the German language. Most of the Lithuanian peasants do not understand German. They had to rely on German "sincerity" and on the figures which were supposed to represent the amount allowed for the goods taken from them.

It was a most painful experience for the people when they discovered that these cards were worse than worthless. They were without signature. The wording was offensive. For instance, there were taken from a peasant three cows and his last two horses; he received a card supposedly for 700 rubles (Russian money)—100 for each cow and 200 for each horse. Here we read: "If this peasant asks for money, give him 700 lashes." Another poor man received a card for 200 rubles in payment of his two small pigs and only cow. On it was written: "This fool peasant has 200

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN TRAINING

These men at Camp Dix, N. J., are learning how to use machine guns in repelling an assault by the enemy.

(Times Photo Service.)

Marching over the frozen ground at Camp Upton, N. Y.
(© *Western Newspaper Union.*)

Officers receiving instruction in handling the Stokes mortar at a British Corps School in France.
(© *Underwood and Underwood.*)

lice." Still another mark of civilization: "This man kissed my horse 400 times; he is a fool." One more: "The meat was good; 500 rubles shall be paid to you by Russians."

ROBBED EVEN OF CARDS

Gradually the Germans themselves began to realize that they would be convicted by the civilized world for such disgraceful work; so they decided to conceal their crimes. Hence the issuance of a new proclamation, telling all who had received certain cards for their property and wished to get money that they must turn these cards in to certain officials within a specified time.

Some of the people tried to comply, but the cards were taken away from them and they were told that "when the time comes you shall receive your money." No name or address has ever been asked of any person. If some one was brave enough to ask the official for some kind of identification or the return of his card that man was beaten and kicked out of the office, or was tied up publicly to the pole and kept for several hours, while he was flogged to break the monotony.

The Germans, seeing that not many were turning in their cards, issued another proclamation threatening severe punishment for noncompliance. So we see how, with these cards, the Germans, without any trouble on their part, robbed honest people of all they once possessed.

TAXING THE DOGS

Heavy taxes were imposed on Lithuania. Every man between 16 and 60 years of age had to pay 6 marks a year. The right is reserved by the local authorities to raise individual taxes when it is found he has more means than first reported. This can be made as high as 6,000 marks from each person. These taxes go entirely to the Germans. Dogs are also taxed—in the country 10 marks and in the cities 30 marks.

The Germans did everything in their power to take out of Lithuania all Russian money and to circulate in its place German paper money, but the people refused to acquiesce. They termed German money "bottle labels."

To profit by the situation, the rate of exchange for rubles was lowered. While in the first half of 1916 the rate everywhere was from 1.90 to 2 marks, the Germans put the official rate in Lithuania at 1.50.

Such commodities as sugar, flour, drugs, and soap would not be sold unless the people traded with gold. (Later there was no soap at all.) When gold became scarce they asked for Russian money of any kind. Later on the Germans issued a new paper currency, imitating Russian rubles, except that this "money" was printed in the German and Lithuanian languages. The Germans called it "Lithuanian money," and there was no guarantee behind it.

PLIGHT OF LITHUANIAN JEWS

There are many Jews in Lithuania, particularly in the principal cities, Vilnius (Vilna) and Kaunas (Kovno). These people made their living by keeping stores. Very few Jews engage in agriculture. The Germans robbed their homes, their stores, and left them to face starvation. At present there is no other way for them to make a living. In place of Jewish stores, Germans opened their own and did the business themselves.

While the American-Lithuanian delegates were in Kovno many Jewish mothers wept as they complained to them of German brutality and told how Jewish families were forced to send their daughters to the soldiers in order to get money enough to buy bread.

I will mention one out of hundreds of similar incidents which prove that Germans are heartless. The Lithuanians were planning for the Easter holiday. This holiday is a great event in Lithuania. No matter how poor a man may be, he tries, to the best of his ability, to meet that day fully prepared. New clothes are provided or old ones cleaned. Special care is exercised to have the best food with which to celebrate Easter. Even during the war and in the midst of great misery they did not forget that day. Under great difficulties and trying conditions they made ready to celebrate. But on the eve of observing this holiday, (April 23, 1916,) the Germans made an unexpected raid on the villages

in the district of Kovno and confiscated everything that had been specially gotten together for the Easter rejoicing. Instead of joyful reunions the Lithuanian Easter holiday that year was marked by sadness, by countless aching hearts and starving souls—all because of German atrociousness. * * *

GERMAN LANGUAGE USED

All Lithuanian newspapers have suspended publication. In their place the Germans publish one paper (Dabartis) in the Lithuanian language, and through this paper they try to bring the people to the Kaiser's feet. But the Lithuanians refused to read this paper and asked permission to publish their own. This was denied. Likewise they sought to open primary and secondary schools in which the instruction should be in the Lithuanian tongue. The Germans opened some of the schools, but there is no place for the Lithuanian language. Even in the conducting of municipalities and tribunals—everywhere—the German language must be used.

The Germans enforced this rule in Lithuania, notably in the cities of Vilna and Kovno. Here all clergymen were obliged to salute German officers by removing hats; also the school children are forced, under punishment, to salute the officers—boys by removing their hats and girls by courtesying. The children can hardly distinguish officers from privates, and to escape punishment they are obliged to salute every one in uniform. The private soldiers are now so used to this that they require it. The saluting high school girl of 15 or 16 officers and privates take by the hand without any further formality.

KAISER HONORS HANGMAN

The following is an extract from the Bulletin of the Bureau of Information of Lithuania, published in Switzerland, 1917:

> Prince Esenburg von Birnstein, Civil Governor of Lithuania, has been elected "Doctor Honoris Causa" by the University of Firbourg, in Brisgan, for "services" rendered to the German cause in Lithuania.
>
> These services consisted in requisitioning all personal property in the country and its exportation into Germany; in the deportation of the youth, and in the compulsory introduction of the German language in all of the schools and public institutions of Lithuania.
>
> This Prince is distinguished for brutality and is without an equal in this respect. He has introduced into Lithuania corporal punishments and slavery.

Here is a citation of the official announcement issued Nov. 6, 1916, at the City of Vilnius, (Vilna,) capital of Lithuania:

> Complying with the orders of the Chief Commander of the Eastern Armies, (Hindenburg,) all the men between 17 and 60 years of age, both inclusive, living in the province of Vilna, are being called for examination as to their fitness for work. They must report according to the numbers on their passports, issued by Ober-Ost, at the City of Vilna, ranging from Nos. 1 to 45,000.
>
> Those exempted are: All clergymen, teachers, physicians, dentists, pharmacists; but at the time of their call, according to the numbers of their passports, they must pay 600 marks to the German Stadthauptmann.
>
> This money will be used for a supply of clothing to be provided those called to work, and for the support of their families.
>
> Those failing to comply with this request, and failing to give reasonable cause, shall be punished by imprisonment for three years, or fined up to 10,000 marks, or both.
>
> Der Stadthauptmann, I. V. PILTZ.
> Vilna, Nov. 6, 1916.

In writing this story I have purposely omitted the names of people and places, fearing that it might bring harm to those living in the immediate sections referred to. Much has been too hideous to describe in detail, but after the war those who had to bear these things shall tell you, as I believe the Germans cannot succeed in murdering all who oppose them. But if they should, then the bones of the people shall speak to you; the trees on which they were hanged shall recite you the story; the bloody walls at which babies were killed shall present to you the sad picture furnished by the "Kultur trägers." The Germans cannot hide all their crimes, and the whole civilized world shall know the truth some day.

Those responsible for these crimes in Lithuania are the chief military ruler, von Hindenburg, and his aids—Prince

Esenburg von Birstein, who is the Civil Governor of Kovno and Courland Provinces; Count York, Governor of Vilna and Suvalki Provinces; Pohl, Burgomeister of the City of Vilna; Major Putkamer, and Mohl, from the staff of Prince Esenburg, who has offices in the City of Kovno. Some people in Berlin who are most responsible are Herr Trautman, from the Department of Justice, and Baron Ropp, the Kaiser's hand, (a German possessing large estates in Lithuania.) These are the principal murderers. Obviously, at the head of all of them stands the Kaiser.

All these people deserve a noose actively associated with the branch of a dead tree!

How the War Transformed England

By Sir John Foster Fraser, F. R. G. S.

Sir John Foster Fraser, who has written this article for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, *is a distinguished British Parliamentary correspondent, author, and traveler. His wanderings have taken him through every continent on the globe, and his travel books include "The Real Siberia," "Red Russia," "Pictures from the Balkans," "Canada as It Is," and "America at Work." He is now visiting the United States. His wife is an American.*

ONE of these days we will take reckoning, not only on the war as it has affected nations, but on the consequences socially in various belligerent countries. Things have happened in Great Britain since the outbreak of hostilities in the Summer of 1914 which no Englishman dreamed were possible; anybody who presumed to prophesy them would have been dismissed as a dreamer. There has not been so much a revolution as a gigantic evolution, which can only be appreciated by comparing matters as they are in 1918 with what they were nearly four years ago.

One of the most remarkable changes brought about by the war was in regard to British politics. Not only was a truce proclaimed between the great contending parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, but it is acknowledged history that the Government of the day, in the war measures it was taking, received stronger support from its erstwhile opponents than from its regular supporters.

When the great machine of war organization was set moving, and there were breakdowns and obstructions and mishaps, whatever criticism there was came from the regular supporters of the Liberal Government, and not from its antagonists.

The war machine became clogged; there was maladministration, with lamentable breakdowns. There were shortages in munitions, and disgraceful negligence in equipment. These things, unknown to the outside public, (though sometimes suspected,) were common information to what in Britain is called the official Opposition. Had Bonar Law, the leader of the Opposition, and his friends liked, they could, so free is the constitutional Government of Great Britain, have swept the Asquith administration from office and power in a night. Not a word was said. Nay, when the cry went up, "Come over and help us," the Conservative (or Unionist) Party consented to the creation of a Coalition Government. They knew that by such a proceeding they were throwing away any political advantage they might have had over their opponents, and were accepting a share in the responsibility at the very hour when the outlook for Great Britain was the darkest.

The fact that there was a Coalition Government, the outward sign that the party truce was really effective, meant the loosening in criticism of many tongues. Mr. Asquith remained Prime Minister. Although much was being accomplished, there was a gathering feel-

ing that in the progress of the war he was not displaying sufficient of what the Americans call "punch." The result of adverse comment was his ultimate resignation. His colleague, Lloyd George, became the first Minister of King George.

Animated by fiery Celtic and characteristic enthusiasm, and realizing that, having taken the greatest position in the empire, he must make good, Lloyd George at once ruthlessly and almost brutally cut away all the deadwood in the Government, although it meant the throwing on one side of many of his old personal and political friends.

Though a politician of uncompromising character whose anathema had descended like a torrent of vitriol upon those with whom he was in antagonism, Lloyd George now cared nothing for politics and called into his Government men who had been his enemies, men like Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner of South African fame, and others. He chose well-known business men who had distinguished themselves in railway organization, in city administration, the organization of commerce, found seats for them in Parliament independent of whatever their personal politics might be, and made them members of his Government. New Ministries were created; commissions and committees were set up to consider and assist on particular details. The great chiefs of war control were Liberals, Conservatives, Labor men, and men with no politics at all. Having after three years got the war machine in full working order, he created a small War Cabinet, the special function of which was to deal with the great important issues of the war, while it was left to others to carry forward the details, gigantic though they were.

It is not to be assumed that this meant the checking of criticism. Criticism has not only grown, but has sometimes been marked by harsh invective and accompanied by threats of industrial disruption. The only point I desire to make in this connection is that, while there have been conflicts of opinion concerning the proper prosecution of the war, antagonism from great masses of the working-class section of the community against their treatment under special war legislation, all the criticisms were independent of the old party animosities. Though there will be party divisions in the future, everybody knows that the old shibboleths will never be brought back. So far the war has done good.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

A swift but wonderful transformation was effected by the coming of the war. Many people had noted with alarm what is described by the phrase class antagonism. In certain circles was the ostentatious display of wealth, while at the other end of the scale were people who had to struggle hard for bare subsistence. England had a considerable leisure class, perhaps more than any other country—people who had inherited sufficient means to live comfortable lives without being engaged in any professional or commercial avocation. Though called the leisure class, they were by no means lazy, as the word might be translated, for the majority gave their time and their servces to useful but voluntary public work—the management of local affairs, the control of pu' lic institutions, and the supervision of all kinds of educational and charitable bodies. Still they, along with the great landowners and those who had become vulgarly rich, were looked upon askance by hundreds of thousands who were less well positioned than themselves.

At that time England had a considerable number of young fellows who were sarcastically referred to as "knuts," the sons of prosperous parents, youths who dressed extravagantly and took little interest in anything outside golf, cricket, football, and hunting. When the clarion was sounded for Britain to jump to arms, when men were wanted as soldiers and millions of money demanded to provide for the welfare of the fighting men, this despised class was the first to come forward. I should say that within three months after the declaration of war a "knut" was and individual incapable of being found in Great Britain.

Though later on there were recruiting campaigns, and Britain had ultimately to resort to conscription to secure soldiers,

nothing of this kind was necessary in the case of the sons of the aristocracy, the lads who belonged to long-established county families, or even the boys whose fathers comparatively recently had made fortunes by speculations on the Stock Exchange. Possibly public opinion had something to do with it, but I am convinced the British love of outdoor life and of adventure and of experiencing the joys of war—the young Englishman goes to war rather as a piece of fun than as a grave business for the safeguarding of democracy, about which he does not know very much—were the chief spurs which sent him to France and to Flanders. British officers have been killed and wounded out of all proportion to the general ranks. It was the recognition of their valor to death which imperceptibly but quickly softened the old class animosities and made the most radical and resentful workingman very proud of these young men. Today in England it would be difficult to find a well-to-do family that is not mourning the death of a brave young fellow.

CLASS PREJUDICE BROKEN

Another thing which broke down class prejudice was that the mothers and sisters of the young fellows threw themselves into Red Cross work, into canteen work, into work for looking after the wives and children of the soldiers hastened abroad, and of welfare work for brightening the lives of those who came to live and to work tremendous hours in improvised munition camps.

This appreciation reacted. Folk who lived in different stations of society were brought together in the work of common usefulness. Just as the workingman sitting on the same committee with the wife of an Earl learned that she was a charming and kind-hearted lady, so she in her turn discovered that the workingman was not a boor and that frequently he had a very shrewd knowledge of business. There will never be eliminated from my mind the way, during the first months of the war, social distinctions fell and all over the land, independent of the common concern for what was taking place on the other side of the English Channel, there was evidenced brotherhood and sisterhood. The flower of courtesy bloomed in those days, though I must admit that it has a little withered since that time. The net result, however, was mutual appreciation, a better understanding of common interests, a feeling that to be a Briton was a proud heritage not limited to any class.

THE FIRST BRITISH ARMY

Great Britain had what the Kaiser called "a contemptible little army." Within a week of the outbreak of hostilities, however, 40,000 men were shipped across the English Channel, ready to contest the advance of the boches. When the big fighting began, British troops suffered severely; the retreat from Mons was not far short of a tragedy. But the terrible ordeal which the soldiers under General French suffered, instead of damping the spirits of people at home, stirred them to war fever. In those days the name of Lord Kitchener was one to conjure with. When he appealed to the young men to volunteer, 500,000 were enrolled within a month. Two months later the number was up to a million; then three months elapsed before another half million recruits were secured. All open spaces around the towns became drill grounds.

There were scandals about ill-feeding, deficiency of clothing, bad housing, and occasionally a burst of indignation when it was revealed that certain contractors were making colossal fortunes in building army huts. All this, however, was buried beneath the general enthusiasm for the war. The bombardment of English coast towns by enemy war vessels and the visits of Zeppelins to England had a contrary effect to that which the Germans hoped. Each visit and every renewed outrage stimulated recruiting.

As it came to be understood how gigantic was the task before Britain, and how, so terrible was the wastage of war, thousands upon thousands of more men were required, a great recruiting campaign had to be started. Crowds of men responded, partly through patriotism and partly through the force of public opinion. In some industries, like that of coal mining, there was such a rush to

arms that the Government found it necessary to stop recruiting in colliery districts, because there was a possibility of a shortage of essential coal. The hoardings of the country were covered with gaudy appeals to the valor of young Englishmen. Young Englishwomen developed a practice of presenting white feathers to young men who they thought would be better engaged in shouldering a rifle than in driving a pen. The recruiting campaign did much. But, as the cry was ever for more men, it did not do enough.

CONSCRIPTION ACCEPTED

The idea of conscripted military service was wholly alien to the British temperament. Yet it had to come. In some industrial areas there was resistance, and for a time it appeared as though there would be serious domestic trouble. Necessitous circumstance triumphed. The Germans were endeavoring to force a way to Calais. There was trepidation in the British heart about the possibility of a German invasion of their island. Conscription of the young manhood of the country became operative, and the fears of the industrial classes that this might be followed by the conscription of labor were allayed. The consequence of calling men to the colors ultimately provided Great Britain with a standing army of close upon 7,000,000 men, and to this must be added about another million who came from the oversea dominions.

The withdrawal of so many men from ordinary civilian employment had a striking effect. Instead of there being unemployment with starvation stalking through the land, the demand for munitions, the building of ships, the providing of a thousand and one things necessary to accoutre and maintain an army, necessitated the reorganization of practically all the industries in Great Britain. Never had there been such a fervor of work. Unemployment fell to the vanishing point. The trade unionists, who had stood stoutly by their principle not to work alongside nonunionists, made a great concession and consented to their trades being invaded by throngs of men who had turned from nonessential industries to the manufacture of war necessaries.

RALLYING OF THE WOMEN

Great Britain was faced with an acute problem. Every man who went into the army meant that not only had he to be maintained, but his vacated place had to be filled by somebody else. So the women of the land were appealed to. At first, chiefly through diffidence, there was hesitancy. A good lead, however, was given by well-to-do women, who donned the overalls of workmen and went into factories. It became popular to become a munition worker, though I daresay the excellent pay had something to do with it. Women were called upon to follow many vocations which were new to them. They went into banks, became farm laborers, acted as omnibus conductors, railway ticket collectors, were seen serving in hotels where formerly there were only men waiters, until at last it was reckoned that something like 2,500,000 women were doing work as a direct result of their country being at war.

Out of the chaos and confusion which hampered England's military operations in the first year there gradually evolved an organization which, although far from perfect, stands as a marvel of attainment. The usual workmen's holidays were abrogated; hours of employment were extended to twelve and sometimes sixteen hours a day for seven days in the week. I am writing what I know and what I have seen when I say that many men under months of strain broke down and wept hysterically. The pace was too great. It was decided that at any rate men should rest each alternate Sunday. Then as production gradually crept up to and actually passed requirement, easier hours of labor were introduced.

It would be presenting a false picture to say that all went satisfactorily. There were protests against many of the labor restrictions, particularly one which prevented a man from leaving his present employ unless he had a certificate from his employer. Employers who were in need of men were not inclined to grant these certificates; therefore there was the feeling that men were tied to particular firms and were rather in the

position of serfs. As a matter of fact, I know that this arrangement had been imposed for the purpose of preventing employers winning away men from valuable work on which they were engaged by the offer of superior pay. However, after much controversy, the objectionable leaving certificate was abolished.

Though wages increased, it cannot be said that they kept pace with the constant rise in the cost of food. While on the one hand the artisans had the idea that the great war contractors were amassing huge fortunes, they were certain that on the other hand there was profiteering in the sale of the necessaries of life. In time these complaints, if not removed, were considerably modified by a special war profits tax which meant that great firms handed practically 80 per cent. of their war profits back to the State, and the profiteer had his schemes partly frustrated by the arbitrary fixing of the price of the prime articles of food.

Reviewing the whole of the industrial area, I can say the working classes of Great Britain were materially improved financially by the war. Shortage of labor and concerted action by trade unions forced up wages. A considerable amount of the extra money went into war bonds and Government loans. There was much amelioration in methods of living. It became a joke that the chief purchasers of pianos, expensive furniture, elaborate garments, furs, and jewelry were people of the working classes.

The folk whose incomes were considerably crippled, either by heavy taxation or by the increased cost of everything and no increase of income, were the middle or professional classes. Plain living was supposed to be the rule. One of the curious things was that while herrings and other common classes of fish increased in price, more expensive and luxurious food, say lobsters and oysters, considerably decreased in price. Ultimately, the country was rationed, voluntarily in regard to some articles, compulsorily in regard to others, so that at the present time the average consumption of bread is 4 pounds a week, meat 2½ pounds, and sugar 8 ounces.

ANCIENT LIBERTIES SUSPENDED

Though the general population is scarcely aware of the fact, it is nevertheless true that under the Defense of the Realm act, hurriedly passed in the early days of the war, and now generally referred to as "Dora," which is made up of the initial letters, no personal liberties are left to anybody in Great Britain. Any hotel or private dwelling house can be seized by the authorities for military purposes, and there is no redress. The freedom of the press, on which Britain formerly prided itself, has ceased. Not only is the censor strict in preventing the publication of any news which may be likely to give information to the enemy, but articles intended to bring the objects of the Allies into contempt are prohibited. Freedom of speech is no longer allowed, and meetings which are likely to have as their object the weakening of war aims are suppressed. Great Britain has passed under the strictest of military law, although it should be said in all fairness that, to the ordinary patriotic citizen who appreciates the anomalous nature of the times, this is no grievance.

The United Kingdom had not long been at war before it realized, with something like dismay, that following its easy-going money-making methods it had not only been dependent on foreign countries, chiefly Germany, for many articles, but had allowed Germany to secure a monopoly of certain key industries. There were even things necessary for war upon which England had formerly depended on Germany. I mention chemicals as the most outstanding of these. My countrymen had to adapt themselves; through the adaptation there grew up the national determination that never again would Great Britain or the empire allow itself to be at the mercy of any other country in the matter of such supplies. So, under all the warlike energy, there was a persistent movement in scientific circles, supported by the captains of industry and the Government, to make the British Empire self-contained in all essentials.

Perhaps, however, the most remarkable transformation which the war effected in Great Britain was in regard

to legislation. For years great political and economic questions had been debated in the houses of Parliament. There were acute divisions of opinion concerning the laws of trade and the relationship of capital and labor. The war compelled the country instantly to consider these matters from a new angle. Instead of free imports there was, notwithstanding some protests, the prohibition of the importation of certain articles, and heavy taxation was imposed in regard to others. In former times the two branches of industry, capital and labor, had fought out their disputes by the crude and cruel agency of lockouts and strikes. Some people believe there have been too many concessions to the demands of labor during the last three years; but while there has been a truce between the big political parties, British labor, though patriotic on the principles of the war, never relaxed its efforts to improve its power in the land.

The result of all this is that the representatives of labor are not only given a voice at the board set up to deal with disagreements, but by its very position and power in the electoral constituencies the Labor Party has a controlling voice. There is no general resentment at this; because the public at large know and admit that the chief work in the war has been done by the industrial classes—in the factories, the munition sheds, the shipyards, and on the field of battle.

Appreciating its power, the Labor Party proposes to put several hundred candidates of its own into the constituencies, and there is an anticipation that when Great Britain has a general election—though owing to the elastic British Constitution it is hoped to delay this till after the war—the Labor Party will have control of the political machine. It is to be borne in mind that in 1917 the House of Commons gave over six million women the Parliamentary franchise, and there is an assumption that the majority of these new voters, more interested in social problems, housing, health, the care of children, wages, the drink traffic, than in general problems, will give their support to the Labor Party.

MANY PERMANENT CHANGES

Change has followed upon the heel of change with a rapidity which would be startling were it not that the thoughts of men are engrossed with immediate problems; they scarcely have the time to turn round and survey how far they have traveled. Yet, if we do look over the ground and compare conditions today with those which existed in Great Britain in the earlier months of 1914, we find alterations in national life which could not otherwise have been effected in less than half a century. There will be great disputes in the future; but if we eliminate the sporadic and temporary disturbances which are always with us, and in times of war are sharp and dramatic because they swiftly rise and have to be as swiftly arranged, we see there has been an improvement in social conditions; that the control of public affairs has passed completely into the hands of the producing classes, leaving the old governing class with little power; that fresh vision has been brought to bear upon the solution of industrial problems; that women, though coming by the million into the work of munitions for a temporary purpose, are certain to remain in the labor market and by their newly acquired political power exert influence upon future legislation, the curve of which is now in the direction of national socialism.

Today the railways of Great Britain are under Government control; thousands of great works are directly administered by the Government; it is accepted that, in some measure, this control will be retained after the war. The distribution of food, the curbing of the profiteer, the check in the exploitation of the necessaries of life are all things which none of us expects will cease when the power of Prussianism has been broken and Great Britain returns to the path of peace. They are never going back to the old state of affairs. Workmen have declared they will never permit their wages to be reduced to the old standard by the harsh arbitrament of competition. A new England is in the making.

Military Review of 1917 on All Fronts

By General de Lácroix

French Military Expert

This rapid summary of the chief military events of 1917, written for the Paris Temps and translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, is especially convenient for reference purposes as regards dates and the correlation of events on all the fronts.

DURING the course of the year 1917 the military operations in Flanders, in Artois, to the north of the Aisne, in Champagne, at Verdun, in Alsace, in Macedonia, in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia were favorable to the Entente Allies. In Italy the situation, compromised for a moment, was promptly reestablished. Hostilities on the Russian fronts were halted and negotiations for a separate peace were begun. It is interesting to recall the chronological succession of events and to notice, if not the unity, at least the synchronism of the military actions of the Allies.

The suspension of the Duma at Petrograd on March 11 marked the coming of an internal revolution, which was to lead to the fall of the Czar and the establishment of a Provisional Government. On the same day the British entered Bagdad. In France the strategic withdrawal of the Germans, which had begun in the last days of February, was accentuated. On March 17 the British troops were at Bapaume and the French troops at Roye, Lassigny, and Noyon. Such was the situation in the Spring of 1917. From that time the attacks followed each other at intervals of a few days in all the theatres of operation.

BEGINNING OF SPRING ACTIVITIES

On March 21 the Franco-British armies for the first time met serious resistance between Arras and Nurlu and in the region south of St. Quentin. From the 19th to the 22d, inclusive, the Army of the East [in the Balkans] in four days of violent battle captured the heights to the north and west of Monastir. In the last days of March the British were victorious on the banks of the Wady Gaza, in Palestine, and at Sharaban, in Mesopotamia.

The Germans on April 3, profiting by the disorganization into which the revolution had thrown the Russian troops, carried by surprise the great bridgehead of Toboly, on the Stokhod. On the 6th the United States declared war on Germany, bringing to the support of the Allies an increase of strength which was to compensate in a measure for the weakening of the resistance on the Russian fronts. Between the 9th and 13th the British troops carried Vimy Ridge along a wide front, which brought them finally to the line Monchy-le-Preux-Bailleul-Sire-Berthout-Angres. By the 15th the attempts at fraternization between the Russian and German troops had become frequent. On the 16th the French troops attacked with success between Soissons and Rheims, and the next day between Rheims and St. Soupplet. Between the 18th and the 30th the British took Villers-Guislain, Gonnelieu, and Arleux-en-Gohelle; in Mesopotamia they defeated the Turks at Istabulat and at Bar-di-Adhim.

The British again attacked in force on May 3 from Bullecourt to Fresnoy and from La Sensée to the Vimy road. At the same moment the Rumanians took the offensive in the region of Voloscani and Caliman, in the upper valley of the Susita; the Army of the East did likewise on the English, Franco-Greek, Serbian, Italian, and Russian fronts from Doiran to Monastir. On May 11 and 12 the English in Artois penetrated into Liévin, completing the capture of Roeulx, and on the 17th took Bullecourt after an uninterrupted fight of fifteen days. On May 21 the French troops in their turn began a general offensive on the plateau of Laffaux, the Chemin des Dames, and the heights south of Moronvillers.

A few days earlier the Italian armies had crossed the Isonzo north of Plava,

and the action had extended rapidly along their whole front, to the north and south of Gorizia. They had brilliantly carried Monte Cucco and the Vodice, and had within their grasp certain important points between Castagnievizza and the sea. The situation had become so dangerous for the Austrians that an Austro-German war council met at Leybach on May 25.

BATTLE OF MESSINES

At the beginning of June the Italians were following up their attack along the Carso front, the Rumanian armies were advancing between the Susita and the Putna, the British troops in Artois, and the French troops on the plateaus of Vauclerc, the Casemates, and Californie. On June 7 and 8 the British carried the Messines salient by main force, and on the 14th took the slopes of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux. In Russia on the 16th, under the impulsion of the Provisional Government, active fighting was suddenly renewed on the Volhynian and Galician fronts. On June 23, 24, and 25, the French took the offensive on the plateau of Laffaux and north of Heurtebise, where they stormed the Dragon's Cave, while the British captured the outskirts of Lens.

General Brusiloff's offensive north of the Dniester began on June 29. On July 4 the Germans replied with vigorous counterattacks, but on the 8th Korniloff's army burst through to the south of the Dniester, took Halicz, pushed on to the Lomnitza, and captured Kalucz. On the 14th the enemy replied with a counter-offensive on the whole Russian front. In France we were holding the German forces by attacking them on the left bank of the Meuse, in Champagne, and to the north of the Aisne; our allies were approaching them from Havrincourt Wood to Monchy-le-Preux and along both banks of the Souchez.

Prince Leopold of Bavaria made a heavy attack on the Russians on July 21, and penetrated to the immediate environs of Tarnopol; a great part of the Russian forces retired in disorder, compelling the retreat of the armies in Galicia and Bukowina. The next day, however, the Russians counterattacked to the north and south of the Pripet. At the same time the Rumanians began so vigorous an attack between the Trotus and the Putna that the weakened right wing of Archduke Joseph's army was obliged to retire upon the southern slopes of the Berecz Mountains, while Mackensen's left wing counterattacked without success on the northern slopes of Mount Obodesci, northwest of Foksani. On July 28 the Austro-German troops reached the Zbrucz on the Galician frontier and the region of Czernowitz in Bukowina. On the 31st the British troops, supported on the left by a French army, assaulted the German front in Flanders from Bixschoote, on the Yser, to the outskirts of Warneton, on the Lys.

In August the fighting was general. Archduke Joseph entered Czernowitz. His centre and right advanced upon the Trotus, while Mackensen attacked in the directions of Panciu and Marascesci, in the angle of the Trotus and Sereth. The Rumanians, though threatened on both flanks, put up a heroic resistance in the valleys of the Slanic and Oituzu, on Mount Clija, on Mount Casinul, and in the upper valley of the Susita. On Aug. 15 there was a new British offensive in Flanders and in Artois, where the Canadians brilliantly carried the defenses of Hill 70, in front of Loos. At Verdun on the 20th began a new battle which gave the French possession of the advanced lines extending from Avocourt Wood to Bezonvaux. On the same dates the Italians were fighting from Tolmino to the Gulf of Trieste. They took Monte Santo on Aug. 24, and attacked San Gabriele, where they met a desperate resistance. On the 31st the Austrians checked the progress of their adversaries with a powerful counterattack on the Bainsizza Plateau.

GERMANS' CAPTURE OF RIGA

With the beginning of September came a new turn of events. The Germans crossed the Dvina near Uxkull and took Riga, which the Russians abandoned without defending it. The struggle, however, continued with unabated energy in Rumania, where the Rumanians vigorously counterattacked Mackensen's left flank between Panciu and Warnitza; in

Macedonia, where the left wing of the Army of the East took the offensive in the lake region; on the Isonzo, where the Italians strengthened their position on the Sella di Dol and captured the heights between Madoni and Podlesce, on the edge of the Bainsizza Plateau.

The first half of September was marked by special activity on the British and French fronts. The British established themselves firmly from Broodseinde to Poelcappelle, and on the edges of the Houthulst Forest. General Maistre's army on Sept. 23 captured the plateau of Malmaison. On the same day the 14th German Army penetrated the Italian lines in the valley of the Upper Isonzo, and its action, ably planned and vigorously led, supported as it was by the Austro-Hungarian armies on the right and left, forced the Italian armies to withdraw from the Isonzo, from the Carnic Alps, and from Tyrol. On Nov. 8 the Italian retreat stopped on the Piave; the next day the Austro-Hungarian forces from the Trentino broke through the Italian lines between Asiago and the Piave, where they found a stiff resistance, reinforced by the arrival of English and French reserves that had been hastily dispatched into Italy.

PROGRESS IN THE LEVANT

Meanwhile the successes of the Entente Allies became more marked in Asia and on the western front. In Palestine the cities of Beersheba, Gaza, and Jerusalem fell before the British expeditionary corps, to which Italian and French contingents had been added. In Mesopotamia, after overcoming separately the 18th and 13th Turkish Corps, the British pushed a salient as far as Tekrit, north of Samarra, and established themselves solidly between Deltana and Deli-Abbas. On Nov. 20 the British Army under General Byng pierced the German lines south of Cambrai. On the 24th it was violently counterattacked in Bourlon Wood. On the 30th it was assailed from Moeuvres to Bourlon, from Fontaine-Notre Dame to Masnières, and from Crevecoeur to Vendhuile. After fighting bravely for six days against superior forces Byng's army concentrated on a narrower front between Prouville, Flesquières, Couillet Wood, La Vacquerie, and Gonnelieu, in advance of the position where it had begun the attack.

EFFECTS OF THE ARMISTICE

Upon the Russian front the Germans had easily occupied the islands in the Gulf of Riga and the line of the Dvina River below Josephstadt. Pursuing their policy of disorganization, they succeeded in producing complete anarchy in the Russian armies and communities. On Dec. 15 an armistice was signed for the Russian and Rumanian fronts. This armistice, valid to Jan. 14, could be extended. It was to apply also to the Turko-Russian front in Asia, and was completed by this additional clause: "The Russian and Turkish High Commands are disposed to withdraw their troops from Persia. They will come to an agreement immediately with the Persian Government for the settlement of details."

As the Persian frontier extends from Mount Ararat to the mouth of the Chatt-el-Arab, on the Persian Gulf, the enemy hoped by this means to uncover the right flank and menace the communications of the British army in Mesopotamia, to create disorder in Persia, and to oblige the British, abandoned on that side by the Russians, to change their plans in order to parry the danger.

The armistice, as was to be expected, was arranged wholly in favor of the Central Powers. Germany seemed to believe that Russia, being disarmed, was at her mercy; but later many of the Russian provinces refused to accept Lenine's action. The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk took place under singular conditions. Trotzky and Lenine, the Bolshevist rulers, could no longer claim the right to speak in the name of all the Russias. On the other hand, the ambitions of Germany came clearly to light, becoming for her a source of new complications, which seemed likely to have some influence on the course of military operations.

General Haig's 1917 Report

Full Text of Official Narrative of the Battles Around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, sent to the British Secretary of War (Lord Derby) at the close of 1917 *a memorable report of the operations of his forces from the opening of the British offensive at Arras in April to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The dispatch was published in the official London Gazette on Jan.* 8, 1918, *from which it is here reproduced in full. It covers the great engagements around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres. The armies taking part in major operations were the First, under General Sir H. S. Horne; the Second, under General Sir Herbert Plumer; the Third, under General Sir E. H. H. Allenby; the Fourth, under General Sir Henry Rawlinson, and the Fifth, under General Sir H. Gough. In these operations* 131 *German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions. General Haig here tells in detail the story of some of the greatest fighting in the world's history, and tells it with a graphic vividness seldom found in official reports.*

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
BRITISH ARMIES IN THE FIELD,
DEC. 25, 1917.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command from the opening of the British offensive on April 9, 1917, to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The subsequent events of this year will form the subject of a separate dispatch, to be rendered a little later.

THE GENERAL ALLIED PLAN

(1) The general plan of campaign to be pursued by the allied armies during 1917 was unanimously agreed on by a conference of military representatives of all the allied powers held at French General Headquarters in November, 1916.

This plan comprised a series of offensives on all fronts, so timed as to assist each other by depriving the enemy of the power of weakening any one of his fronts in order to reinforce another.

A general understanding had also been arrived at between the then French Commander in Chief and myself as to the rôles of our respective armies in this general plan, and with the approval of his Majesty's Government preparations based upon these arrangements had at once been taken in hand.

(2) Briefly stated, my plan of action for the armies under my command in the proposed general offensive was as follows:

In the Spring, as soon as all the allied armies were ready to commence operations, my first efforts were to be directed against the enemy's troops occupying the salient between the Scarpe and the Ancre, into which they had been pressed as a result of the Somme battle.

It was my intention to attack both shoulders of this salient simultaneously, the 5th Army operating in the Ancre front, while the 3d Army attacked from the northwest about Arras. These converging attacks, if successful, would pinch off the whole salient, and would be likely to make the withdrawal of the enemy's troops from it a very costly manoeuvre for him if it were not commenced in good time.

The front of attack on the Arras side was to include the Vimy Ridge, possession of which I considered necessary to secure the left flank of the operations on the south bank of the Scarpe. The capture of this ridge, which was to be carried out by the 1st Army, also offered other important advantages. It would deprive the enemy of valuable observation and give us a wide view over the plains stretching from the eastern foot of the

ridge to Douai and beyond. Moreover, although it was evident that the enemy might, by a timely withdrawal, avoid a battle in the awkward salient still held by him between the Scarpe and the Ancre, no such withdrawal from his important Vimy Ridge positions was likely. He would be almost certain to fight for

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

this ridge, and, as my object was to deal him a blow which would force him to use up reserves, it was important that he should not evade my attack.

(3) With the forces at my disposal, even combined with what the French proposed to undertake in co-operation, I did not consider that any great strategical results were likely to be gained by following up a success on the front about Arras and to the south of it, beyond the capture of the objectives aimed at as described above. It was therefore my intention to transfer my main offensive to another part of my front after these objectives had been secured.

The front selected for these further operations was in Flanders. They were to be commenced as soon as possible after the Arras offensive, and continued throughout the Summer, so far as the forces at my disposal would permit.

(4) The positions held by us in the Ypres salient since May, 1915, were far from satisfactory. They were completely overlooked by the enemy. Their defense involved a considerable strain on the troops occupying them, and they were certain to be costly to maintain against a serious attack, in which the enemy would enjoy all the advantages in observation and in the placing of his artillery. Our positions would be much improved by the capture of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge and of the high ground which extends thence northeastward for some seven miles and then trends north through Broodseinde and Passchendaele.

The operation in its first stages was a very difficult one, and in 1916 I had judged that the general situation was not yet ripe to attempt it. In the Summer of 1917, however, as larger forces would be at my disposal, and as, in the Somme battle, our new armies had proved their ability to overcome the enemy's strongest defenses, and had lowered his power of resistance, I considered myself justified in undertaking it. Various preliminary steps had already been taken, including the necessary development of railways in the area, which had been proceeding quietly from early in 1916. I therefore hoped, after completing my Spring offensive further south, to be able to develop this Flanders attack without great delay, and to strike hard in the north before the enemy realized that the attack in the south would not be pressed further.

(5) Subsequently, unexpected developments in the early weeks of the year necessitated certain modifications in my plans above described.

New proposals for action were made by our French allies which entailed a considerable extension of my defensive front, a modification of the rôle previously allotted to the British armies, and an acceleration of the date of my opening attack.

As a result of these proposals, I received instructions from his Majesty's Government to readjust my previous plans to meet the wishes of our allies. Accordingly, it was arranged that I should commence the offensive early in April on as great a scale as the extension of my front would permit, with due regard to defensive requirements on the rest of my line. The British attack, under the revised scheme, was, in the first instance, to be preparatory to a

more decisive operation to be undertaken a little later by the French armies, in the subsequent stages of which the British forces were to co-operate to the fullest extent possible.

It was further agreed that if this combined offensive did not produce the full results hoped for within a reasonable time, the main efforts of the British armies should then be transferred to Flanders, as I had originally intended. In this case our allies were to assist me by taking over as much as possible of the front held by my troops, and by carrying out, in combination with my Flanders attacks, such offensives on the French front as they might be able to undertake.

(6) My original plan for the preliminary operations on the Arras front fortunately fitted in well with what was required of me under the revised scheme, and the necessary preparations were already in progress. In order to give full effect, however, to the new rôle allotted to me in this revised scheme, preparations for the attack in Flanders had to be restricted for the time being to what could be done by such troops and other labor as could not in any case be made available on the Arras front. Moreover, the carrying out of any offensive this year on the Flanders front became contingent on the degree of success attained by the new plan.

(7) The chief events to note during the period of preparations for the Spring offensive were the retirement of the enemy on the Arras-Soissons front and the revolution in Russia.

As regards the former, the redistribution of my forces necessitated by the enemy's withdrawal was easily made. The front decided on for my main attack on the Arras front lay almost altogether outside the area from which the enemy had retired, and my plans and preparations on that side were not deranged thereby. His retirement, however, did enable the enemy to avoid the danger of some of his troops being cut off by the converging attacks arranged for, and to that extent reduced the results which might have been attained by my operation as originally planned. The rôle of the 5th Army, too, had to be modified. Instead of attacking from the line of the Ancre simultaneously with the advance of the 3d Army from the northwest, it had now to follow up the retiring enemy and establish itself afresh in front of the Hindenburg line to which the enemy withdrew. This line had been very strongly fortified and sited with great care and skill to deny all advantages of position to any force attempting to attack it.

The adjustments necessary, however, to enable me to carry out the more subsidiary rôle which had been alloted to my armies since the formation of my original plans, were comparatively simple, and caused no delay in my preparation for the Spring offensive.

My task was, in the first instance, to attract as large hostile forces as possible to my front before the French offensive was launched, and my forces were still well placed for this purpose. The capture of such important tactical features as the Vimy Ridge and Monchy-le-Preux by the 1st and 3d Armies, combined with pressure by the 5th Army from the south against the front of the Hindenburg line, could be relied on to use up many of the enemy's divisions and to compel him to reinforce largely on the threatened front.

The Russian revolution was of far more consequence in the approaching struggle. Even though the Russian armies might still prove capable of co-operating in the later phases of the 1917 campaign, the revolution at once destroyed any prospect that may previously have existed of these armies being able to combine with the Spring offensive in the west by the earlier date which had been fixed for it in the new plans made since the conference of November, 1916. Moreover, as the Italian offensive also could not be ready until some time after the date fixed by the new arrangement with the French for our combined operation, the situation became very different from that contemplated at the conference.

It was decided, however, to proceed with the Spring offensive in the west, notwithstanding these serious drawbacks. Even though the prospects of any far-reaching success were reduced, it would at least tend to relieve Russia of pres-

sure on her front while she was trying to reorganize her Government; and if she should fail to reorganize it, the Allies in the west had little, if anything, to gain by delaying their blow. Preparations were pushed on accordingly, the most urgent initial step being the development of adequate transport facilities.

Spring Campaign—Preparations for Arras Offensive

(8) When transport requirements on the front in question were first brought under consideration, the neighborhood was served by two single lines of railway, the combined capacity of which was less than half our estimated requirements. Considerable constructional work, therefore, both of standard and narrow gauge railway, had to be undertaken to meet our program. Roads also had to be improved and adapted to the circumstances for which they were required, and preparations made to carry them forward rapidly as our troops advanced.

For this latter purpose considerable use was made both in this and in the later offensives of plank roads. These were built chiefly of heavy beech slabs laid side by side, and were found of great utility, being capable of rapid construction over almost any nature of ground.

By these means the accumulation of the vast stocks of munitions and stores of all kinds required for our offensive, and their distribution to the troops, were made possible. The numberless other preparatory measures taken for the Somme offensive were again repeated, with such improvements and additions as previous experience dictated. Hutting and other accommodation for the troops concentrated in the area had to be provided in great quantity. An adequate water supply had to be guaranteed, necessitating the erection of numerous pumping installations, the laying of many miles of pipe lines, and the construction of reservoirs.

Very extensive mining and tunneling operations were carried out. In particular, advantage was taken of the existence of a large system of underground quarries and cellars in Arras and its suburbs to provide safe quarters for a great number of troops. Electric light was installed in these caves and cellars, which were linked together by tunnels, and the whole connected by long subways with our trench system east of the town.

A problem peculiar to the launching of a great offensive from a town arose from the difficulty of insuring the punctual debouching of troops and the avoidance of confusion and congestion in the streets both before the assault and during the progress of the battle. This problem was met by the most careful and complete organization of routes, reflecting the highest credit on the staffs concerned.

The Enemy's Defenses

9. Prior to our offensive, the new German lines of defense on the British front ran in a general northwesterly direction from St. Quentin to the village of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines, immediately southeast of Arras. Thence the German original trench systems continued northward across the valley of the Scarpe River to the dominating Vimy Ridge, which, rising to a height of some 475 feet, commands a wide view to the southeast, east, and north. Thereafter the opposing lines left the high ground, and, skirting the western suburbs of Lens, stretched northward to the Channel across a flat country of rivers, dikes, and canals, the dead level of which is broken by the line of hills stretching from Wytschaete northeastward to Passchendaele and Staden.

The front attacked by the 3d and 1st Armies on the morning of April 9 extended from just north of the village of Croisilles, southeast of Arras, to just south of Givenchy-en-Gohelle at the northern foot of Vimy Ridge, a distance of nearly fifteen miles. It included between four and five miles of the northern end of the Hindenburg line, which had been built to meet the experience of the Somme battle.

Further north, the original German defenses in this sector were arranged on the same principle as those which we had already captured further south. They comprised three separate trench systems, connected by a powerful switch line running from the Scarpe at Fampoux to Lievin, and formed a highly organized defensive belt some two to five miles in depth.

In addition, from three to six miles further east a new line of resistance was just approaching completion. This system, known as the Drocourt-Queant line, formed a northern extension of the Hindenburg line, with which it is linked up at Queant.

Fight for Aerial Supremacy

(10) The great strength of these defenses demanded very thorough artillery preparation, and this in turn could only be carried out effectively with the aid of our air service.

Our activity in the air, therefore, increased with the growing severity of our bombardment. A period of very heavy air fighting ensued, culminating in the days immediately preceding the attack in a struggle of the utmost intensity for local supremacy in the

air. Losses on both sides were severe, but the offensive tactics most gallantly persisted in by our fighting airplanes secured our artillery machines from serious interference and enabled our guns to carry out their work effectively. At the same time bombing machines caused great damage and loss to the enemy by a constant succession of successful raids directed against his dumps, railways, airdromes, and bullets.

The Bombardment

(11) Three weeks prior to the attack the systematic cutting of the enemy's wire was commenced, while our heavy artillery searched the enemy's back areas and communications. Night firing, wire cutting, and bombardment of hostile trenches, strong points, and billets continued steadily and with increasing intensity on the whole battle front, till the days immediately preceding the attack, when the general bombardment was opened.

During the latter period extensive gas discharges were carried out, and many successful raids were undertaken by day and night along the whole front to be attacked.

Organized bombardments took place also on other parts of our front, particularly in the Ypres sector.

The Troops Employed

(12) The main attack was intrusted to the 3d and 1st Armies under the command of General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., and General Sir H. S. Horne, K. C. B., respectively.

Four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Allenby, with an additional Army Corps Headquarters to be used as occasion might demand. Cavalry also was brought up into the 3d Army area, in case the development of the battle should give rise to an opportunity for the employment of mounted troops on a considerable scale.

The attack of the 1st Army on the Vimy Ridge was carried out by the Canadian corps. It was further arranged that, as soon as the Vimy Ridge had been secured, the troops in line on the front of the Canadian corps should extend the area of attack northward as far as the left bank of the Souchez River. An additional army corps was also at the disposal of the 1st Army in reserve.

The greater part of the divisions employed in the attack were composed of troops drawn from the English counties. These, with Scottish, Canadian, and South African troops, accomplished a most striking success.

My plans provided for the co-operation of the 4th and 5th Armies under the command respectively of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., and General Sir H. de la P. Gough, K. C. B., K. C. V. O., as soon as the development of my main assault should permit of their effective action.

The Method of Attack

(13) The attack on the front of the 3d and 1st Armies was planned to be carried out by a succession of comparatively short advances, the separate stages of which were arranged to correspond approximately with the enemy's successive systems of defense. As each stage was reached a short pause was to take place, to enable the troops detailed for the attack on the next objective to form up for the assault.

Tanks, which on many occasions since their first use in September of last year had done excellent service, were attached to each corps for the assault and again did admirable work in co-operation with our infantry. Their assistance was particularly valuable in the capture of hostile strong points, such as Telegraph Hill and the Harp, two powerful redoubts situated to the south of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines and Railway Triangle, a stronghold formed by the junction of the Lens and Douai lines, east of Arras.

The Arras Battle

(14) The general attack on April 9 was launched at 5:30 A. M. under cover of a most effective artillery barrage. Closely following the tornado of our shell fire our gallant infantry poured like a flood across the German lines, overwhelming the enemy's garrisons.

Within forty minutes of the opening of the battle practically the whole of the German front-line system on the front attacked had been stormed and taken. Only on the extreme left fierce fighting was still taking place for the possession of the enemy's trenches on the slopes of Hill 145 at the northern end of the Vimy Ridge.

At 7:30 A. M. the advance was resumed against the second objectives. Somewhat greater opposition was now encountered, and at the hour at which these objectives were timed to have been captured strong parties of the enemy were still holding out on the high ground north of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines, known as Observation Ridge, and in Railway Triangle.

North of the Scarpe, north country and Scottish territorial troops, attacking east of Roclincourt, were met by heavy machine-gun fire. Their advance was delayed, but not checked. On the left the Canadians rapidly overran the German positions, and by 9:30 A. M., in spite of difficult going over wet and sticky ground, had carried the village of Les Tilleuls and La Folie Farm.

By 12 noon men from the eastern counties of England had captured Observation Ridge and, with the exception of Railway Triangle, the whole of our second objectives were in our possession, from south of Neuville Vitasse, stormed by London territorials, to north of La Folie Farm. A large number of prisoners had already been taken, including practically a whole battalion of the 162d German Regiment at the Harp.

Meanwhile our artillery had begun to move

RIFLE PRACTICE AT AN AMERICAN TRAINING CAMP

Field works at Camp Meade, Maryland, especially constructed for instruction in rifle shooting. These men are non-commissioned officers training under the supervision of a British army officer.

(© International Film Service.)

WHERE AMERICAN OFFICERS ARE TRAINED IN FRANCE

General view of a British Corps School in France, one of the institutions at which American officers are receiving instruction.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood and Underwood.)

forward to positions from which they could support our attack upon our third objectives. The enemy's determined resistance at Observation Ridge, however, had delayed the advance of our batteries in this area. The bombardment of the German third line on this front had consequently to be carried out at long range, with the result that the enemy's wire was not well cut.

None the less, when the advance was resumed shortly after midday, great progress was made all along the line. In the course of this attack many of the enemy's battery positions were captured, together with a large number of guns.

German Third-Line Breaches

South of the Scarpe, Manchester and Liverpool troops took St. Martin-sur-Cojeul, and our line was carried forward between that point and Feuchy Chapel on the Arras-Cambrai road. Here a counterattack was repulsed at 2 P. M., and at about the same hour Scottish troops carried Railway Triangle, after a long struggle. Thereafter this division continued its advance rapidly and stormed Feuchy village, making a breach in the German third line. An attempt to widen this breach, and to advance beyond it in the direction of Monchy-le-Preux, was held up for the time by the condition of the enemy's wire.

North of the Scarpe our success was even more complete. Troops from Scotland and South Africa, who had already stormed St. Laurent Blagny, captured Athies. They then gave place, in accordance with program, to an English division, who completed their task by the capture of Fampoux village and Hyderabad Redoubt, breaking another wide gap in the German third-line system. The north country troops on their left seized the strong work known as the Point du Jour, in the face of strong hostile resistance from the German switch line to the north.

Further north, the Canadian division, with an English brigade in the centre of its attack, completed the capture of the Vimy Ridge from Commandant's House to Hill 145, in spite of considerable opposition, especially in the neighborhood of Thelus and the high ground north of this village. These positions were taken by 1 P. M., and early in the afternoon our final objectives in this area had been gained. Our troops then dug themselves in on the eastern side of Farbus Wood and along the steep eastern slopes to the ridge west and northwest of Farbus, sending out cavalry and infantry patrols in the direction of Willerval and along the front of their position.

Desperate Fighting of Canadians

The left Canadian division, meanwhile, had gradually fought its way forward on Hill 145, in the face of a very desperate resistance. The enemy defended this dominating position with great obstinacy, and his garrison, reinforced from dugouts and underground tunnels, launched frequent counterattacks. In view of the severity of the fighting, it was decided to postpone the attack upon the crest line until the following day.

At the end of the day, therefore, our troops were established deeply in the enemy's positions on the whole front of attack. We had gained a firm footing in the enemy's third line on both banks of the Scarpe, and had made an important breach in the enemy's last fully completed line of defense.

During the afternoon cavalry had been brought up to positions east of Arras, in readiness to be sent forward should our infantry succeed in widening this breach sufficiently for the operations of mounted troops. South of Feuchy, however, the unbroken wire of the German third line constituted a complete barrier to a cavalry attack, while the commanding positions held by the enemy on Monchy-le-Preux Hill blocked the way of advance along the Scarpe. The main body of our mounted troops was accordingly withdrawn in the evening to positions just west of the town. Smaller bodies of cavalry were employed effectively during the afternoon on the right bank of the Scarpe to maintain touch with our troops north of the river, and captured a number of prisoners and guns.

The Advance Continued

(15) For some days prior to April 9 the weather had been fine, but on the morning of that day heavy showers had fallen, and in the evening the weather definitely broke. Thereafter for many days it continued stormy, with heavy falls of snow and squalls of wind and rain. These conditions imposed great hardships on our troops and greatly hampered operations. The heavy snow, in particular, interfered with reliefs, and rendered all movements of troops and guns slow and difficult. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the resultant delay in bringing up our guns, at a time when the enemy had not yet been able to assemble his reserves, or to calculate the influence which a further period of fine weather might have had upon the course of the battle.

North of the Scarpe little remained to be done to complete the capture of our objectives. South of the river we still required to gain the remainder of the German third line and Monchy-le-Preux. Despite the severity of the weather, our troops set themselves with the utmost gallantry to the accomplishment of these tasks.

During the night English troops made considerable progress through the gap in the German defenses east of Feuchy and occupied the northern slopes of Orange Hill, southeast of the village.

Throughout the morning of April 10 every effort was made to gain further ground through this gap, and our troops succeeded in reaching the inclosures northwest of Monchy-le-Preux.

THE BATTLEFIELD OF ARRAS

Meanwhile, on the left flank of our battle front the Canadians had renewed their attack at 4 P. M. on the portion of Hill 145 still remaining in the enemy's possession, and captured it after sharp fighting, together with over 200 prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns.

Monchy-le-Preux

(16) Heavy fighting, in which cavalry again took part, continued south of the Scarpe on April 11. Two English infantry brigades, acting in co-operation with cavalry, attacked Monchy-le-Preux at 5 A. M., and after hard fighting in which tanks arrived at an opportune moment, carried the position. As our men pushed through the village, the enemy was seen retreating eastward over the open, and many casualties were inflicted on him by our machine guns. By 9 A. M. the whole of Monchy-le-Preux was in our hands, with a number of prisoners. During the afternoon and evening several determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry and cavalry, assisted by the fire of our artillery.

On the other parts of the front our attacks had to be made across open forward slopes, which were swept from end to end by the enemy's machine guns. The absence of adequate artillery support again made itself felt, and little ground was gained.

At noon the advance became general, and the capture of the whole of the enemy's third-line system south of the Scarpe was completed. The progress of our right beyond this line was checked by machine-gun fire from the villages of Heninel, Wancourt, and Guémappe, with which our artillery was unable to deal effectively. Between the Arras-Cambrai road and the Scarpe, English and Scottish troops pushed on as far as the western edge of Monchy-le-Preux. Here our advance was held up as a result of the unavoidable weakness of our artillery support, and for the same reason an attempt to pass cavalry south and north of Monchy-le-Preux and along the left bank of the Scarpe proved impossible in the face of the enemy's machine-gun fire.

In combination with this attack on the 3d Army front, the 5th Army launched an attack at 4:30 A. M. on April 11 against the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. The Australian and West Riding battalions engaged showed great gallantry in executing a very difficult attack across a wide extent of open country. Considerable progress was made, and parties of Australian troops, preceded by tanks, penetrated the German positions as far as Riencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. The obstinacy of the enemy's resistance, however, in Heninel and Wancourt, which held up the advance of the

3d Army at these points, prevented the troops of the two armies from joining hands, and the attacking troops of the 5th Army were obliged to withdraw to their original line.

Heninel and the Souchez River

(17) On April 12 the relief of a number of divisions most heavily engaged was commenced, and on the same day the cavalry were withdrawn to areas west of Arras. Great efforts were made to bring forward guns, and, in spite of the difficulties presented by weather and ground, several batteries of howitzers and heavy guns reached positions in the rear of the old German third line.

On this day our attacks upon Heninel and Wancourt were renewed, and our troops succeeded in carrying both villages, as well as in completing the capture of the Hindenburg line for some 2,000 yards south of the Cojeul River. North of the Scarpe attacks were made against Roeux village and the chemical works near Roeux Station, and proved the commencement of many days of fierce and stubbornly contested fighting.

On our left flank operations of the 1st Army astride the Souchez River met with complete success. Attacks were delivered simultaneously at 5 A. M. on April 12 by English and Canadian troops against the two small hills known as the Pimple and the Bois-en-Hache, situated on either side of the Souchez River. Both of these positions were captured, with a number of prisoners and machine guns. Steps were at once taken to consolidate our gains and patrols were pushed forward to maintain touch with the enemy.

Withdrawal of the Enemy

(18) The results of this last success at once declared themselves. Prior to its accomplishment there had been many signs that the enemy was preparing to make strong counterattacks from the direction of Givenchy and Hirondelle Woods to recover the Vimy Ridge. The positions captured on April 12 commanded both these localities, and he was therefore compelled to abandon the undertaking. His attitude in this neighborhood forthwith ceased to be aggressive, and indications of an immediate withdrawal from the areas commanded by the Vimy Ridge multiplied rapidly.

The withdrawal commenced on the morning of the April 13. Before noon on that day Canadian patrols had succeeded in occupying the southern portion of Givenchy-en-Gohelle, had pushed through Petit Vimy, and had reached the crossroads 500 yards northeast of the village. That afternoon English patrols north of the Souchez River crossed No Man's Land and entered Angres, while Canadian troops completed the occupation of Givenchy-en-Gohelle and the German trench system east of it. Further south our troops seized Petit Vimy and Vimy, and Willerval and Bailleul were occupied in turn.

Our patrols, backed by supports, continued to push forward on the 14th of April, keeping contact with the retreating enemy, but avoiding heavy fighting. By midday the general line of our advanced troops ran from a point about 1,000 yards east of Bailleul, through Mont Foret Quarries and the Farbus-Méricourt road, to the eastern end of Hirondelle Wood. North of the river we had reached Riaumont Wood and the southern outskirts of Liévin. By the evening the whole of the town of Liévin was in our hands, and our line ran thence to our old front line north of the Double Crassier. Great quantities of ammunition of all calibres, as well as several guns and stores and materials of every kind were abandoned by the enemy in his retreat.

Meanwhile on the 13th and 14th of April fighting south of the Scarpe continued, and some progress was made in the face of strong hostile resistance. On the right of our attack our troops fought their way eastward down the Hindenburg line till they had reached a point opposite Fontaine-les-Croiselles, about seven miles southeast of Arras. In the centre a Northumberland brigade, advancing in open order, carried the high ground east of Heninel and captured Wancourt Tower. Three counterattacks against this position were successfully driven off, and further ground was gained on the ridge southeast of Heninel.

On the other parts of our line heavy counterattacks developed on the 14th of April, the most violent of which were directed against Monchy-le-Preux. The struggle for this important position was exceedingly fierce. The enemy's attacks were supported by the full weight of his available artillery, and at one time parties of his infantry reached the eastern defenses of the village. To the south and the north, however, our posts held their ground, and in the end the enemy was completely repulsed with great loss.

Results of First Attacks

(19) Our advance had now reached a point at which the difficulty of maintaining communications and of providing adequate artillery support for our infantry began seriously to limit our progress. Moreover, the enemy had had time to bring up reserves and to recover from the temporary disorganization caused by our first attacks. Both the increasing strength of his resistance and the weight and promptness of his counterattacks made it evident that, except at excessive cost, our success could not be developed further without a return to more deliberate methods.

Already a very remarkable success had been gained, whether measured by our captures in territory, prisoners, and guns, or judged by the number of German divisions attracted to the front of our attack.

At the end of six days' fighting our front had been rolled four miles further east, and all the dominating features, forming the immediate objects of my attack, which I considered it desirable to hold before transfer-

ring the bulk of my resources to the north, had passed into our possession. So far, therefore, as my own plans were concerned, it would have been possible to have stopped the Arras offensive at this point, and while maintaining a show of activity sufficient to mislead the enemy as to my intentions, to have diverted forthwith to the northern theatre of operations the troops, labor, and material required to complete my preparations there.

At this time, however, the French offensive was on the point of being launched, and it was important that the full pressure of the British offensive should be maintained in order to assist our allies and that we might be ready to seize any opportunity which might follow their success. Accordingly, active preparations were undertaken to renew my attack, but, in view both of the weather and of the strength already developed by the enemy, it was necessary to postpone operations until my communications had been re-established and my artillery dispositions completed. The following week, therefore, saw little change in our front, though the labors of our troops continued incessantly under conditions demanding the highest qualities of courage and endurance.

So far as my object was to draw the enemy's reserves from the front of the French attack, much had already been accomplished. In addition to the capture of more than 13,000 prisoners and over 200 guns, a wide gap had been driven through the German prepared defenses. The enemy had been compelled to pour in men and guns to stop this gap, while he worked feverishly to complete the Drocourt-Quéant line. Ten days after the opening of our offensive the number of German infantry engaged on the front of our attack had been nearly doubled, in spite of the casualties the enemy's troops had sustained. The massing of such large forces within the range of our guns, and the frequent and costly counterattacks rendered necssary by our successes, daily added to the enemy's losses.

Subsidiary Operations

(20) In addition to the main attack east of Arras, successful minor operations were carried out on the 9th of April by the 4th and 5th Armies, by which a number of fortified villages covering the Hindenburg line were taken, with some hundreds of prisoners, and considerable progress was made in the direction of St. Quentin and Cambrai.

Throughout the remainder of the month the two southern armies maintained constant activity. By a succession of minor enterprises our line was advanced closer and closer to the Hindenburg line, and the enemy was kept under the constant threat of more serious operations on this front.

The only offensive action taken by the enemy during this period in this area occurred on the 15th of April. At 4:30 o'clock on that morning the enemy attacked our positions from Hermies to Noreuil with considerable forces, estimated at not less than sixteen battalions. Heavy fighting took place, in the course of which parties of German infantry succeeded in penetrating our lines at Lagnicourt for some distance, and at one time reached our advanced battery positions. By 1 P. M., however, the whole of our original line had been re-established, and the enemy left some seventeen hundred dead on the field as well as 360 prisoners in our hands. During the attack our heavy batteries remained in action at very close range and materially assisted in the enemy's repulse.

Guemappe and Gavrelle

(21) On the 16th of April our allies launched their main offensive on the Aisne, and shortly after that date the weather on the Arras front began to improve. Our preparations made more rapid progress, and plans were made to deliver our next attack on the 21st of April. High winds and indifferent visibility persisted, however, and so interfered with the work of our artillery and airplanes that it was found necessary to postpone operations for a further two days. Meanwhile local fighting took place frequently, and our line was improved slightly at a number of points.

At 4:45 A. M. on the 23d of April British troops attacked on a front of about nine miles from Croiselles to Gavrelle. At the same hour a minor operation was undertaken by us southwest of Lens.

On the main front of attack good progress was made at first at almost all points. By 10 A. M. the remainder of the high ground west of Chérisy had been captured by the attacking English brigades, and Scottish troops had pushed through Guémappe. East of Monchy-le-Preux British battalions gained the western slopes of the rising ground known as Infantry Hill. North of the Scarpe Highland territorials were engaged in heavy fighting on the western outskirts of Roeux Wood and the chemical works. On their left English county troops had reached the buildings west of Roeux Station and gained the line of their objectives on the western slopes of Greenland Hill, north of the railway. On the left of our main attack the Royal Naval Division had made rapid progress against Gavrelle, and the whole of the village was already in its hands.

At midday and during the afternoon counterattacks in great force developed all along the line, and were repeated by the enemy with the utmost determination, regardless of the heavy losses inflicted by our fire. Many of these counterattacks were repulsed after severe fighting, but on our right our troops were ultimately compelled by weight of numbers to withdraw from the ridge west of Chérisy and from Guémappe. North of the Scarpe fierce fighting continued for the possession of Roeux, the chemical works, and the station to the north, but without producing any lasting change in the situation. Not less than five separate counterattacks were

made by the enemy on this day against Gavrelle, and on the 24th of April he thrice repeated his attempts. All these attacks were completely crushed by our artillery barrage and machine-gun fire.

As soon as it was clear that the whole of our objectives for the 23d of April had not been gained, orders were issued to renew the advance at 6 P. M. In the attack Guémappe was retaken, but further south our troops were at once met by a counterattack in force, and made no progress. Fighting of a more or less intermittent character continued in this area all night.

In the early morning of the 24th of April the enemy's resistance weakened all along the front of our attack south of the Arras-Cambrai road. Our troops reaped the reward of their persistence, and gained their objectives of the previous day without serious opposition.

After twenty-four hours of very fierce fighting, therefore, in which the severity of the enemy's casualties were in proportion to the strength and determination of his numerous counterattacks, we remained in possession of the villages of Guémappe and Gavrelle, as well as of the whole of the high ground overlooking Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and Chérisy. Very appreciable progress had also been made east of Monchy-le-Preux, on the left bank of the Scarpe, and on Greenland Hill.

In the minor operations southwest of Lens Cornish troops established themselves on the railway loop east of Cité des Petit Bois, and succeeded in maintaining their position in spite of numerous hostile counterattacks.

In the course of these operations of the 23d and 24th of April we captured a further 3,000 prisoners and a few guns. On the battlefield, which remained in our possession, great numbers of German dead testified to the costliness of the enemy's obstinate defense.

Policy of Subsequent Operations

(22) The strength of the opposition encountered in the course of this attack was in itself evidence that my offensive was fulfilling the part designed for it in the allied plans. As the result of the fighting which had already taken place twelve German divisions had been withdrawn exhausted from the battle or were in process of relief. A month after the commencement of our offensive the number of German divisions so withdrawn had increased to twenty-three. On the other hand, the strengthening of the enemy's forces opposite my front necessarily brought about for the time being the characteristics of a wearing-out battle.

On the Aisne and in Champagne, also, the French offensive had met with very obstinate resistance. It was becoming clear that many months of heavy fighting would be necessary before the enemy's troops could be reduced to a condition which would permit of a more rapid advance. None the less, very considerable results had already been achieved, and our allies continued their efforts against the long plateau north of the Aisne traversed by the Chemin des Dames.

In order to assist our allies, I arranged that until their object had been attained I would continue my operations at Arras. The necessary readjustment of troops, guns, and material required to complete my preparations for my northern operations was accordingly postponed, and preparations were undertaken for a repetition of my attacks on the Arras front until such time as the results of the French offensive should have declared themselves.

The Final Arras Attacks

(23) The first of these attacks was delivered on the 28th of April on a front of about eight miles north of Monchy-le-Preux. With a view to economizing my troops, my objectives were shallow, and for a like reason, and also in order to give the appearance of an attack on a more imposing scale, demonstrations were continued southward of the Arras-Cambrai road and northward to the Souchez River.

The assault was launched at 4:25 A. M. by British and Canadian troops, and resulted in heavy fighting, which continued throughout the greater part of the 28th and 29th of April. The enemy delivered counterattack after counterattack with the greatest determination and most lavish expenditure of men. Our positions at Gavrelle alone were again attacked seven times with strong forces, and on each occasion the enemy was repulsed with great loss.

In spite of the enemy's desperate resistance, the village of Arleux-en-Gohelle was captured by Canadian troops, after bitter hand-to-hand fighting, and English troops made further progress in the neighborhood of Oppy, on Greenland Hill, and between Monchy-le-Preux and the Scarpe. In addition to these advances, another 1,000 German prisoners were taken by us in the course of the two days' fighting.

Fresnoy

(24) Five days later, at 3:45 A. M. on the 3d of May, another attack was undertaken by us of a similar nature to that of the 28th of April, which in the character of the subsequent fighting it closely resembled.

In view of important operations which the French were to carry out on the 5th of May, I arranged for a considerable extension of my active front. While the 3d and 1st Armies attacked from Montaine-lez-Croiselles to Fresnoy, the 5th Army launched a second attack upon the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. This gave a total front of over sixteen miles.

Along practically the whole of this front our troops broke into the enemy's positions. Australian troops carried the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt. Eastern county battalions took Chérisy. Other English troops entered Roeux and captured the German trenches

south of Fresnoy. Canadian battalions found Fresnoy full of German troops assembled for a hostile attack which was to have been delivered at a later hour. After hard fighting, in which the enemy lost heavily, the Canadians carried the village, thereby completing an unbroken series of successes.

Later in the day, strong hostile counterattacks once more developed, accompanied by an intense bombardment with heavy guns. Fierce fighting lasted throughout the afternoon and far into the night, and our troops were obliged to withdraw from Roeux and Chérisy. They maintained their hold, however, on Fresnoy and the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt, as well as upon certain trench elements west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and south of the Scarpe.

Nine hundred and sixty-eight prisoners, including twenty-nine officers, were captured by us in these operations.

Situation Reviewed

(25) On the 5th of May the French delivered their attack against the Chemin des Dames and successfully achieved the objects they had in view. This brought to an end the first half of our general plan, and marked the close of the Spring campaign on the western front. The decisive action which it had been hoped might follow from the French offensive had not yet proved capable of realization; but the magnitude of the results actually achieved strengthened our belief in its ultimate possibility.

On the British front alone, in less than one month's fighting, we had captured over 19,500 prisoners, including over 400 officers, and had also taken 257 guns, including 98 heavy guns, with 464 machine guns, 227 trench mortars, and immense quantities of other war material. Our line had been advanced to a greatest depth exceeding five miles on a total front of over twenty miles, representing a gain of some sixty square miles of territory. A great improvement had been effected in the general situation of our troops on the front attacked, and the capture of the Vimy Ridge had removed a constant menace to the security of our line.

I was at length able to turn my full attention and to divert the bulk of my resources to the development of my northern plan of operations. Immediate instructions were given by me to General Sir Herbert Plumer, commanding the 2d Army, to be prepared to deliver an attack on the 7th of June against the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, the capture of which, owing to the observation from it over our positions further north in the Ypres salient, was an essential preliminary to the completion of the preparations for my principal offensive east and north of Ypres.

In order to assist me to concentrate troops on the new scene of operations, it was agreed that the French should take over once more a portion of the front taken over by me from them at the commencement of the year. This relief was completed without incident on the 20th of May, the French extending their front to the Omignon River.

Arras Activity Maintained

(26) A necessary part of the preparations for the Messines attack was the maintenance of activity on the Arras front, sufficient to keep the enemy in doubt as to whether our offensive there would be proceeded with. I therefore directed the armies concerned to continue active operations with such forces as were left to them. The required effect was to be attained by a careful selection of important objectives of a limited nature, deliberate preparation of attack, concentration of artillery, and economy of infantry.

Importance was to be given to these operations by combining them with feint attacks, and by the adoption of various measures and devices to extend the apparent front of attack. These measures would seem to have had considerable success, if any weight may be attached to the enemy's reports concerning them. They involved, however, the disadvantage that I frequently found myself unable to deny German accounts of the bloody repulse of extensive British attacks which in fact never took place.

Bullecourt and Roeux

(27) To secure the footing gained by the Australians in the Hindenburg line on the 3d of May it was advisable that Bullecourt should be captured without loss of time. During the fortnight following our attack, fighting for the possession of this village went on unceasingly; while the Australian troops in the sector of the Hindenburg line to the east beat off counterattack after counterattack. The defense of this 1,000 yards of double trench line, exposed to counterattack on every side, through two weeks of almost constant fighting, deserves to be remembered as a most gallant feat of arms.

On the morning of the 7th of May, English troops gained a footing in the southeast corner of Bullecourt. Thereafter gradual progress was made, in the face of the most obstinate resistance, and on the 17th of May London and West Riding territorials completed the capture of the village.

On other parts of the Arras front also heavy fighting took place, in which we both lost and gained ground.

On the 8th of May the enemy regained Fresnoy village. Three days later London troops captured Cavalry Farm, while other English battalions carried Roeux Cemetery and the chemical works. Further ground was gained in this neighborhood on the 12th of May, and on the night of the 13th-14th our troops captured Roeux.

On the 20th of May fighting was commenced for the sector of the Hindenburg line lying between Bullecourt and our front line west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles. Steady progress was made, until by the 16th of June touch had

been established by us between these two points. Ten days prior to this event, on the 5th and 6th of June, Scottish and north country regiments captured the German positions on the western face of Greenland Hill and beat off two counterattacks.

In these different minor operations over 1,500 prisoners were captured by us.

Summer Campaigns—Preparations for Messines Attack

(28) The preparations for the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were necessarily as elaborate as those undertaken before either the Somme or the Arras battles, and demanded an equal amount of time, forethought, and labor. They were carried out, moreover, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, for the enemy's positions completely overlooked our lines and much of the area behind them.

Neither labor nor material was available in sufficient quantity for the Messines offensive until the prior demands of the Arras operations had been satisfied. Nevertheless, our preparations in the northern area had been proceeded with steadily, so far as the means at our disposal would allow, ever since the formation of definite plans in the late Autumn of 1916.

A large railway program had been commenced, and as soon as it was possible to divert larger supplies northward, work was pushed on with remarkable speed. Great progress was made with road construction, and certain roads were selected for extension as soon as our objectives should be gained. Forward dumps of material were made for this purpose, and in the days following the 7th of June roads were carried forward with great rapidity to Messines, Wytschaete, and Oosttaverne, across country so completely destroyed by shellfire that it was difficult to trace where the original road had run.

A special problem arose in connection with the water supply. Pipe lines were taken well forward from existing lakes, from catchpits constructed on the Kemmel Hills, and from sterilizing barges on the Lys. Provision was made for the rapid extension of these lines. By the 15th of June they had reached Messines, Wytschaete, and the Dam Strasse, and were supplying water at the rate of between 450,000 and 600,000 gallons daily.

In addition, arrangements were made for the transport of water, rations, and stores by pack animals and carrying parties. So efficiently did these arrangements work that during the attack water reached the troops within twenty to forty minutes of the taking of new positions, while in one case carrying parties arrived with packs and dumps were formed within four minutes of the capture of the objective.

Underground Warfare

(29) A special feature of the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, and one unique in warfare, was furnished by the explosion of nineteen deep mines at the moment of assault.

The inception of a deep mining offensive on the 2d Army front dated from July, 1915; but the proposal to conduct offensive mining on a grand scale was not definitely adopted till January, 1916. From that date onward, as the necessary labor became available, deep mining for offensive purposes gradually developed, in spite of great difficulties from water-bearing strata and active countermining by the enemy.

In all, twenty-four mines were constructed, four of which were outside the front ultimately selected for our offensive, while one other was lost as the result of a mine blown by the enemy. Many of these mines had been completed for twelve months prior to our offensive, and constant and anxious work was needed to insure their safety. The enemy also had a deep mining system, and was aware of his danger.

At Hill 60 continuous underground fighting took place for over ten months prior to our attack, and only by the greatest skill, persistence, and disregard of danger on the part of our tunnelers were the two mines laid by us at this point saved from destruction. At the time of our offensive the enemy was known to be driving a gallery which ultimately would have cut into the gallery leading to the Hill 60 mines. By careful listening it was judged that if our offensive took place on the date arranged, the enemy's gallery would just fail to reach us. So he was allowed to proceed.

At the Bluff, also, underground fighting went on incessantly. Between the 16th of January, 1916, and the 7th of June, 1917, twenty-seven camouflets were blown in this locality alone, of which seventeen were blown by us and ten by the enemy. After the 1st of February, 1917, the enemy showed signs of great uneasiness, and blew several heavy mines and camouflets in the endeavor to interfere with our working. One of these blows destroyed our gallery to the Spanbroekmolen mine. For three months this mine was cut off, and was only recovered by strenuous efforts on the day preceding the Messines attack. The Spanbroekmolen mine formed the largest crater of any of those blown, the area of complete obliteration having a diameter of over 140 yards.

A total of 8,000 yards of gallery were driven in the construction of these mines, and over one million pounds of explosives were used in them. The simultaneous discharge of such an enormous aggregate of explosive is without parallel in land mining, and no actual experience existed of the effects which would be produced. In these circumstances, the

fact that no hitch of any kind occurred in the operation, and that the effects of the discharges were precisely such as had been foretold, reflects the very highest credit upon those responsible for the planning and construction of the mines.

The Messines Battle

(30) The group of hills known as the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge lies about midway between the towns of Armentières and Ypres. Situated at the eastern end of the range of abrupt, isolated hills which divides the valleys of the River Lys and the River Yser, it links up that range with the line of rising ground which from Wytschaete stretches northeastward to the Ypres-Menin road, and then northward past Passchendaele to Staden.

The village of Messines, situated on the southern spur of the ridge, commands a wide view of the valley of the Lys, and enfiladed the British lines to the south. Northwest of Messines the village of Wytschaete, situated at the point of the salient and on the highest part of the ridge, from its height of about 260 feet commands even more completely the town of Ypres and the whole of the old British positions in the Ypres salient.

The German Defenses

(31) The German front line skirted the western foot of the ridge in a deep curve from the River Lys opposite Frelinghien to a point just short of the Menin road. The line of trenches then turned northwest past Hooge and Wellitje, following the slight rise known as the Pilkem Ridge to the Yser Canal at Boesinghe. The enemy's second-line system followed the crest of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, forming an inner curve.

In addition to these defenses of the ridge itself, two chord positions had been constructed across the base of the salient from south to north. The first lay slightly to the east of the hamlet of Oosttaverne, and was known as the Oosttaverne line. The second chord position, known as the Warneton line, crossed the Lys at Warneton, and ran roughly parellel to the Oosttaverne line a little more than a mile to the east of it.

The natural advantages of the position were exceptional, and during more than two years of occupation the enemy had devoted the greatest skill and industry to developing them to the utmost. Besides the villages of Messines and Wytschaete, which were organized as main centres of resistance, numerous woods, farms, and hamlets lent themselves to the construction of defensive points.

Captured documents and the statements of prisoners proved the importance attached by the enemy to the position. His troops in the line were told that the coming battle might well prove decisive, and that they were to resist to the last. They were assured that strong reserves were available to come to their assistance and to restore the battle should the British attack succeed in penetrating their lines.

Preparations Completed

(32) The final preparations for the assault on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were completed punctually, and with a thoroughness of organization and attention to detail which is beyond praise. The excellence of the arrangements reflects the highest credit on the 2d Army commander, General Sir Herbert Plumer, and his staff, as well as on the commanders and staffs of the various formations engaged.

The actual front selected for attack extended from a point opposite St. Yves to Mount Sorrel, inclusive, a distance, following the curve of the salient, of between nine and ten miles. Our final objective was the Oosttaverne line, which lay between these two points. The greatest depth of our attack was therefore about two and a half miles.

As the date for the attack drew near, fine weather favored the work of our airmen, and artillery and wire cutting, the bombardment of the enemy's defenses and strong points, and the shelling of his communications, billets, and back areas continued steadily. Counterbattery work was undertaken with great energy and with striking success.

The Assault

(33) At 3:10 A. M. on the 7th of June the nineteen mines were exploded simultaneously beneath the enemy's defenses. At the same moment our guns opened and our infantry assault was launched. Covered by a concentrated bombardment, which overwhelmed the enemy's trenches and to a great extent neutralized his batteries, our troops swept over the German foremost defenses all along the line.

The attack proceeded from the commencement in almost exact accordance with the time table. The enemy's first-trench system offered little resistance to our advance, and the attacking brigades—English, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand—pressed on up the slopes of the ridge to the assault of the crest line.

At 5:30 A. M. Ulster regiments had already reached their second objectives, including l'Enfer Hill and the southern defenses of Wytschaete, while on their left a South of Ireland division fought its way through Wytschaete Wood. At 7 A. M. New Zealand troops had captured Messines. Men from the western counties of England had cleared the Grand Bois. Other English county regiments had reached the Dam Strasse, and all along the battle front our second objectives had been gained.

Only at a few isolated points did the resistance of the enemy's infantry cause any serious delay. Northeast of Messines our infantry were held up for a time by machine-gun fire from a strong point known as Fanny's Farm, but the arrival of a tank enabled our progress to be resumed. So rapid was

THE BATTLE OF MESSINES

the advance of our infantry, however, that only a few tanks could get forward in time to come into action. Heavy fighting took place in Wytschaete, and further north London troops encountered a serious obstacle in another strong point known as the White Château. This redoubt was captured while the morning was yet young, and before midday the two Irish divisions had fought their way side by side through the defenses of Wytschaete.

Our troops then began to move down the eastern slopes of the ridge, and the divisions in the centre of our attack, who had furthest to go, gradually drew level with those on either flank. About 2,000 prisoners had already been brought in, and Australian and English troops had reached the first of the enemy's guns. Our own guns had begun to move forward.

Further fighting took place in Ravine Wood, where English county regiments and London troops killed many Germans, and short-lived resistance was encountered at other points among the many woods and farmhouses. Bodies of the enemy continued to hold out in the eastern end of Battle Wood and in strong points constructed in the spoil banks of the Ypres-Comines Canal. Except at these points, our troops gained their final objectives on both flanks early in the afternoon. In the centre we had reached a position running approximately parallel to the Oosttaverne line and from 400 to 800 yards to the west of it. The guns required for the attack upon this line had been brought forward, and the troops and tanks detailed to take part were moving up steadily. Meanwhile the bridges and roads leading out of the triangle formed by the River Lys and

the canal were kept under the fire of our artillery.

The final attack began soon afterward, and by 3:45 P. M. the village of Oosttaverne had been captured. At 4 P. M. troops from the northern and western counties of England entered the Oosttaverne line east of the village and captured two batteries of German field guns. Half an hour later other English battalions broke through the enemy's position further north. Parties of the enemy were surrendering freely, and his casualties were reported to be very heavy. By the evening the Oosttaverne line had been taken, and our objectives had been gained.

The rapidity with which the attack had been carried through, and the destruction caused by our artillery, made it impossible at first to form more than a rough estimate of our captures. When the final reckoning had been completed, it was found that they included 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench mortars, and 294 machine guns.

Subsequent Operations

(34) During the night our infantry consolidated the captured positions, while tanks patrolled the ground east of the Oosttaverne line, and in the early morning of June 8 assisted in the repulse of an enemy counterattack up the Wambeke Valley. At 4 A. M. on the same morning our troops captured a small portion of German trench near Septieme Barn, where the enemy had resisted our first attack. That evening, at 7 P. M., after an intense bombardment, the enemy counterattacked along practically the whole of our new line, but was repulsed at all points.

Consolidation and the establishment of advanced posts continued during the following four days, in the course of which Australian troops captured La Potterie Farm, southeast of Messines, and the hamlet of Gapaard was occupied.

Our progress on the right of the battle front made the enemy's positions between the Lys River and St. Yves very dangerous, and he now gradually began to evacute them. Our patrols kept close touch with the enemy, and by the evening of June 14 the whole of the old German front and support lines north of Lys had passed into our possession.

That evening we again attacked south and east of Messines and on both sides of the Ypres-Comines Canal, and met with complete success. The strong points in which the enemy had held out north of the canal were captured, and our line was advanced on practically the whole front from the River Warnave to Klein Zillebeke.

By this operation the 2d Army front was pushed forward as far as was then desirable. Henceforward our efforts in this area were directed to putting the line gained in a state of defense and establishing forward posts.

(35) As soon as this preliminary operation had been successfully accomplished it became possible to take in hand our final dispositions for our main offensive east and north of Ypres. Owing to the great extent of front to be dealt with, the 5th Army took over command of the front from Observatory Ridge to Boesinghe on June 10, and the whole of our available resources were directed to completing the preparations for the attack.

It had been agreed that French troops should take part in these operations, and should extend my left flank northward beyond Boesinghe. The relief by British troops of the French troops holding the coast sector from St. Georges to the sea was accordingly arranged for, and was successfully completed ten days later. In the first week of July the Belgian troops holding the front from Boesinghe to Noordschoote were relieved by the 1st French Army, under the command of General Anthoine.

The various problems inseparable from the mounting of a great offensive, the improvement and construction of roads and railways, the provision of an adequate water supply and of accommodation for troops, the formation of dumps, the digging of dugouts, subways, and trenches, and the assembling and registering of guns had all to be met and overcome in the new theatre of battle under conditions of more than ordinary disadvantage.

On no previous occasion, not excepting the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, had the whole of the ground from which we had to attack been so completely exposed to the enemy's observation. Even after the enemy had been driven from the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, he still possessed excellent direct observation over the salient from the east and southeast, as well as from the Pilkem Ridge to the north. Nothing existed at Ypres to correspond with the vast caves and cellars which proved of such value in the days prior to the Arras battle, and the provision of shelter for the troops presented a very serious problem.

The work of the tunneling companies of the Royal Engineers deserves special mention in this connection. It was carried on under great difficulties, both from the unreliable nature of the ground and also from hostile artillery, which paid particular attention to all indications of mining activity on our part.

Minor Operations Continued

(36) Meanwhile the policy of maintaining activity on other parts of my front was continued.

Further ground was gained on Greenland Hill, and on June 14 British troops captured by a surprise attack the German trench lines on the crest of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux, with 175 prisoners. This important position had already been the scene of a great deal of fierce fighting, and during the following six weeks was frequently counterattacked. Our advanced posts

changed hands frequently; but the principal line, giving the observation which lent importance to the position, remained consistently in our possession.

Early in May local attacks had been undertaken by Canadian troops in the neighborhood of the Souchez River, which formed the prelude to a long-sustained series of minor operations directed against the defense of Lens. Substantial progress was made in this area on June 5 and 19, and five days later North Midland troops captured an important position on the slopes of a small hill southwest of Lens, forcing the enemy to make a considerable withdrawal on both sides of the river. Canadian troops took La Coulotte on June 26, and by the morning of June 28 had reached the outskirts of Avion.

On the evening of June 28 a deliberate and carefully thought out scheme was put into operation by the 1st Army, to give the enemy the impression that he was being attacked on a twelve-mile front from Gavrelle to Hulluch.

Elaborate demonstrations were made on the whole of this front, accompanied by discharges of gas, smoke, and thermit, and a mock raid was successfully carried out southeast of Loos. At the same time real attacks were made, with complete success, by English troops on a front of 2,000 yards opposite Oppy, and by Canadian and North Midland troops on a front of two and a half miles astride the Souchez River. All our objectives were gained, including Eleu dit Leauvette and the southern half of Avion, with some 300 prisoners and a number of machine guns.

The Lombaertzyde Attack

(37) The appearance of British troops on the coast seems to have alarmed the enemy and caused him to launch a small counteroffensive.

The positions which we had taken over from the French in this area included a narrow strip of polder and dune, some two miles in length and from 600 to 1,200 yards in depth, lying on the right bank of the canalized Yser between the Passchendaele Canal, south of Lombaertzyde, and the coast. Midway between the Passchendaele Canal and the sea these positions were divided into two parts by the dike known as the Geleide Creek, which flows into the Yser southwest of Lombaertzyde. If the enemy could succeed in driving us back across the canal and river on the whole of this front, he would render the defense of the sector much easier for him.

Early on the morning of July 10 an intense bombardment was opened against these positions. Our defenses, which consisted chiefly of breastworks built in the sand, were flattened, and all the bridges across the Yser below the Geleide Creek, as well as the bridges across the creek itself, were destroyed.

At 6:30 P. M. the enemy's infantry attacked, and the isolated garrison of our positions north of the Geleide Creek, consisting of troops from a Northamptonshire battalion and a rifle battalion, were overwhelmed after an obstinate and most gallant resistance. Of these two battalions some seventy men and four officers succeeded during the nights of the 10th-11th and 11th-12th of July in swimming across the Yser to our lines.

On the southern half of the point attacked, opposite Lombaertzyde, the enemy also broke into our lines; but here, where our positions had greater depth, and communication across the Yser was still possible, his troops were ejected by our counterattack.

The Third Battle of Ypres—Preliminary Stages

(38) By this date the preparations for the combined allied offensive were far advanced, and the initial stages of the battle had already begun.

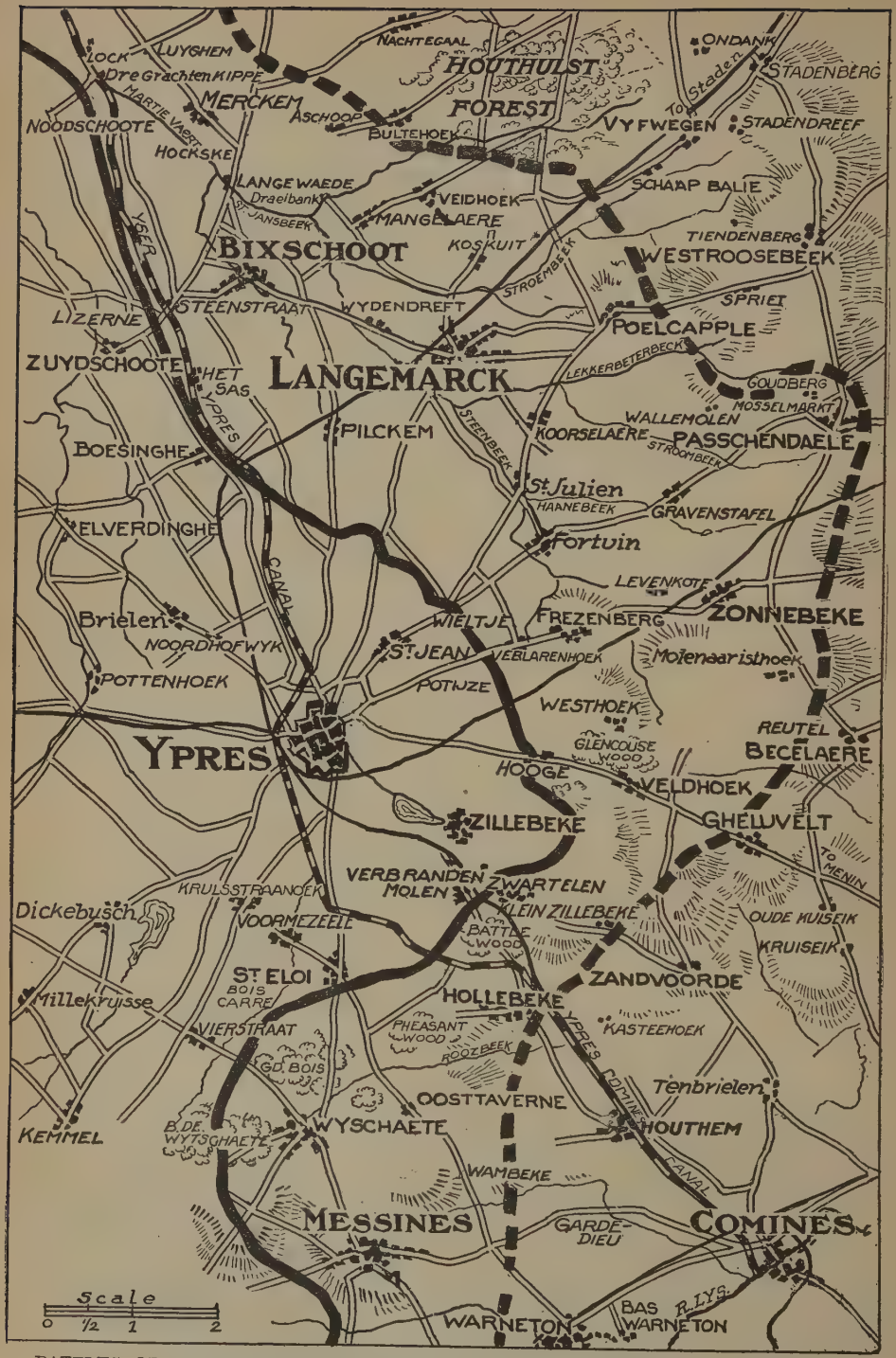
A definite aerial offensive had been launched, and the effective work of our airmen once more enabled our batteries to carry out successfully a methodical and comprehensive artillery program.

So effective was our counterbattery work that the enemy commenced to withdraw his guns to places of greater security. On this account, and also for other reasons, the date of our attack, which had been fixed for the 25th of July, was postponed for three days. This postponement enabled a portion of our own guns to be moved further forward, and gave our airmen the opportunity to locate accurately the enemy's new battery positions. Subsequently a succession of days of bad visibility, combined with the difficulties experienced by our allies in getting their guns into position in their new area, decided me to sanction a further postponement until the 31st of July.

In addition to our artillery bombardment, gas was used extensively during the fortnight preceding the attack, and a number of highly successful raids were carried out along the whole front north of the Lys.

The Yser Canal Crossed

(39) As the date of the attack drew near, careful watch was maintained lest the enemy should endeavor to disarrange our plans by withdrawing to one of his rear lines of defense. On the 27th of July the German forward defense system was found to be unoccupied on the northern portion of the 5th Army front. British Guards and French troops seized the opportunity to cross the Yser Canal, and established themselves firm-



BATTLES OF YPRES AND MESSINES: SOLID LINE, FORMER ALLIED POSITION; BROKEN LINE, ALLIED FRONT AT END OF 1917.

ly in the enemy's first and support trenches on a front of about 3,000 yards east and north of Boesinghe. All hostile attempts to eject them failed, and during the night seventeen bridges were thrown across the canal by our troops.

This operation greatly facilitated the task of the allied troops on this part of the battle front, to whose attack the Yser Canal had previously presented a formidable obstacle. Whether the withdrawal which made it possible was due to the desire of the German infantry to escape our bombardment, or to their fear that our attack would be inaugurated by the explosion of a new series of mines is uncertain.

Plan of First Attack

(40) The front of the allied attack extended from the Lys River opposite Deulemont northward to beyond Steenstraat, a distance of over fifteen miles, but the main blow was to be delivered by the 5th Army on a front of about seven and a half miles, from the Zillebeke-Zandvoorde road to Boesinghe, inclusive.

Covering the right of the 5th Army, the task of the 2d Army was to advance a short distance only. Its principal object at this stage was to increase the area threatened by the attack and so force the enemy to distribute the fire of his artillery. I had other tasks in view for it at a later period.

On the left of the 5th Army the 1st French Army was to advance its right in close touch with the British forces and secure them from counterattack from the north. This entailed an advance of considerable depth over difficult country, and ultimately involved the capture of the whole peninsula lying between the Yser Canal and the floods of the St. Jansbeek and the Martjevaart.

The plan of attack on the 5th Army front was to advance in a series of bounds, with which the right of the 1st French Army was to keep step. These bounds were arranged so as to suit as far as possible both the position of the principal lines of the enemy's defenses and the configuration of the ground.

It was hoped that in this first attack our troops would succeed in establishing themselves on the crest of the high ground east of Ypres, on which a strong flank could be formed for subsequent operations, and would also secure the crossings of the Steenbeek. For this purpose four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Sir Hubert Gough.

The Battle Opened

(41) At 3:50 A. M. on the morning of the 31st of July the combined attack was launched. English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh troops delivered the main assault on the British front.

Preceded at zero hour by discharges of thermit and oil drums and covered by an accurate artillery barrage from a great number of guns, the allied infantry entered the German lines at all points. The enemy's barrage was late and weak, and our casualties were light.

On the greater part of the front of the main attack the resistance of the German infantry was quickly overcome and rapid progress was made. The difficult country east of Ypres, where the Menin road crosses the crest of the Wytschaete - Passchendaele Ridge, formed, however, the key to the enemy's position, and here the most determined opposition was encountered. None the less, the attacking brigades, including a number of Lancashire battalions, regiments from all parts of England, and a few Scottish and Irish battalions, fought their way steadily forward through Shrewsbury Forest and Sanctuary Wood and captured Stirling Castle, Hooge, and the Bellewarde Ridge.

Further north British and French troops carried the whole of the first German trench system with scarcely a check, and proceeded in accordance with the time table to the assault of the enemy's second line of defense. Scottish troops took Verlorenhoek, and, continuing their advance, by 6 A. M. had reached Frezenberg, where for a short time stiff fighting took place before the village, and the strong defenses round it were captured. South of Pilckem a Prussian Guard battalion was broken up by Welsh troops after a brief resistance and Pilckem was taken. Sharp fighting occurred also at a number of other points, but in every instance the enemy's opposition was overcome.

At 9 A. M. the whole of our second objectives north of the Ypres-Roulers railway were in our possession, with the exception of a strong point north of Frezenberg, known as Pommern Redoubt, where fighting was still going on. Within an hour this redoubt also had been captured by West Lancashire territorials. On our left French troops made equal progress, capturing their objective in precise accordance with program and with little loss.

By this time our field artillery had begun to move up, and by 9:30 A. M. a number of batteries were already in action in their forward positions. The allied advance on this portion of our front was resumed at the hour planned. English county troops captured St. Julien, and from that point northward our final objectives were reached and passed. Highland territorials, Welsh and Guard battalions secured the crossings of the Steenbeek, and French troops, having also taken their final objectives, advanced beyond them and seized Bixschoote. A hostile counterattack launched against the point of junction of the French and British armies was completely repulsed.

Meanwhile, south of the Ypres-Roulers railway, very heavy and continuous fighting was taking place on both sides of the Menin road.

After the capture of the German first-line system our troops on this part of our front had advanced in time with the divisions on

their left against their second objectives. Great opposition was at once encountered in front of two small woods known as Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood, while further south a strong point in Shrewsbury Forest held out against our attacks till the morning of Aug. 1. North of Glencorse Wood English troops continued their advance in spite of the enemy's resistance and reached the village of Westhoek.

Later in the day heavy counterattacks began to develop from south of the Menin road northward to St. Julien. Our artillery caused great loss to the enemy in these attacks, although the weather was unfavorable for airplane work and observation for our batteries was difficult. At Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood a few tanks succeeded in reaching the fighting line, in spite of exceedingly bad ground, and came into action with our infantry. Fierce fighting took place all day, but the enemy was unable to shake our hold upon the ridge.

Results of First Day

(42) At the end of the day, therefore, our troops on the 5th Army front had carried the German first system of defense south of Westhoek. Except at Westhoek itself, where they were established on the outskirts of the village, they had already gained the whole of the crest of the ridge and had denied the enemy observation over the Ypres plain. Further north they had captured the enemy's second line also as far as St. Julien. North of that village they had passed beyond the German second line, and held the line of the Steenbeek to our junction with the French.

On our left flank our allies had admirably completed the important task allotted to them. Close touch had been kept with the British troops on their right throughout the day. All and more than all their objectives had been gained rapidly and at exceptionally light cost, and the flank of the allied advance had been effectively secured.

Meanwhile the attack on the 2d Army front had also met with complete success. On the extreme right New Zealand troops had carried La Basse Ville after a sharp fight lasting some fifty minutes. On the left English troops had captured Hollebeke and the difficult ground north of the bend of the Ypres-Comines Canal and east of Battle Wood. Between these two points our line had been advanced on the whole front for distances varying from 200 to 800 yards.

Over 6,100 prisoners, including 133 officers, were captured by us in this battle. In addition to our gains in prisoners and ground we also captured some twenty-five guns, while a further number of prisoners and guns were taken by our allies.

Effect of the Weather

(43) The weather had been threatening throughout the day, and had rendered the work of our airplanes very difficult from the commencement of the battle. During the afternoon, while fighting was still in progress, rain began, and fell steadily all night. Thereafter, for four days, the rain continued without cessation, and for several days afterward the weather remained stormy and unsettled. The low-lying, clayey soil, torn by shells and sodden with rain, turned to a succession of vast muddy pools. The valleys of the choked and overflowing streams were speedily transformed into long stretches of bog, impassable except by a few well-defined tracks, which became marks for the enemy's artillery. To leave these tracks was to risk death by drowning, and in the course of the subsequent fighting on several occasions both men and pack animals were lost in this way. In these conditions operations of any magnitude became impossible, and the resumption of our offensive was necessarily postponed until a period of fine weather should allow the ground to recover.

As had been the case in the Arras battle, this unavoidable delay in the development of our offensive was of the greatest service to the enemy. Valuable time was lost, the troops opposed to us were able to recover from the disorganization produced by our first attack, and the enemy was given the opportunity to bring up reinforcements.

St. Julien and Westhoek

(44) On the night of the 31st of July and on the two following days the enemy delivered further counterattacks against our new line, and in particular made determined efforts to dislodge us from the high ground between the Menin road and the Ypres-Roulers railway, and to recover his second-line system between Frezenberg and St. Julien. In this he completely failed. The violence of his artillery fire compelled us, however, to withdraw temporarily from St. Julien, though we retained a bridgehead across the Steenbeek, just north of the village.

In spite of these counterattacks and the great but unavoidable hardships from which our troops were suffering, steady progress was made with the consolidation of the captured ground, and every opportunity was taken to improve the line already gained.

On the 3d of August St. Julien was reoccupied without serious opposition, and our line linked up with the position we had retained on the right bank of the Steenbeek further north. A week later a successful minor operation carried out by English troops gave us complete possession of Westhoek. Seven hostile counterattacks within the following four days broke down before our defense.

During this period certain centres of resistance in the neighborhood of Kortekeer Cabaret were cleared up by our allies, and a number of fortified farmhouses, lying across the front of the French position, were reduced in turn.

Lens Operations Resumed

(45) Toward the middle of August a slight improvement took place in the weather, and

advantage was taken of this to launch our second attack east of Ypres. Thereafter unsettled weather again set in, and the month closed as the wettest August that has been known for many years.

On the day preceding this attack at Ypres a highly successful operation was carried out in the neighborhood of Lens, whereby the situation of our forces in that sector was greatly improved. At the same time the threat to Lens itself was rendered more immediate and more insistent, and the enemy was prevented from concentrating the whole of his attention and resources upon the front of our main offensive.

At 4:25 A. M. on Aug. 15 the Canadian corps attacked on a front of 4,000 yards southeast and east of Loos. The objectives consisted of the strongly fortified hill known as Hill 70, which had been reached, but not held, in the battle of Loos on Sept. 25, 1915, and also the mining suburbs of Cité Ste. Elizabeth, Cité St. Emile, and Cité St. Laurent, together with the whole of Bois Rase and the western half of Bois Hugo. The observation from Hill 70 had been very useful to the enemy, and in our possession materially increased our command over the defenses of Lens.

Practically the whole of these objectives was gained rapidly at light cost and in exact accordance with plan. Only at the furthest apex of our advance a short length of German trench west of Cité St. Auguste resisted our first assault. This position was again attacked on the afternoon of the following day and captured after a fierce struggle lasting far into the night.

A number of local counterattacks on the morning of Aug. 15 were repulsed, and in the evening a powerful attack delivered across the open by a German reserve division was broken up with heavy loss. In addition to the enemy's other casualties, 1,120 prisoners from three German divisions were captured by us.

The Ypres Battle—Langemarck

(46) Close upon the heels of this success, at 4:45 A. M. on Aug. 16 our second attack was launched east and north of Ypres on a front extending from the northwest corner of Inverness Copse to our junction with the French south of St. Janshoek. On our left the French undertook the task of clearing up the remainder of the Bixschoote peninsula.

On the left of the British attack the English brigades detailed for the assault captured the hamlet of Wijdendrift and reached the southern outskirts of Langemarck. Here some resistance was encountered, but by 8 A. M. the village had been taken, after sharp fighting. Our troops then proceeded to attack the portion of the Langemarck-Gheluvelt line which formed their final objective, and an hour later had gained this also, with the exception of a short length of trench northeast of Langemarck. Two small counterattacks were repulsed without difficulty.

The attack of the 1st French Army delivered at the same hour was equally successful. On the right a few fortified farms in the neighborhood of the Steenbeek again gave trouble, and held out for a time. Elsewhere our allies gained their objectives rapidly, and once more at exceptionally light cost. The bridgehead of Die Grachten was secured, and the whole of the peninsula cleared of the enemy.

In the centre of the British attack the enemy's resistance was more obstinate. The difficulty of making deep-mined dugouts in soil where water lay within a few feet of the surface of the ground had compelled the enemy to construct in the ruins of farms and in other suitable localities a number of strong points or "pillboxes" built of reinforced concrete often many feet thick.

These field forts, distributed in depth all along the front of our advance, offered a serious obstacle to progress. They were heavily armed with machine guns and manned by men determined to hold on at all costs. Many were reduced as our troops advanced, but others held out throughout the day, and delayed the arrival of our supports. In addition, weather conditions made airplane observation practically impossible, with the result that no warning was received of the enemy's counterattacks, and our infantry obtained little artillery help against them. When, therefore, later in the morning a heavy counterattack developed in the neighborhood of the Wieltje-Passchendaele road, our troops, who had reached their final objectives at many points in this area also, were gradually compelled to fall back.

On the left centre West Lancashire territorials and troops from other English counties established themselves on a line running north from St. Julien to the old German third line due east of Langemarck. This line they maintained against the enemy's attacks, and thereby secured the flank of our gains further north.

On the right of the British attack the enemy again developed the main strength of his resistance. At the end of a day of very heavy fighting, except for small gains of ground on the western edge of Glencorse Wood and north of Westhoek, the situation south of St. Julien remained unchanged.

In spite of this partial check on the southern portion of our attack, the day closed as a decided success for the Allies. A wide gap had been made in the old German third-line system, and over 2,100 prisoners and some thirty guns had been captured.

Effect of Hostile Resistance

(47) The strength of the resistance developed by the enemy at this stage in the neighborhood of the Menin road decided me to extend the flank of the next attack southward. It was undesirable, however, either to increase the already wide front of attack for which the 5th Army was responsible or to divide between two armies the control of

the attack against the main ridge itself. I therefore determined to extend the left of the 2d Army northward, intrusting the attack upon the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road to General Sir Hubert Plumer as a single self-contained operation, to be carried out in conjunction with the attacks of the 5th Army further north.

During the wet weather which prevailed throughout the remainder of the month, our efforts were confined to a number of small operations east and northeast of Ypres, designed to reduce certain of the more important of the enemy's strong points. In the meantime the necessary rearrangements of the British forces were pushed on as rapidly as possible so that our new attack might be ready directly the weather should improve sufficiently to enable it to be undertaken.

These arrangements included a modification of our artillery tactics, to meet the situation created by the change in the enemy's methods of defnse.

Our recent successes had conclusively proved that the enemy's infantry were unable to hold the strongest defenses against a properly mounted attack, and that increasing the number of his troops in his forward defense system merely added to his losses. Accordingly, the enemy had adopted a system of elastic defense, in which his forward trench lines were held only in sufficient strength to disorganize the attack, while the bulk of his forces were kept in close reserve, ready to deliver a powerful and immediate blow which might recover the positions overrun by our troops before we had time to consolidate them.

In the heavy fighting east of Ypres these tactics had undoubtedly met with a certain measure of success. While unable to drive us back from the ridge, they had succeeded in combination with the state of the ground and weather in checking our progress. This new policy, for our early knowledge of which, as well as for other valuable information concerning the enemy's dispositions and intentions throughout the battle, much credit is due to the zeal and efficiency of my Intelligence Service, necessarily entailed corresponding changes in our method of attack.

Minor Operations.

(48) In the interval, on Aug. 19, 22, and 27, positions of considerable local importance in the neighborhood of St. Julien were captured with some hundreds of prisoners as the result of minor attacks conducted under the most unfavorable conditions of ground and weather. The ground gained represented an advance of about 800 yards on a front of over two miles. In combination with the attack of Aug. 22 English troops also attacked astride the Menin road, and after six days of continuous local fighting established themselves in the western edge of Inverness Copse.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of my policy of compelling the enemy to guard himself on other fronts, successful minor operations had been undertaken elsewhere. On the Lens front Canadian troops attacked on the 21st of August and carried the line of German trenches skirting the town to the southwest and west, taking 200 prisoners. Further south north country troops attacked on the 26th of August east of Hargicourt and captured the enemy's advanced positions on a front of a mile. In this operation 136 prisoners were taken, and on the 9th and 11th of September our gains were extended and further prisoners secured.

The Ypres Battle—Preparations for the Third Attack

(49) At the beginning of September the weather gradually improved, and artillery and other preparations for my next attack proceeded steadily. Both the extent of the preparations required, however, and the need to give the ground time to recover from the heavy rains of August rendered a considerable interval unavoidable before a new advance could be undertaken. The 20th of September was therefore chosen for the date of our attack, and before that day our preparations had been completed.

The front selected extended from the Ypres-Comines Canal north of Hollebeke to the Ypres-Staden railway north of Langemarck, a distance of just over eight miles along the line then held by us. The average depth of our objectives was 1,000 yards, which increased to a depth of a mile in the neighborhood of the Menin road. Australian, English, Scottish, and South African troops were employed in the attack, and gained a success conspicuous for precision and thoroughness of execution.

The Menin Road Ridge

(50) During the night of the 19th-20th of September rain again fell steadily, and when dawn broke thick mist made observation impossible. Despite this disadvantage, the assembling of our troops was carried out in good order, and at 5:40 A. M. on the 20th of September the assault was launched.

Good progress was made from the start, and, as the morning wore on, the mist cleared. Our airplanes were able to establish contact with our infantry, to assist them by engaging parties of the enemy with machine-gun fire, and to report hostile concentrations and counterattacks to our artillery.

On our right, Welsh and west country troops advanced down the spur east of Klein Zillebeke, and, after sharp fighting in the small woods north of the Ypres-Comines Canal,

gained the whole of their objectives. English battalions pushed through the eastern portions of Shrewsbury Forest and reached their objectives in the valley of the Bassevillebeek. Regiments from the southeast counties of England had some trouble from snipers and machine guns early in their advance, but ultimately fought their way forward across the upper valley of the Bassevillebeek and up the slopes of Tower Hamlets. Here strong opposition was encountered, with heavy machine-gun fire from Tower Hamlets and the Veldhoek Ridge.

In the meantime, however, north country troops had already carried Inverness Copse, and, after beating off a counterattack in the neighborhood of Dumbarton Lakes, captured Veldhoek and the line of their final objectives, some 500 yards further east. Their progress assisted the southeast county battalions on their right to establish themselves across the Tower Hamlets Spur.

On the left of the north country division Australian troops carried the remainder of Glencorse Wood and Nonne Boschen. Before 10 A. M. they had taken the hamlet of Polygonveld and the old German third line to the north of it. This advance constituted a fine performance, in which the capture of a difficult piece of ground that had much delayed us was successfully completed. Sharp fighting took place at a strong point known as Black Watch Corner, at the southwestern end of Polygon Wood. By midday this had been captured, the western portion of Polygon Wood had been cleared of the enemy, and the whole of our objectives on this part of our front had been gained.

On the 5th Army front our attack met with equal success. Scottish and South African troops, advancing on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway, stormed the line of fortified farms immediately in front of their position, and, pressing on, captured Zonnebeke and Bremen Redoubts and the hamlet of Zevenkote. By 8:45 A. M. our final objectives on this front had been gained.

West Lancashire territorial battalions found the ground southeast of St. Julien very wet and heavy after the night's rain. None the less, they made steady progress, reaching the line of their final objectives early in the afternoon. North of the Zonnebeke-Langemarck road London and Highland territorials gained the whole of their objectives by midday, though stiff fighting took place for a number of farms and strong places.

As the result of this most successful operation, the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road, for which such desperate fighting had taken place during our previous attacks, passed into our possession. Important positions were won, also, on the remainder of our front, by which the right of our attack was rendered more secure, and the way opened for the advance of our left. In the attack, as well as in the repeated counterattacks which followed, exceedingly heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy, and 3,243 prisoners, together with a number of guns, were captured by us.

Counterattacks

(51) The enemy did not abandon these important positions without further severe struggles. During the afternoon and evening of Sept. 20 no less than eleven counterattacks were made without success against different parts of our new front, in addition to several concentrations of hostile infantry, which were broken up by our artillery before any attack could be launched.

East of St. Julien the enemy at his third attempt succeeded in forcing back our troops to the west of Schuler Farm, but on the following day the farm was retaken by us and our line re-established. Northeast of Langemarck stubborn fighting took place for the possession of the short length of trench which, as already recounted, had resisted our attacks on Aug 16. It was not till the morning of Sept. 23 that the position was finally captured by us.

Fierce fighting took place also on Sept. 21 in the neighborhood of Tower Hamlets. In the course of this and the following four days three powerful attacks were launched by the enemy on wide fronts between Tower Hamlets and Polygon Wood, and a fourth northeast of St. Julien. All these attacks were repulsed, except that on Sept. 25 parties of German infantry succeeded in entering our lines north of the Menin road. Heavy and confused fighting took place in this area throughout the day, in which English, Scottish, and Australian troops gradually drove the enemy from the limited foothold he had gained.

The enemy's casualties in these many counterattacks, as well as in all those subsequently delivered by him on the Ypres front, were consistently very heavy. Our constant successful resistance reflects the greatest credit on the high fighting qualities of our infantry, on the courage and devotion of our airmen, and upon the excellence of our artillery arrangements.

Polygon Wood and Zonnebeke

(52) All this heavy fighting was not allowed to interfere with the arrangements made for a renewal of the advance by the 2d and 5th Armies on Sept. 26.

The front of our attack on that date extended from south of Tower Hamlets to northeast of St. Julien, a total distance of rather less than six miles; but on the portion of this front south of the Menin road only a short advance was intended. North of the Menin road our object was to reach a position from which a direct attack could be made upon the portion of the main ridge between Noodemdhoek and Broodseinde, traversed by the Becelaere-Passchendaele road.

The assault was delivered at 5:50 A. M., and, after hard and prolonged fighting, in which over 1,600 prisoners were taken by us,

achieved a success as striking as that of Sept. 20.

Australian troops carried the remainder of Polygon Wood, together with the German trench line to the east of it, and established themselves on their objectives beyond the Becelaere-Zonnebeke road. On the left of the Australians, English troops took Zonnebeke village and church, and North Midland and London territorial battalions captured a long line of hostile strong points on both sides of the Wieltje-Gravenstafel road.

South of Polygon Wood an obstinate struggle took place for a group of fortified farms and strong points. English, Scottish, and Welsh battalions of the same divisions that had borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks in this area on the previous day gallantly fought their way forward. In their advance they effected the relief of two companies of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who, with great courage and resolution, had held out in our forward line all night, although isolated from the rest of our troops. It was not until the evening of the 27th of September, however, that the line of our objectives in this locality was completely gained.

Further Counterattacks

(53) As had been the case on the 20th of September, our advance was at once followed by a series of powerful counterattacks.

There is evidence that our operations had anticipated a counterstroke which the enemy was preparing for the evening of the 26th of September, and the German troops brought up for this purpose were now hurled in to recover the positions he had lost. In the course of the day at least seven attacks were delivered at points covering practically the whole front from Tower Hamlets to St. Julien. The fiercest fighting prevailed in the sector between the Reutelbeek and Polygon Wood, but here, as elsewhere, all the enemy's assaults were beaten off.

On the 30th of September, when the enemy had recovered from the disorganization caused by his defeat, he recommenced his attacks. Two attempts to advance with flammenwerfer north of the Menin road were followed on the 1st of October by five other attacks in this area, and on the same day a sixth attack was made south of the Ypres-Roulers railway. Except for the temporary loss of the two advanced posts southeast of Polygon Wood, all these attacks were repulsed with great loss. At dawn on the 3d of October another attempt in the neighborhood of the Menin road broke down before our positions.

Further Advance on the Main Ridge

(54) The spell of fine weather was broken on the evening of Oct. 3 by a heavy gale and rain from the southwest. These conditions serve to emphasize the credit due to the troops for the completeness of the success gained by them on the following day.

At 6 A. M. on Oct. 4 our advance was renewed, in accordance with plan, against the main line of the ridge east of Zonnebeke. The front of our principal attack extended from the Menin road to the Ypres-Staden railway, a distance of about seven miles. South of the Menin road a short advance was undertaken on a front of about a mile, with the object of capturing certain strong points required to strengthen our position in this sector.

The attack was carried out by Australian, New Zealand, and English divisions, including among the latter a few Scottish, Irish, and Welsh battalions, and was successful at all points.

On the right of the main attack troops from Kent, Devon, and Cornwall, and a battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers carried their objectives after heavy fighting in the neighborhood of Polderhoek Château. Battalions from Yorkshire, Northumberland, Surrey, and Lincolnshire cleared the small inclosures east of Polygon Wood and seized the village of Reutel, meeting with strong opposition. On their left, Surrey, Staffordshire, Devon, Border, and Highland troops, advancing across the crest of the ridge, captured the hamlet of Noordemdhoek.

Further north, Australian troops advanced beyond the Becelaere-Passchendaele road, storming Molenaarelsthoed and Broodseinde, and established themselves well to the east of the crest line. New Zealand troops carried Gravenstafel, and drove the enemy from a network of trenches and strong points on the Gravenstafel Spur.

On the whole of this front the enemy was met in great strength. In addition to the two German divisions already in line, the enemy had brought up three fresh divisions, with a view to launching an attack in force upon the positions captured by us on the 26th of September. Our advance anticipated this attack by ten minutes, and the German infantry were forming up for the assault when our artillery barrage opened. Very serious casualties were inflicted on the enemy by our artillery, and our infantry, advancing with the bayonet, quickly overcame the resistance of those of his troops who had escaped our shellfire. Great numbers of prisoners were taken.

On the left of our attack South Midland troops forced their way across the valley of the Stroombeek, in spite of difficulties due to the rain of the previous night, and gained their objectives according to program, with the exception of a single strong point at the limit of their advance. Other English divisions, advancing on both sides of the Poelcappelle road, stormed the western half of that village, including the church, and captured the whole of their objectives for the day. Tanks took part in the attack on Poelcappelle and contributed to the success of our troops.

On the extreme left considerable opposition was met with, and determined fighting took place for the possession of the rising ground known as Nineteen-Meter Hill. Early in the afternoon a hostile counterattack forced us

back from a portion of this position, but later in the day our troops returned to the attack and recovered the lost ground.

Meanwhile, south of the Menin road, English troops had gained the whole of their limited objectives with the exception of two strong points. Soon after midday our final objectives had been gained, and large numbers of prisoners had already been brought in. The final total of German prisoners captured in these operations exceeded 5,000, including 138 officers. A few guns and many machine guns and trench mortars were also taken by us.

The destruction of the divisions which the enemy had assembled for his intended attack made immediate serious counterattacks impossible for him on a great part of our front. Between the Menin road and the neighborhood of Reutel, however, no less than seven counterattacks were beaten off in turn. Exceedingly heavy fighting took place in this area, and later in the day an eighth attack succeeded in dislodging us from Polderhoek Château and from the eastern portions of Reutel. Another determined counterattack delivered in three waves early in the afternoon north of the Ypres-Roulers railway was broken up by our artillery, rifle, and machine-gun fire. Hostile concentrations east of Zonnebeke and west of Passchendaele were dispersed by our artillery.

Results of This Attack

(55) The success of this operation marked a definite step in the development of our advance. Our line had now been established along the main ridge for 9,000 yards from our starting point near Mount Sorrel. From the furthest point reached the well-marked Gravenstafel Spur offered a defensible feature along which our line could be bent back from the ridge.

The year was far spent. The weather had been consistently unpropitious, and the state of the ground, in consequence of rain and shelling combined, made movement inconceivably difficult. The resultant delays had given the enemy time to bring up reinforcements and to organize his defense after each defeat. Even so, it was still the difficulty of movement far more than hostile resistance which continued to limit our progress, and now made it doubtful whether the capture of the remainder of the ridge before Winter finally set in was possible.

On the other hand, there was no reason to anticipate an abnormally wet October. The enemy had suffered severely, as was evidenced by the number of prisoners in our hands, by the number of his dead on the battlefield, by the costly failure of his repeated counterattacks, and by the symptoms of confusion and discouragement in his ranks.

In this connection, documents captured in the course of the battle of the 4th of October throw an interesting light upon the success of the measures taken by us to meet the enemy's new system of defense by counterattack. These documents show that the German Higher Command had already recognized the failure of their methods, and were endeavoring to revert to something approximating to their old practice of holding their forward positions in strength.

After weighing these considerations, as well as the general situation and various other factors affecting the problem, among them the desirability of assisting our allies in the operations to be carried out by them on Oct. 23 in the neighborhood of Malmaison, I decided to continue the offensive further and to renew the advance at the earliest possible moment consistent with adequate preparation.

Accordingly, I determined to deliver the next combined French and British attack on Oct. 9.

Houthulst Forest Reached

(56) Unfortunately, bad weather still persisted in the early part of October, and on Oct. 7 heavy rain fell all day. The unfavorable conditions interfered with our artillery preparations; but every effort was made to engage the enemy's batteries in their new positions, and on the date last mentioned our artillery co-operated effectively in the repulse of two hostile attacks.

On Oct. 8 rain continued, and the slippery state of the ground, combined with an exceptionally dark night, made the assembling of our troops a matter of considerable difficulty. No interference, however, was encountered from the enemy's artillery, and at 5:20 A. M. on Oct. 9 our attack was renewed on a front of over six miles, from a point east of Zonnebeke to our junction with the French northwest of Langemarck. On our left our allies prolonged the front of attack to a point opposite Draalbank. At the same time minor operations were undertaken on the right of our main attack, east and southeast of Polygon Wood.

The greatest depth of our advance was on the left, where the allied troops penetrated the German positions to a distance of nearly one and a half miles. French troops and British Guards crossed the flooded valley of the Broenbeek, and, making steady progress toward their objectives, captured the hamlets of Koekuit, Veldhoek, Mangelare, and St. Janshoek, besides woods and a great number of farmhouses and strong points. Early in the afternoon both French and British troops had established themselves on their final objectives on the outskirts of Houthulst Forest.

On the right of the Guards, other English divisions made equal progress along the Ypres-Staden railway, and secured a line well to the east of the Poelcappelle-Houthulst road. Still fighting took place around certain strong points, in the course of which a hostile counterattack was repulsed.

Further south English battalions fought their way forward in the face of great opposition to the eastern outskirts of Poelcappelle village. Australian troops and East Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Midland ter-

ritorials carried our line forward in the direction of Passchendaele and up the western slopes of the main ridge, capturing Nieuwemolen and Keerselaarhoek and a number of strong points and fortified farms.

In the subsidiary attack east of Polygon Wood Warwickshire and H. A. C. battalions successfully regained the remainder of Reutel.

Over 2,100 prisoners were taken by the Allies in the course of these operations, together with a few guns.

Progress Continued

(57) Though the condition of the ground continued to deteriorate, the weather after this was unsettled rather than persistently wet, and progress had not yet become impossible. I accordingly decided to press on while circumstances still permitted, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the attack on the 12th of October. On the night of the 11th-12th of October, however, heavy rain commenced again, and after a brief interval during the morning continued steadily throughout the whole of the following day.

Our attack, launched at 5:25 A. M. on the 12th of October between the Ypres-Roulers railway and Houthulst Forest, made progress along the spurs and higher ground; but the valleys of the streams which run westward from the main ridge were found to be impassable. It was therefore determined not to persist in the attack, and the advance toward our more distant objectives was canceled.

Certain strong points and fortified farms on the western slopes of the ridge were captured on this day, and were incorporated in our line. Further north, on both sides of the Ypres-Staden railway, English county divisions and the Guards gained their objectives in spite of all difficulties. Though for many hours the position of our advanced troops on this part of our front was uncertain, communication was at length established and the captured ground maintained.

Over 1,000 prisoners were taken by us in this attack, in which the troops employed displayed remarkable gallantry, steadfastness and endurance in circumstances of extreme hardship.

Plan of Subsequent Operations

(58) By this time the persistent continuation of wet weather had left no further room for hope that the condition of the ground would improve sufficiently to enable us to capture the remainder of the ridge this year. By limited attacks made during intervals of better weather, however, it would still be possible to progress as far as Passchendaele, and in view of other projects which I had in view it was desirable to maintain pressure on the Flanders front for a few weeks longer.

To maintain his defense on this front the enemy had been obliged to reduce the garrison of certain other parts of his line to a degree which justified the expectation that a sudden attack at a point where he did not expect it might attain a considerable local success. The front for such an attempt had been selected and plans had already been quietly made. But certain preparations and movements of troops required time to complete, and the 20th of November had been fixed as the earliest date for the attack.

No large force could be made available for the enterprise. The prospects of success therefore depended on complete secrecy and on maintaining sufficient activity in Flanders to induce the enemy to continue his concentration of troops in that theatre.

As has been indicated above, our allies also had certain limited operations in view which would be likely to benefit by the maintenance of pressure on my front, and, reciprocally, would add to the prospects of success of my intended surprise attack. Accordingly, while preparing for the latter, operations of limited scope were continued in Flanders.

The Merckem Peninsula

(59) After the middle of October the weather improved, and on Oct. 22 two successful operations, in which we captured over 200 prisoners and gained positions of considerable local importance east of Poelcappelle and within the southern edge of Houthulst Forest, were undertaken by us, in the one case by east county and Northumberland troops, and in the other by west county and Scots battalions in co-operation with the French.

The following two days were unsettled, but on Oct. 25 a strong west wind somewhat dried the surface of the ground. It was therefore decided to proceed with the allied operations which had been planned for Oct. 26.

At an early hour on that morning rain unfortunately began again and fell heavily all day. The assembling of our troops was completed successfully none the less, and at 5:45 A. M. English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to beyond Poelcappelle.

The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows southwestward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon, and captured it. Two strong counterattacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On the left of the Canadians the Royal Naval Division and battalions of London territorials also advanced, and, in spite of im-

mense difficulties from marsh and floods in the more low-lying ground, made progress.

In a subsidiary attack undertaken by us at the same hour English troops entered Gheluvelt and recaptured Polderhoek Château, with a number of prisoners. Our men's rifles, however, had become choked with mud in their advance, and when later in the morning strong German counterattacks developed they were obliged to withdraw.

The operations of our allies on this day were limited to establishing bridgeheads across the floods of the St. Jansbeek. This was successfully accomplished, in spite of considerable opposition. Next day the French continued their advance in concert with Belgian troops, who crossed the Yser opposite Knockehoek, and captured Aschhoop, Kippe, and Merckem. The southern end of Blankaart Lake was reached on the same day, and early on the 28th of October French and Belgian troops completed the capture of the whole Merckem Peninsula.

Over 400 prisoners were taken by our allies in these operations, bringing the total allied captures since the commencement of our attacks on the 26th of October to over 1,200.

Passchendaele

(60) At this date the need for the policy of activity outlined above had been still further emphasized by recent developments in Italy. Additional importance was given to it by the increasing probability that a time was approaching when the enemy's power of drawing reinforcements from Russia would increase considerably. In pursuance of this policy, therefore, two short advances were made on the 30th of October and the 6th of November, by which we gained possession of Passchendaele.

In the first operation Canadian and English troops attacked at 5:50 A. M. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road.

On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill southwest of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counterattacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm.

Further north, battalions of the same London and naval divisions that had taken part in the attack on the 26th of October again made progress wherever it was possible to find a way across the swamps. The almost impassable nature of the ground in this area, however, made movement practically impossible, and it was only on the main ridge that much could be effected.

During the succeeding days small advances were made by night southwest of Passchendaele, and a hostile attack on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway was successfully repulsed.

At 6 A. M. on the 6th of November Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and northwest. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of "pillboxes" in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8:50 A. M. a hostile counterattack north of Passchendaele was beaten off.

Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success. Four days later, in extremely unfavorable weather, British and Canadian troops attacked northward from Passchendaele and Goudberg, and captured further ground on the main ridge after heavy fighting.

General Review of the Summer's Fighting

(61) These operations concluded our Flanders offensive for the time being, although considerable activity was still continued for another fortnight, for purposes already explained.

This offensive, maintained for three and a half months under the most adverse conditions of weather, had entailed almost superhuman exertions on the part of the troops of all arms and services. The enemy had done his utmost to hold his ground, and in his endeavors to do so had used up no less than seventy-eight divisions, of which eighteen had been engaged a second or third time in the battle, after being withdrawn to rest and refit. Despite the magnitude of his efforts, it was the immense natural difficulties, accentuated manifold by the abnormally wet weather, rather than the enemy's resistance, which limited our progress and prevented the complete capture of the ridge.

What was actually accomplished under such adverse conditions is the most conclusive proof that, given a normally fine August, the capture of the whole ridge, within the space of a few weeks, was well within the power of the men who achieved so much. They advanced every time with absolute confidence in their power to overcome the enemy, even though they had sometimes to struggle through mud up to their waists to reach him. So long as they could reach him they did overcome him, but physical exhaustion placed narrow limits on the depth to which each advance could be pushed, and compelled long pauses between the advances. The full fruits of each success were consequently not always obtained. Time

after time the practically beaten enemy was enabled to reorganize and relieve his men and to bring up reinforcements behind the sea of mud which constituted his main protection.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties, much has been achieved. Our captures in Flanders since the commencement of operations at the end of July amount to 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars. It is certain that the enemy's losses considerably exceeded ours. Most important of all, our new and hastily trained armies have shown once again that they are capable of meeting and beating the enemy's best troops, even under conditions which favored his defense to a degree which it required the greatest endurance, determination, and heroism to overcome.

In this respect I desire once more to lay emphasis upon the supreme importance of adequate training prior to placing troops in the line of battle, whether for offense or defense. It is essential, if preventable sacrifice is to be avoided and success assured, that troops that are going into battle should first be given an opportunity for special training, under the officers who are to command them in the fight, for the task which they are to be called upon to perform.

Owing to the necessity, already referred to, of taking over line from the French, our offensive at the beginning of the year was commenced under a very definite handicap in this respect. This initial disadvantage was subsequently increased by the difficulty of obtaining adequate drafts a sufficient length of time before divisions were called upon to take their place in the battle, to enable the drafts to be assimilated into divisions, and divisions to be trained.

The general conditions of the struggle this year have been very different from those contemplated at the conference of the allied commanders held in November, 1916. The great general and simultaneous offensive then agreed on did not materialize. Russia, though some of her leaders made a fine effort at one period, not only failed to give the help expected of her, but even failed to prevent the enemy from transferring some forty fresh divisions from her front in exchange for tired ones used up in the western theatre, or from replacing losses in his divisions on this side by drafts of fresh and well-trained men drawn from divisions in the east.

The combined French and British offensive in the Spring was lanuched before Italy could be ready; and the splendid effort made by Italy at a later period was, unfortunately, followed by developments which resulted in a weakening of the allied forces in this theatre before the conclusion of our offensive.

In these circumstances the task of the British and French Armies has been a far heavier one throughout the year than was originally anticipated, and the enemy's means of meeting our attack have been far greater than either he or we could have expected.

That under such conditions the victories of Arras, Vimy, Messines, and Flanders were won by us, and those at Moronvillers, Verdun, and Malmaison by the French, constitutes a record of which the allied armies, working in close touch throughout, have a right to be proud.

The British armies have taken their full share in the fighting on the western front. Save for such short intervals as were enforced by the weather or rendered necessary for the completion of the preparations for our principal attacks, they have maintained a vigorous and continuous offensive throughout practically the whole of the period covered by this dispatch. No other example of offensive action on so large a scale, so long and so successfully sustained, has yet been furnished by the war.

In the operations of Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres as many as 131 German divisions have been engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions.

The number of prisoners and guns captured by us is an indication of the progress we have made. The total number of prisoners taken between the opening of our Spring offensive on the 9th of April, 1917, and the conclusion of the Flanders offensive, exclusive of prisoners captured in the Cambrai battle, is 57,696, including 1,290 officers. During the same period and in the same offensives we have also captured 393 guns, including 109 heavy guns, 561 trench mortars, and 1,976 machine guns.

Without reckoning, therefore, the possibilities which have been opened up by our territorial gains in Flanders, and without considering the effect which a less vigorous prosecution of the war by us might have had in other theatres, we have every reason to be satisfied with the results which have been achieved by the past year's fighting. The addition of strength which the enemy has obtained, or may yet obtain, from events in Russia and Italy has already largely been discounted, and the ultimate destruction of the enemy's field forces has been brought appreciably nearer.

The Defensive Fronts

(62) Before passing from the subject of the operations of the past eight months, tribute must be paid to the work accomplished on the defensive portions of our line.

In order to meet the urgent demands of battle, the number of divisions in line on other fronts has necessarily been reduced to the minimum consistent with safety. In consequence, constant vigilance and heavy and unremitting labor have been required at all times of the troops holding these fronts.

The numerous feint attacks which have been organized from time to time have called for great care, forethought, and ingenuity on the part of commanders and staffs concerned, and have demanded much courageous, skillful,

and arduous work from the troops intrusted with the task of carrying them out. In addition, raids and local operations have continued to form a prominent feature of our general policy on our defensive front, and have been effectively combined with our feint attacks and with gas discharges. In the course of the 270 successful raids carried out by us during the period covered by this dispatch, the greatest enterprise and skill have been displayed by our troops, and many hundreds of prisoners, together with much invaluable information, have been obtained at comparatively light cost.

Deeds of Various Branches of the Service

(63) In my dispatch dealing with the Somme battle I endeavored to express something of the profound admiration inspired in me by the indomitable courage, tireless energy, and cheerful endurance of the men by whose efforts the British armies in France were brought triumphantly through that mighty ordeal. Today the armies of the empire can look back with yet greater pride upon still severer tests successfully withstood and an even higher record of accomplishment.

No one accquainted with the facts can review the general course of the campaigns of 1916 and 1917 without acquiring the sense of a steady progression, in which the fighting superiority of the British soldier has been asserted with ever-increasing insistence. This feeling permeates the troops themselves, and is the greatest guarantee of victory.

Infantry

Throughout the northern operations our troops have been fighting over ground every foot of which is sacred to the memory of those who, in the first and second battles of Ypres, fought and died to make possible the victories of the armies which today are rolling back the tide stayed by their sacrifice. It is no disparagement of the gallant deeds performed on other fronts to say that, in the stubborn struggle for the line of hills which stretches from Wytschaete to Passchendaele, the great armies that today are shouldering the burden of our empire have shown themselves worthy of the regiments which, in October and November of 1914, made Ypres take rank forever among the most glorious of British battles.

Throughout the months of strenuous fighting which have wiped the old Ypres salient from the battle map of Flanders the finest qualities of our infantry have been displayed. The great material disadvantages of the position from which they had to attack, the strength of the enemy's fortifications, and the extraordinary hardships imposed by the conditions of ground and weather during August and throughout the later stages of the attack, called for the exercise of courage, determination, and endurance to a degree which has never been surpassed in war.

Artillery

The courage of our infantry would have been in vain but for the skill, steadfastness, and devotion of the artillery. Their task in the Ypres battle was again a peculiarly hard one. The long preparatory bombardments had to be conducted from a narrow and confined space, for the most part destitute alike of cover and protection and directly overlooked by the enemy.

As our infantry advanced, our guns had to follow, at the cost of almost incredible exertion, over ground torn by shellfire and sodden with rain. When at length the new positions had been reached, our batteries had to remain in action, practically without protection of any kind, day after day, week after week, and even month after month, under a continuous bombardment of gas and high explosive shell.

It would be easy to multiply instances of individual heroism, to quote cases where, when the signal from our infantry for urgent artillery support and the warning of German gas have been given at the same moment, our gunners have thrown aside their half-adjusted gas masks and, with full knowledge of the consequences, have fought their guns in response to the call of the infantry till the enemy's attack has been beaten off.

A single incident which occurred during the preparation for the attack of the 31st of July may be taken as a general example. A howitzer battery had received orders to cut a section of German wire in the neighborhood of Hooge, and 400 rounds had been allocated for the purpose. The battery, situated in an unavoidably exposed position in the neighborhood of Zillebeke Lake, had already been subjected to constant shelling. On the occasion referred to not more than 50 rounds had been fired at the German wire, when a hostile 15-centimeter battery opened a steady and accurate fire in enfilade. Each time the British battery opened, salvos of 15-centimeter shells raked its position. Four of its six guns were put out of action, and two ammunition dumps were blown up, but the remaining two guns continued in action until the last of the 400 rounds had been fired. A few days later, when our infantry advanced over the sector this battery had shelled, the enemy's wire was found to have been completely cut.

The debt owed to the artillery throughout the whole of this year's fighting, and particularly in the Ypres battle, is very great. Despite the extraordinary strain to which the gunners have been subjected, yet, wherever conditions of weather and light have made accurate shooting possible, they have never failed to dominate the German batteries. As the result of their close and loyal co-

operation through long periods of continuous fighting, hostile artillery has never succeeded in stopping our attacks. Our infantry would be the first to acknowledge their admirable devotion and self-sacrifice.

Royal Flying Corps

During the past year the part played by the Royal Flying Corps in modern battles has grown more and more important. Each successive attack has served to demonstrate with increasing clearness the paramount necessity for the closest co-operation between air and land arms. All must work together on a general plan toward our end—the defeat of the enemy's forces.

In accordance with this governing consideration, co-operation with artillery, photography, and reconnoissance have been greatly developed and actively continued. Air fighting has taken place on an ever-increasing scale in order to enable the machines engaged upon these tasks to carry out their work. In addition, a definite aerial offensive, in which long-distance raiding has taken a prominent place, has become a recognized part of the preparations for infantry attack.

Throughout the progress of the battle itself low-flying airplanes not only maintain contact with our advancing infantry, reporting their position and signaling the earliest indications of hostile counterattack, but themselves join directly in the attack by engaging the enemy's infantry in line and in support with machine-gun fire and bombs, by assisting our artillery to dispense hostile concentrations and by spreading confusion among the enemy's transport, reinforcements, and batteries.

In answer to the concentrations of hostile machines on our front and the strenuous efforts made by the enemy to reassert himself in the air, the bombing of German aerodromes has been intensified, and has been carried out at great distances behind the enemy's lines. In more than one instance the enemy has been compelled to abandon particular aerodromes altogether as the result of our constant raids.

Besides his aerodromes, the enemy's railway stations and communications, his dumps and billets, have also been attacked with increasing frequency and with most successful results.

The persistent raiding by hostile airplanes and airships of English cities and towns, and the enemy's open disregard of the losses thereby caused to civilian life and property, have recently decided our own Government to adopt countermeasures. In consequence of this decision, a series of bombing raids into Germany were commenced in October, 1917, and have since been continued whenever weather conditions have permitted.

In the discharge of duties, constantly increasing in number and importance, the Royal Flying Corps throughout the whole of the past year has shown the same magnificent offensive spirit which characterized its work during the Somme battle, combined with unsurpassed technical knowledge and practical skill.

The enemy, however, shows no sign of relaxing his endeavors in this department of war. While acknowledging, therefore, most fully the great effort that has been made to meet the ever-increasing demands of this most important service, I feel it my duty to point out once more that the position which has been won by the skill, courage, and devotion of our pilots can only be maintained by a liberal supply of the most efficient machines.

Before passing from the artillery and air services I wish to refer to the increasingly efficient work of the anti-aircraft and searchlight sections in France. The growing activity of the enemy's bombing squadrons has thrown a corresponding strain on these units. They have responded to the call with considerable success, and the frequency with which hostile aircraft are brought down by our ground defenses shows a satisfactory tendency to increase.

Cavalry

During the first days of the battle of Arras the depth of our advance enabled a limited use to be made of bodies of mounted troops. The cavalry showed much promptness and resource in utilizing such opportunities as were offered them, and at Monchy-le-Preux, in particular, performed most valuable service in support of and in co-operation with the infantry.

Tanks and Other Special Services

The gradual development of modern warfare during the past year has shown a very definite tendency to emphasize the importance of the various special services, while at the same time bringing their employment into closer co-ordination with the work of the principal arms.

Although throughout the major portion of the Ypres battle, and especially in its latter stages, the condition of the ground made the use of tanks difficult or impossible, yet whenever circumstances were in any way favorable, and even when they were not, very gallant and valuable work has been accomplished by tank commanders and crews on a great number of occasions. Long before the conclusion of the Flanders offensive these new instruments had proved their worth and amply justified the labor, material, and personnel diverted to their construction and development.

In the course of the various operations in

which tanks have taken part—at Arras, Messines, and Ypres—officers and men have given frequent examples of high and self-sacrificing courage, as well as strong esprit de corps.

Trench mortars have continued to play an important part in supplementing the work of our artillery in trench warfare, and have also been used most effectively in the preliminary stages of our offensives. The personnel concerned have shown great skill and enterprise in obtaining the best results from the various types of mortars.

Machine-Gun Corps

During the past year the use of the machine gun in offensive warfare has been considerably extended. The machine-gun barrage has taken a definite place with the artillery barrage in covering the advance of our infantry, while the lighter forms of machine guns have proved of great assistance in the capture of hostile strong points. In these directions, as well as in the repulse of hostile counterattacks, great boldness and skill have been shown, and very valuable work has been done by all ranks of the machine-gun corps.

Royal Engineers

The prolonged period of active fighting and the vast amount of work involved by our different offensives have thrown a peculiarly heavy burden on the Royal Engineers, both preparatory to and during operations.

The field, signal, army troops, and tramway companies, together with pioneer and labor battalions, from home and overseas, have played an increasingly important part, not only in the preparation for our offensives, but also during the latter stages of the battles. The courage and enduring self-sacrifice displayed by all ranks, whether in the organization of captured positions or in the maintenance of forward communications under heavy shellfire, are deserving of the highest praise.

The tunneling companies have maintained their superiority over the enemy under ground, and the important tactical success achieved by the Messines mines is a sufficient testimony of their untiring efforts. They have taken a large share in the construction of dugouts and road-making during operations, and have worked with great courage and cheerfulness under conditions of much hardship and danger.

The successful manner in which the difficult problem of water supply during operations was overcome reflects great credit upon the Royal Engineers. My thanks are also due to the War Office staff concerned, and the manufacturers and their employes, for the special efforts made by them to meet the demands of the army in respect of the necessary machinery and plant.

The other engineer units, both in forward areas and on the lines of communication, have discharged their various special duties with an equal skill and perseverance. The increased demand for accommodation, hospitals, and workshops on the lines of communication has been met with commendable promptitude, and the supply of engineer stores and materials, now required in vast quantities, has throughout been most efficiently maintained. A notable feature also is the progress which has been made in the devices for the concealment of troops and material.

Signal Services

The signal service, which at the end of the battle of the Somme had already grown into a great and intricate organization, has had even larger demands made upon it during the past year.

Apart from the perfecting and maintenance of rear communications, special provision has had to be made for carrying our communications forward as our troops have advanced. The measures adopted to this end have been skillfully devised and admirably carried out. In many cases, within a few hours of a successful operation large numbers of buried telephone circuits have been extended into the captured zone under very trying conditions; the provision of communications for artillery forward observation officers, &c., proceeding simultaneously with the organization of the new line. Thanks to the rapidity with which communications in the forward areas have been established, information of hostile concentrations has frequently been transmitted by their means from the front in time to enable the artillery to break up impending counterattacks.

The success which has attended the establishment of these forward communications has been largely due to the untiring energy and devotion to duty of the officers and men of the numerous small signal sections and detachments. On them has devolved, in circumstances of great difficulty and danger, the execution of the complicated schemes of communication necessitated by the present form of warfare.

The carrier pigeon service has also been greatly developed during the present year, and has proved extremely valuable for conveying information from attacking units to the headquarters of their formations.

Gas Services

Reference has been made earlier in this dispatch to the valuable services rendered by the special brigade, both on the defensive fronts and in the battle areas, where large quantities of gas were successfully discharged in preparation for our different offensives. These special troops have taken an active part also in our feint attacks and in the various measures taken to harass German divisions sent by the enemy to recuperate on the quieter portions of his front. Gas discharges have become matters of almost nightly occurrence, and have been carried out with success on all portions of the front from the

right of our line to the sea. In the period covered by this dispatch a total weight of nearly 2,000 tons of gas has been liberated in the course of 335 separate discharges.

Numerous new methods and devices have been put into practice with excellent results. Many of these have entailed very heavy work and great courage and devotion on the part of the personnel employed; but all demands have been met with unfailing cheerfulness and carried out with the greatest efficiency. Evidence of the serious casualties inflicted on the enemy by gas and kindred methods of offense continues to accumulate.

Field Survey Companies

Special mention again deserves to be made of the field survey companies, who throughout the year's operations have carried out their important functions with the utmost zeal and efficiency. With the assistance of the ordnance survey they have enabled an adequate supply of maps to be maintained in spite of the constant changes of the battle front. Their assistance has also been invaluable to our artillery in locating the enemy's new battery positions during the actual progress of battle.

The meteorological section has kept me furnished with valuable information concerning the probable course of the weather, in spite of the limited area from which the necessary data are now procurable.

Transportation Services

In describing the preparations for our offensives, constant reference has been made in the body of this dispatch to the work of the transportation services. The year has been one of rapid expansion in all branches of the various transportation services, and the manner in which the calls made upon them have been met is deserving of the highest praise.

During the present year the dock capacity allotted to the British armies in France has been thoroughly organized, and its equipment, efficiency of working, and capacity greatly improved. In the first nine months of this year the number of working cranes was more than doubled, and during the year the discharging capacity of the docks has proved equal to the maximum import requirements. The rate of discharge of vessels has been accelerated by 100 per cent., and the weekly average of ship-days lost has been reduced to nearly one-fifth of its January figures.

As regards railway expansion, the number of imported broad-gauge locomotives in traffic in France in October, 1917, was nearly ten times as great as at the end of 1916. The number of imported broad-gauge wagons in traffic shows a corresponding growth, and the necessary erecting and repairing shops for this increased rolling stock have been provided and equipped. Many hundred miles of broad-gauge track have been laid, also, both in immediate connection with our offensives and for the general service of our armies.

The result of these different measures has naturally had a most marked effect upon the traffic-carrying capacity of the broad-gauge railway system as a whole. The average number of trains run daily during October, 1917, showed an increase of nearly 50 per cent. on the daily average for March.

Light railways have grown with a like rapidity, and the track operated at the end of October was already eight times as great as that working at the commencement of the year. During the same period the plant used in the making and upkeep of roads has been multiplied nearly seven times, rendering possible a very considerable improvement in the conditions of road transport. At the same time, the possibilities of inland water transport have been further developed, resulting in October, 1917, in an increase of 50 per cent. in the weekly traffic handled, as compared with the figures for January, 1917.

Forestry and Quarry Units

In the Spring of 1917 the activities of the army were extended by the formation of a forestry directorate, controlling Royal Engineer and Canadian forestry companies, to work certain forest areas in France and provide material for the use of our own and the French armies. Quarry companies have also been formed in immediate connection with the transportation services.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work involved can be gained from the fact that from quarries worked in a single locality over 600,000 tons of material were produced in the nine months ended Aug. 31, 1917. Between March and October of this year the total weekly output of road metal received in the army areas has nearly doubled. The average area of new and remade roads completed weekly during October was seven and a half times greater than the weekly average for March.

By September, 1917, the army had become practically self-supporting as far as regards timber, and during the active period of working, from May to October, over three-quarters of a million tons of timber were supplied for the use of the British Army. Included in this timber was material sufficient to construct over 350 miles of plank roads and to provide sleepers for 1,500 miles of railway, besides great quantities of sawn timber for hutting and defenses and many thousand tons of round timber for fascines and fuel. The bulk of the fuel wood is being obtained from woods already devastated by artillery fire.

These forestry and quarry units have proved of great value, and have been the source of very considerable economy. My special thanks are due to the French forestry authorities, as well as to the Comité Interallié des Bois de Guerre, for

their assistance in our negotiations regarding the acquisition of woods and forest areas.

Army Service Corps

The long period of active fighting, combined with the magnitude of our operations, has once more placed a heavy strain upon the personnel of the Army Service Corps and of the administrative services and departments generally. The difficulties of supply have been increased by the unavoidable congestion of the areas in which operations were taking place, as well as by the inevitable deterioration of roads and by long-distance shelling and bombing by the enemy.

In spite of all difficulties, the Army Service Corps has never failed to meet the needs of our troops in food, ammunition, material, and stores of all kinds. Particularly good work has been done by the motor transport drivers, who have shown the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty in getting forward the requisites of the army under heavy shellfire and during long hours of exposure.

Ordnance Corps

The enegy and zeal of the Ordnance Corps have also been admirable. The intensity of our artillery preparations and bombardments has placed the heaviest demands upon the ordnance workshops in the repair and the overhauling of guns of all calibres. Work has been continued by day and night in order to keep our guns in action, and the unsparing efforts of officers and men have contributed in no small degree to the success of our operations.

Medical Services

The work of the medical service in all its branches has continued to afford me most valuable assistance. The high standard of efficiency displayed by all ranks of the medical service has resulted in an almost entire freedom from epidemic disease, and has been the cause of much saving of life and limb among the wounded.

The devotion and gallantry of the Royal Army Medical Corps and of the Medical Corps of the overseas dominions during the recent operations have earned universal admiration and praise. Their work of collecting the wounded from the front has been of an exceptionally arduous nature, owing to the condition of the ground and weather. I regret that so many gallant officers and men have lost their lives in carrying out their duties.

The medical service of the United States of America has shared in the work of the British medical service and has given very valuable help.

I am much indebted to the devotion and work of the consulting surgeons and physicians and to the auxiliary services of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The nursing services, several of whose members have unfortunately lost their lives from hostile air raids, have, as always, devoted themselves with untiring care and zeal to their work of mercy.

The excellent organization and administrative work of the medical services as a whole have given me entire satisfaction.

The work of the Army Veterinary Corps and of the mobile veterinary sections has been ably carried out and has contributed largely to the general efficiency of the army.

The Chaplain's Department

I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of all ranks of the British armies in France, our great appreciation of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the army Chaplains serving in France. No considerations of personal convenience or safety have at any time interfered with their work among the troops, the value of which is incalculable.

Tribute to Commanders and Allies

My thanks are again due to the army commanders for the complete loyalty and conspicuous ability with which they have carried out my plans during the past year. The task of launching three great offensives on different sectors of the British front, in addition to the almost constant fighting that has taken place in the neighborhood of Lens, has demanded professional knowledge, determination, and soundness of judgment of a very high order on the part of the commanders of the armies concerned. It required, moreover, the most willing and unselfish cooperation between armies, and an absolute subservience of all personal interests to the common good.

In all these respects the different army commanders have most completely fulfilled the high standard of character and ability required of them.

In the heavy and responsible work which they have so admirably performed the army commanders have been most loyally supported and assisted by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the commanders and staffs of the units serving under them.

Staff

My Chief of the General Staff, Lieut. Gen. Sir L. E. Kiggell, K. C. B.; my Adjutant General, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. H. Fowke, K. C. B., and my Quartermaster General, Lieut. Gen. Sir R. C. Maxwell, K. C. B., as well as the other officers of my staff and my technical advisers at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, have given me the greatest and most valuable assistance. I am glad once more to place on record the debt that I owe to them.

The entire absence of friction or discord which characterized the work of all services and departments during the Somme battle has constituted a most pleasing feature of the operations of the past year. There could be no better evidence of the singleness of purpose and determination of the armies as a whole and no stronger guarantee of victory.

Acknowledgment to the Navy

(64) The debt which the army owes to the navy grows ever greater as the years pass, and is deeply realized by all ranks of the British armies in France. As the result of the unceasing vigilance of the navy, the enemy's hope that his policy of unrestricted submarine warfare would hamper our operations in France and Flanders has been most signally disappointed. The immense quantities of ammunition and material required by the army, and the large numbers of men sent to us as drafts, continue to reach us with unfailing regularity.

To Home Authorities

In this connection, I desire once more to record the obligation of the army in the field to the different authorities at home, both civil and military, and to the great mass of men and women in Great Britain and throughout the empire who are working with such loyalty to enable our manifold requirements to be met.

The confidence which is felt throughout the army that the enemy can and will be beaten is founded on the firm conviction that their own efforts in the field will be supported to the limits of their power and rosources by all classes at home.

To Britain's Allies

At the close of another year of fighting in France and Belgium, it is a source of great gratification to me to be able to record that nothing has occurred to mar the happy relations existing between the allied armies, or between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium.

The feelings of good-will and comradeship which existed between the French and British Armies on the Somme have been continued in Flanders, where the same excellent relations have characterized the combined operations of the Belgian, French, and British troops.

During the present year the Portuguese expeditionary force has taken its place in the line, and for many months has held a sector of the British front. Though they have not been engaged in major offensive operations, yet in a number of raids and minor engagements the officers and men of the Portuguese expeditionary force have shown themselves gallant and efficient soldiers.

During the present year, also, the United States of America has entered the war, and has taken up its part in it with all the well-known energy and ability of that great nation. Already many thousands of American soldiers are in France. Warm as is the welcome they have received from the French people, nowhere will they find a more genuine or a more friendly greeting than among all ranks of the other great English-speaking armies. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG, Field Marshal,

Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

Messages of King George and President Wilson

The following telegrams were exchanged by King George of England and the President of the United States:

Jan. 1, 1918.

On the occasion of the New Year I desire, Mr. President, to express to you my sincerest good wishes for your welfare and for the prosperity and success of the United States of America in the great undertaking to which they have set themselves under your leadership in support of the high principles of liberty and justice.

The powerful exertions which are being made by the great Republic which you represent afford the surest guarantee that the high aims which we pursue in common will be happily achieved.

GEORGE R. I.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

At this solemn hour, when the New Year looks upon a world red with the outpoured blood of the regeneration of the eternal rights of the peoples, and forecasts the happy achievement of universal safety and peace in the brotherhood of nations, your message comes to hearten the American people and strengthen their conviction of the righteousness of the great cause to which they have consecrated their lives and their national honor.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Wheel of Time

—*From Nebelspalter, Zurich.*

CHRONOS: "I shall have to settle it for them, after all."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Colossus of Monte Grappo

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

GERMANY: "Der Teufel! I've been digging away here for two months, and have hardly made a dent."

ITALY: "You thought we were soft dough, but you have found we are granite."

[Russian Cartoon]

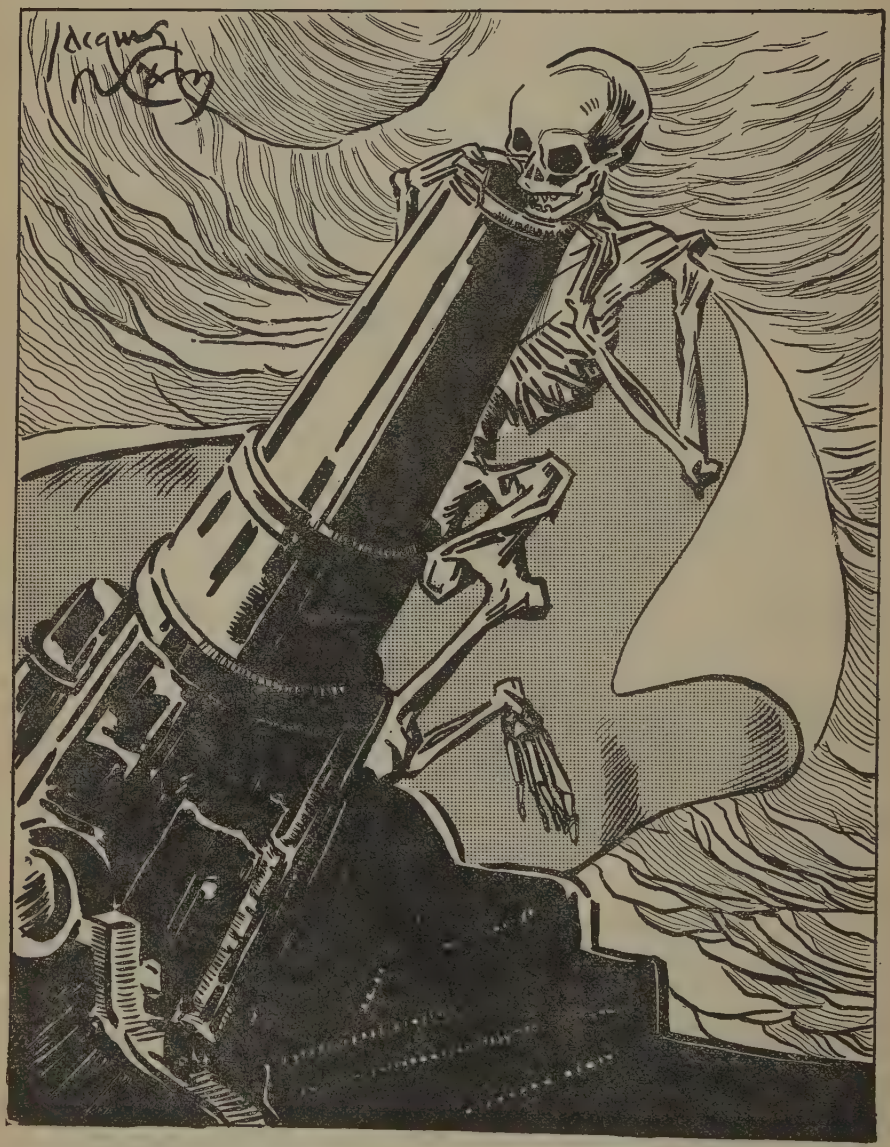
Hunger

—*From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd*

Will he occupy the vacant throne?

[French Cartoon]

The Cannon, God of Death

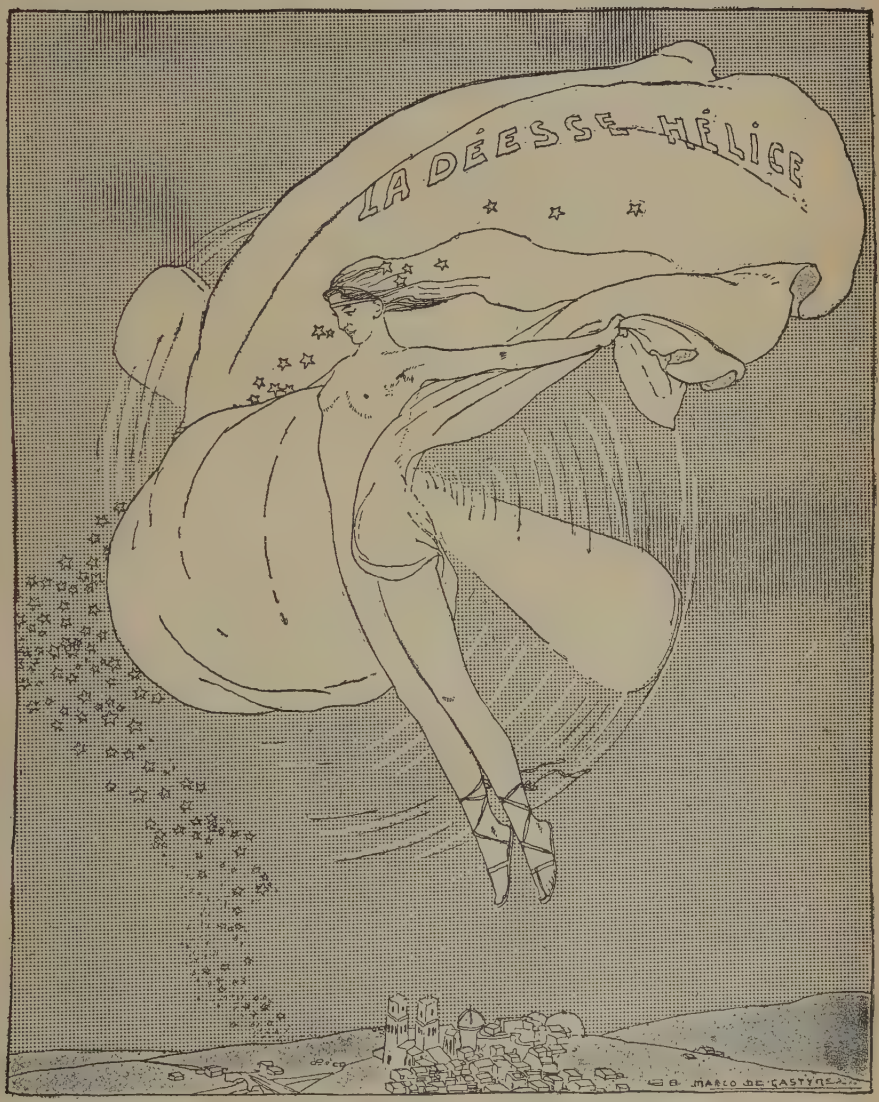


—From La Baionnette, Paris

"Dear soul! You are the only one I love to kiss on the mouth!"

[French Cartoon]

The Airplane Goddess



—From La Baionnette, Paris.

The power that hovers high in air over the battlefields.

[English Cartoon]

Signs of the Times

—*From London Opinion.*

Our grocer takes a walk on Sunday.

[American Cartoon]

While the Shadow Lengthens

—From The New York Times.

[English Cartoon]

The Old Game of Bluff

—From The Passing Show, London.

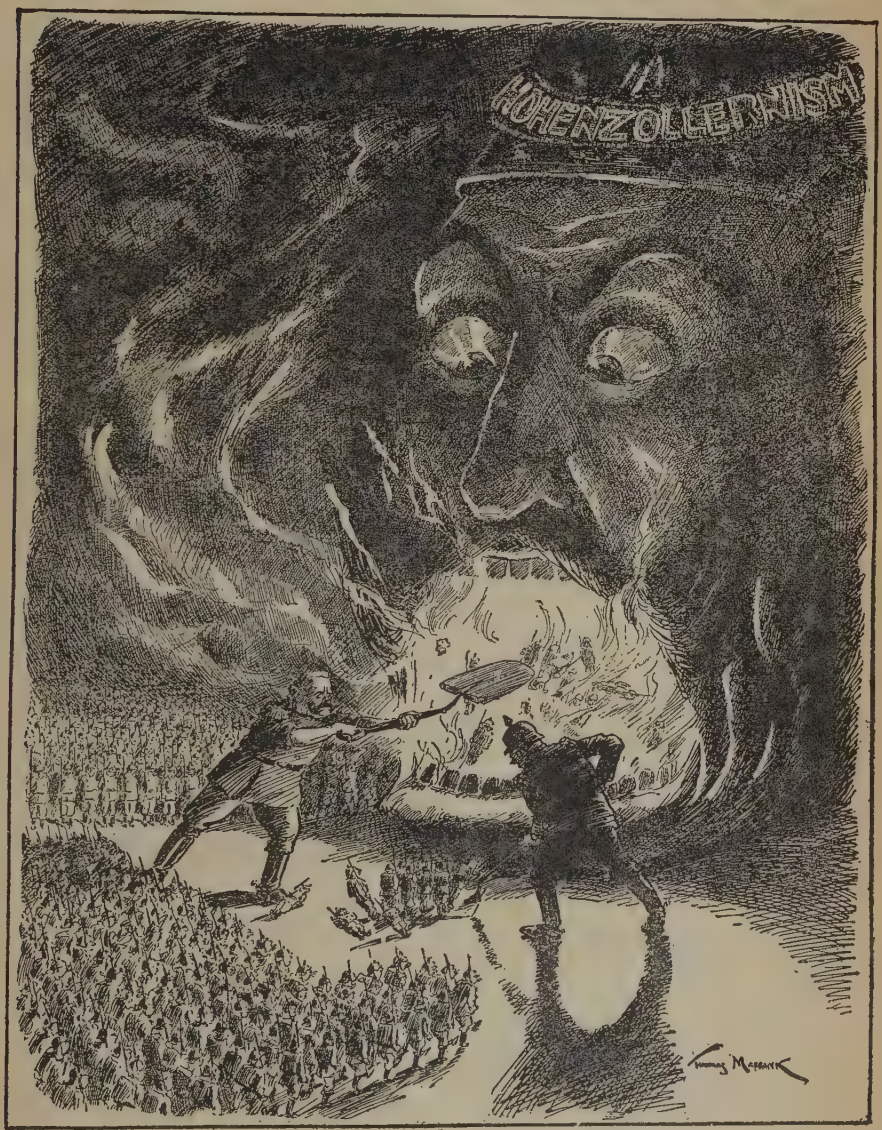
OLD MAN DEUTSCH: "Himmel! Id looks like der Stars und Stripes!"

WILHELM: "Nonsense! Dey vos only some more contemptibles, ain't it, Hindy?"

HINDENBURG: "Ja wohl, All-Highest. Old man Deutsch vos a leedle bilious."

[English Cartoon]

The Insatiable Moloch



—*From The Passing Show, London.*

[American Cartoon]

Civilization Crucified!

—*Chicago Herald.*

[Dutch Cartoon]

Secret Diplomacy

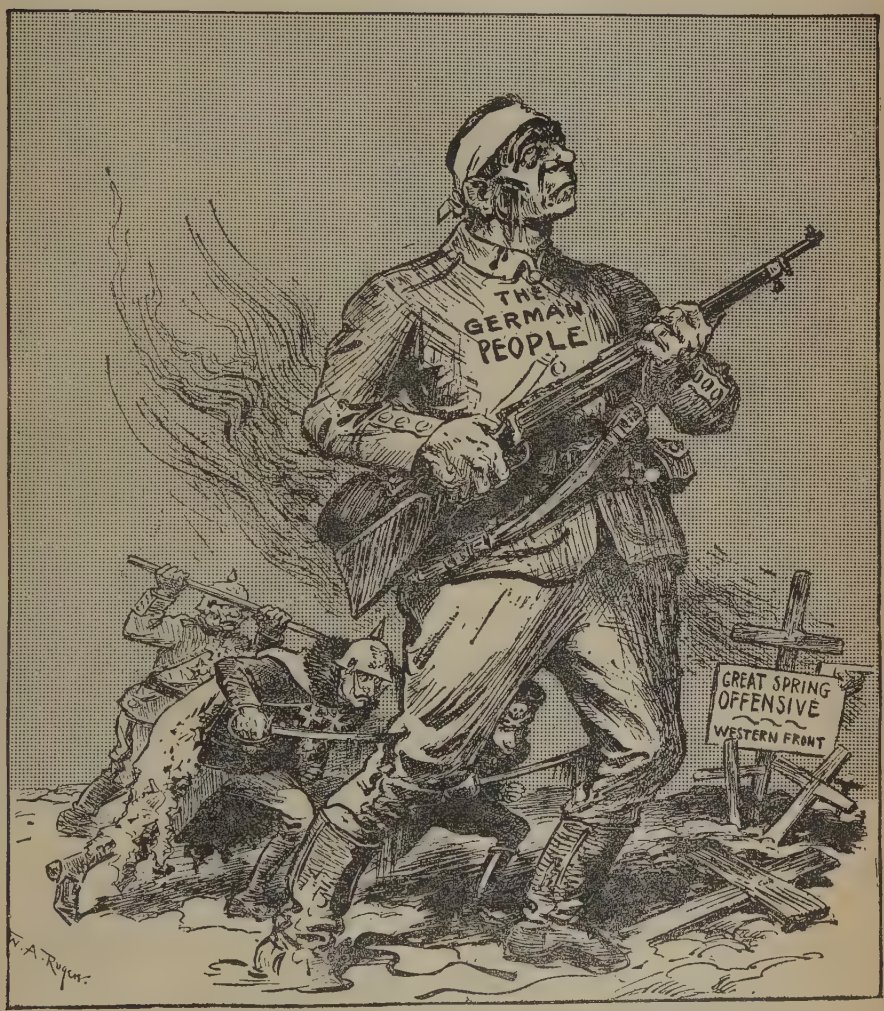
—*De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.*

"Never before was I as naked as this."

[After publication of secret treaties at Petrograd]

[American Cartoon]

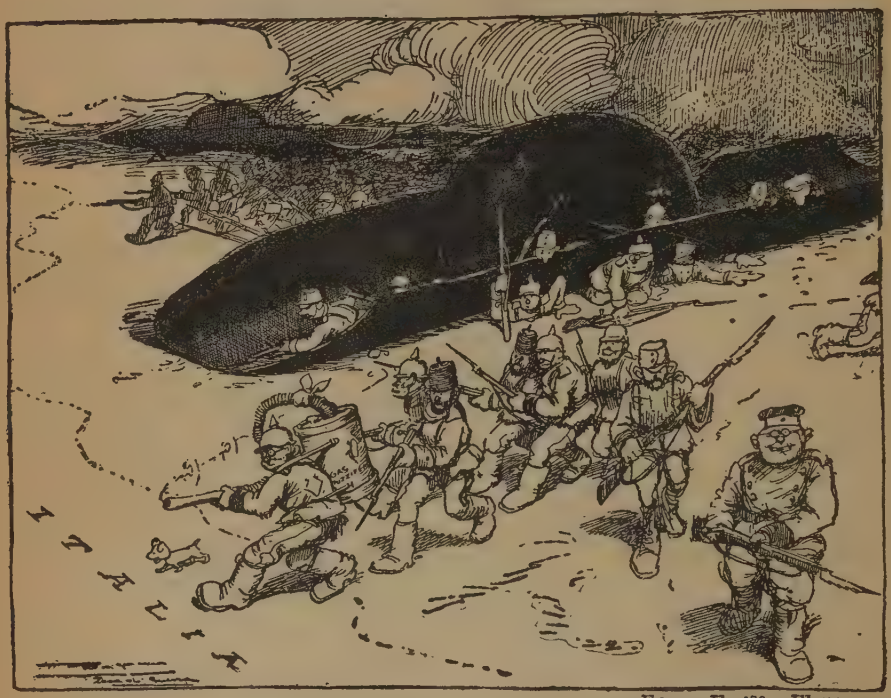
Forward Mit Gott!



—From The New York Herald.

The great drive of 1918!

The Boats on Which the Teutons Crossed the Isonzo



—From Il 420, Florence.

[One of many Italian cartoons in reply to an article in the Cologne Gazette, the German organ of the Jesuits, which declared that Italy was a vile traitor unfit to live. The "boats" are Jesuit hats.]

Obstacles on the Road to Venice

—From Il 420, Florence.

The riders thought the course was easy, but somehow the steeds think otherwise.

The Taking of Jerusalem

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

"Sound the Trumpet of Zion!"—Joel II., 1.

Russia's Peace Move

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

A place where extremes meet.

[American Cartoon]

"What Else Can I Do for You, Wilhelm?"

RUSSIAN ARMIES DISARMED AND DISBANDED-
RUSSIAN MARKETS OPENED TO GERMANY-
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED
PLANS TO DIVIDE RUSSIA INTO MANY INDEPENDENT STATES — DESTRUCTION OF NATIONAL UNITY BY BOLSHEVIKI
BOLSHEVIKI

—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

Why He Always Falls Down

—From The Albuquerque Morning Journal.

[American Cartoon]

The Peacemaker

—*From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

[American Cartoon]

Not to Say "Mein Gott!"

—Los Angeles Times.

[English Cartoon]

The Baited Peace Trap

—National News, London.

KAISER: "He nearly had me once—but I've nearly got him now." (But has he?)

[English Cartoon]

The Wailers at the Wall

—Westminster Gazette.

[English Cartoon]

The Outcasts at Jerusalem

—The People, London.

To Have and to Hold

Camouflage

His Days of Real Sport

" Almost Thou Persuadest Me to be a Christian"

—San Francisco Chronicle.

Putting the Egg Back in the Shell

—Knickerbocker Press, Albany.

But Hohenzollernism won't go back into the Status Quo Ante.

His God

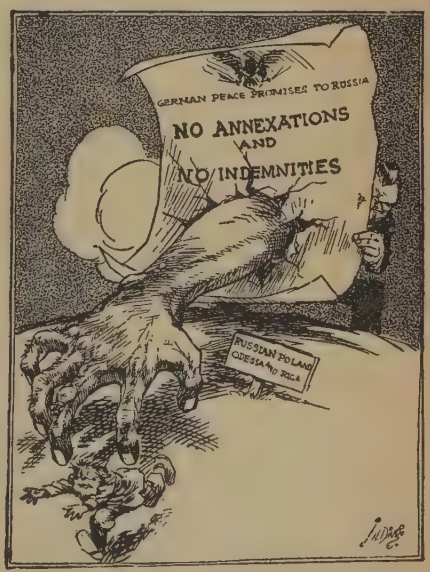
—Providence Journal.

"Forward with God to Fresh Deeds and Fresh Victories!"

Will He See It?

—New York World.

Another Scrap of Paper



—New York Tribune.

Fisherman's Luck

—San Francisco Call-Post.

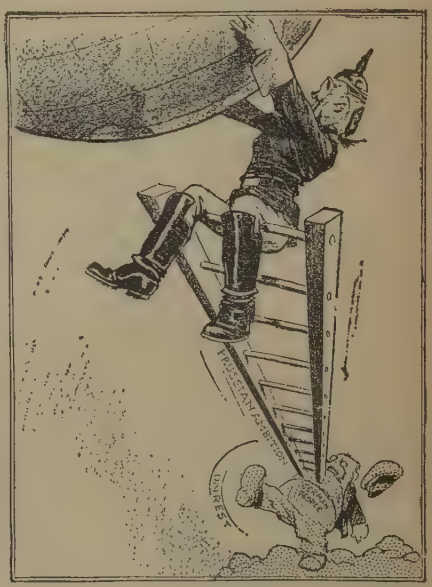
A Tailor's Trick

—San Francisco Call-Post.

"If You Want to do Business, Call Off That Dog!"

—Baltimore American.

Look Oudt, Fritzie, der Ladder Iss Shaking!



—Baltimore American.

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